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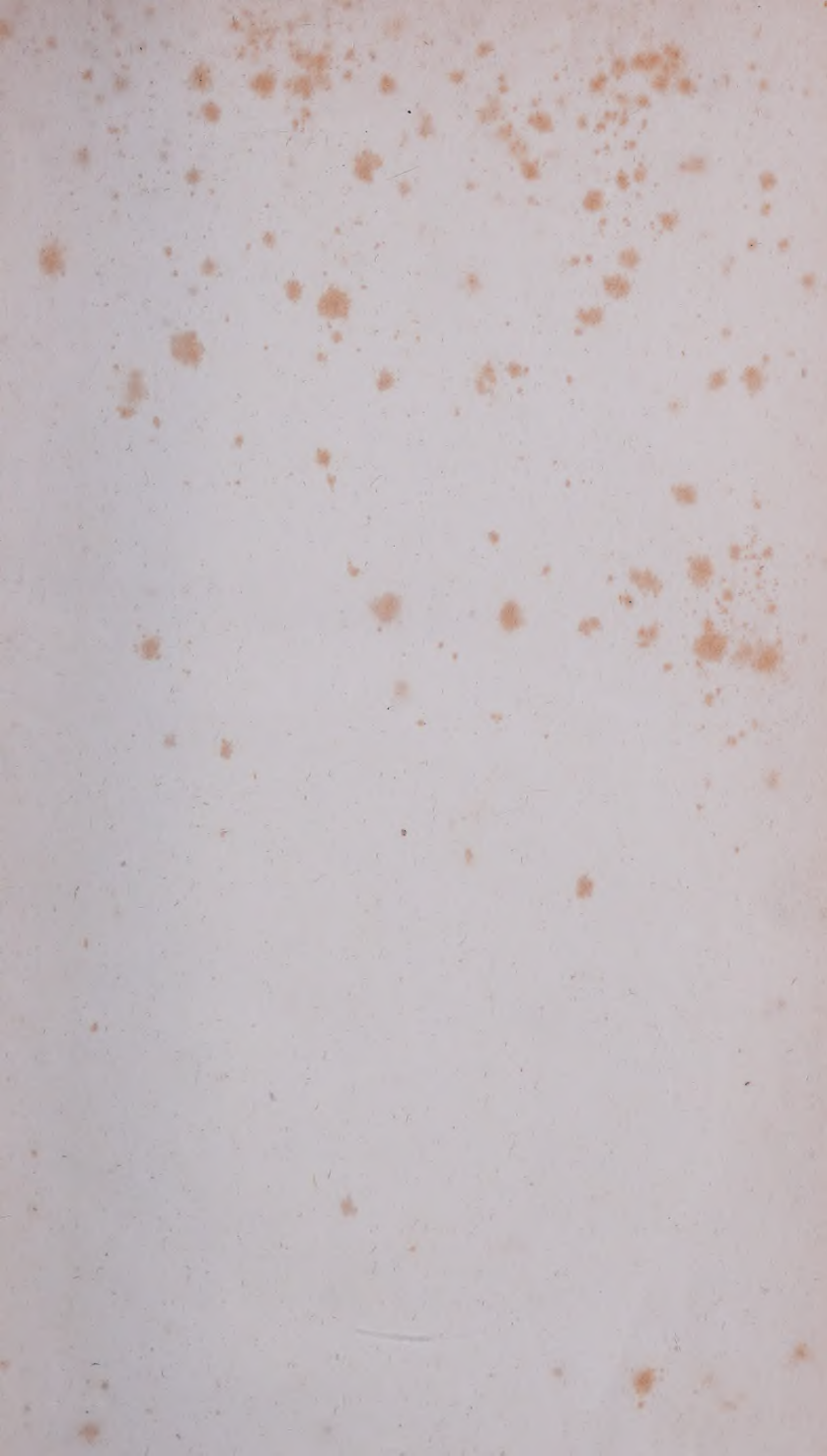
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THE GIFT OF HIS DAUGHTER

MRS. ROSE ELIOT SMITH













HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE, WORKS, AND DOCTRINES
OF
JOHN CALVIN,

FROM THE FRENCH OF

J. M. V. AUDIN,

KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT, MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY
AND LITERARY CIRCLE OF LYONS, OF THE TIBERINE ACADEMY, AND
OF THE ACADEMY OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION, OF ROME.

TRANSLATED BY REV. JOHN MCGILL.



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PREFACE TO THE LAST FRENCH EDITION.

WHEN, in some pamphlet of Luther, Cochleus, Eck, Emser, Catharin, had encountered,—and this good fortune frequently befell them,—some faults against dogma, morals, history or grammar, which they immediately denounced to the Catholic world, the furious Doctor amused himself by casting in the face of his adversaries, all the injurious expressions which he found in his dictionary or his brains, and both were equally rich in these materials. His anger being appeased, the monk revised his work, expunged, blotted, effaced, corrected the assailed passages, and, quite joyous, for his own justification, threw the blame upon his printer. Of Hans Lufft he said: “My printer is called John, and John he will remain. Paper, impression, proofs—every thing he presents me is detestable. Moreover, they are all like him: what do they care for the glory of a poor devil of an author, provided they get money?”

We prefer the method employed, about the same period, by our Catholic writers, who thought that they had reason to complain of their proof-reviser, when a skillful reader had discovered some typographical error in their works.

“Friendly reader,” said one of them, “the theologian to whom we are indebted for *“The Antiquity of the Orthodox Doctrine,”* not having been able to preside over the printing of our book, please excuse faults, as an *i* for *ij*, *ærianis* for *arianis*, *garo* for *saxo*.”

We must admit, that this formula is greatly more polite. We shall, therefore, say, like Master John Lefebvre, curé of Totes, in Normandy: we were not at Paris when our History of Calvin was printed, and the reader will believe our word; but, we must conscientiously confess, that some of those *errata* which critics have had the signal kindness to place to the account of typography, belong legitimately to ourselves; this avowal costs our self-love nothing whatever.

At present, we have given the greatest attention possible to the revision of our proofs, aided by skillful correctors. Should the reader

have the misfortune to meet, in the present edition, the faults which had given offence in the former, we know not what excuse we should be able to allege : our publishers would be similarly embarrassed.

But a conscientious writer should not limit his duty merely to the material amelioration of the text. A man of the world, it is probable, that our expressions, in a book in which difficult problems of Psychology are agitated, were not always characterized by the severity of the language of the schools. We had but one resource, which was to submit our labours to masters versed in this holy science, designated, by the sixteenth century, the mistress of all the sciences.

Our first volume, in all that trenches upon dogma, has been revised by a member of that celebrated society of Jesuits, which, at Rome, had so materially aided us in our historical researches. The second has been examined by a professor of theology. How much do we regret, not to be allowed to mention here the names of these two ecclesiastics ; our readers would perceive what a pledge of correct information, their aid offered to the historian.

If the critics, who with such indulgent kindness gave an account of our first labour, should deign glance at this new edition, they will see that we have profited by the suggestions they have made us. In pursuance of ancient usage, we have inscribed on the title-page of our work : *revised and augmented*. This is not a vain promise, but a reality. Our revisions have affected the literary form of the work ; our additions consist in a certain number of documents, relative either to the Reformation or to its representative Calvin, which we have procured at Rome, from that rich collection of *Theses*, dissertations, pamphlets, sometimes stray leaves, which the Cardinal Passionei, with the passion of a *Savant* and *Bibliophilist*, had gathered together, and which he afterwards presented to the *Bibliotheca Angelica*. While giving insertion to these documents, we have remained faithful to the law, to which we voluntarily subjected ourselves in the History of Luther, to admit, against the memory of him whose biography we were writing, no testimony, which was not derived either from the works of the individual himself, or from the books of his co-religionists. *Menage*, one day, had the fancy to inscribe on one of his publications : *revised and diminished* : We might have used the formula of this writer of many books. In fact, we have retrenched from this edition some facts, in support of which we were not able to invoke the authority of reformed writers : this we did, because, above every thing, we desire to merit the eulogy of an impartial historian, awarded to us, publicly, by one of our most learned professors, in one of his lectures in the College de France.

INTRODUCTION.

WE should not deceive ourselves respecting the character of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. At Wittenberg, it was a revolt of the cloister; at Geneva, a political movement. Under this double form, it deluded the souls whom it bore along upon its tide. In Saxony, its destiny was to terminate in anarchy; in Switzerland, to end in despotism. Carlstadt was the first to suffer the penalty of his faith in the Protestant principle. In magnificent terms, the superiority of reason over authority, had been proclaimed by the Monk of Eisleben. Carlstadt was exiled, and forced to beg his bread from village to village, because he had interpreted a demonstrative pronoun, differently from Doctor Martin. Schwenkfeld, Cœcolampadius, and other grave minds, experienced the wrath of the reformer, for not having believed in his infallibility. There were heresies in a church which had erected free examination into a dogma. But, besides this intellectual disorder, God reserved other chastisements for Germany; she was punished in blood. The preachings of Luther aroused the peasants of Thuringia and Suabia, who were desirous to fish in the pools, and hunt in the forests of their masters, in virtue of the right which Luther had given to the electors, to pasture their horses on the meadows of the monks, to drink out of the cups of the convents, and to sew the precious stones of the Bishops upon their vesture.

“Father,” said they, “we have read the Bible. It is written in the holy book, that God makes his sun shine for all men. Our princes, therefore, revolt against the Lord! for we hardly ever behold this great luminary;—we miners,—shut up, as we are, in the bowels of the earth, and compelled daily to forge lances for our masters, iron for their horses, and collars for their dogs. They cause us to pay for the air we breathe, and for the light of which we are deprived; the tythes of our flocks and of our fields belong to them. Father, to these electors, already so rich, thou hast given croziers, mitres, ostensers of gold, the

wine from the convent cellars, the carpets of the Cathedrals, sacred vessels quite covered with precious stones; abbeys, monasteries, prebends: * We ask simply to be allowed to cut in the forests, and only in winter, a little wood, with which to warm ourselves; in summer, to take a little grain from the fields of our Seigniors; in autumn, some grapes for our newly born babes, and, once a week, to gather a little grass on the meadows for our sheep. If, like them, we are children of God, sons of Adam, created from the same slime, why should our conditions be so different? This is not in the order of Providence. The book, which you have recommended us to read, has told us so. We send you our grievances; put them under the eyes of our princes. If they will not do us justice, God has given us arms, an anvil, a hammer, pikes; we will use them; and, as it is written in the Bible, we will combat for the Lord. God will send us his angel, who shall overturn the mighty and raise up the feeble. We will strike, pink! pank! upon the anvil of Nimrod, and the turrets shall tumble under our blows, dran! dran! dran!"†

This is the substance of the long prayer of the peasants, which you may read in *Sartorius*,‡ or in our own Father Catrou,§ an historian too much neglected.

The Princes, alarmed, asked Luther if, in the Scriptures, there were not some texts which could be opposed to those with which the miners had swelled their memorial. The monk was not long searching for them: he found some at almost every page, which he collected and drew up, in the form of a notice or *warning*|| to the revolted labourers. Munzer, their leader, replied by new quotations from the Bible, and in the name of the Lord, summoned his brethren to arms. Luther, on his side, shouted the same cry, to which the princes responded. He maintained, as may be seen in his works, that a little straw or fodder is sufficient for a peasant, as well as for an ass: that if he shake his head, the stick must be used; should he become restive or kick, a bullet must whistle.¶ The princes made use of these arguments in the order indicated by the reformer, and the peasants yielded. The number of dead

* Luther gab den fürsten die Stifter, Klöster und Abtein; den Priestern gab er die Weiber; dem gemeinen Manne die Freiheit, und das that viel zur Sache. —Pred. Gasp. Brochmand, in *examine politico*. Conf. Aug. p. 163.

† Menzel, (Ad.) *Neure Geschichte der Deutschen*.

‡ Sartorius, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Deutschen Bauernkriegs*, Berlin, 1795.

§ *Histoire du fanatisme dans la religion Protestante, depuis son origine*. 2 vols. in 12mo. Paris, 1733.

|| *Vermahnung an de Fürsten und an de Bauern*.

¶ An. Joh. Rühl. —Luther's Briefe, de Wette. p. 669, t. 11.

is said to have reached one hundred and twenty thousand. A new seed of sectarians sprang from the blood of the miners. The Anabaptists appeared, announcing,—what Eck, Miltitz, Prierias, and other Catholics had taught,—that Luther was marching amid darkness; and they added, that they only had the light and understanding of the holy word. Fortunately for Catholicism, Luther's gospel had given birth to a crowd of sects, such as those of the Sacramentarians, of the Œcolampadians, of the Majorists, of the Antinomists, which, in their turn, protested, in the name of the Holy Ghost, against the pretensions to infallibility claimed for itself by Anabaptism. So that, as in the days of Paganism, every thing was God except God himself, and every pulpit infallible except the Chair of Truth.

At Geneva, they had scarcely become acquainted with a single line of the Lutheran Symbol, when Froment and Farel appeared there, to preach their novelties. An unjust hatred for the house of Savoy, drove into the ranks of the revolution, a crowd of Patriots, who foolishly imagined that Catholicism, in the moment of danger, would refuse its aid and assistance. As if, in the person of its bishops, it had not already nobly allied itself with the people, against the pretensions of the Emperors! as if the city had not been indebted for its franchises to Adhemar Fabri, one of the ornaments of the Genevan Episcopacy! We shall invoke some of those holy prelates in the present work, and you will then see what was their worth, and whether they were wanting in courage, devotedness, charity and science! Geneva has been able to forget them, but it is our duty to recall them to its remembrance. Catholicism has not left, upon the path of its progress, even one human glory, with which it has not essayed to ornament its crown. That bridge of Arve, from which Froment sounded his summons to the people to revolt against the spiritual sovereign, was erected by a bishop at the expense of his own purse. Was it not Catholicism that, in the middle ages, resuscitated the arts, reanimated the cultivation of the muses, revived industry, and gave fecundity to the spirit of association? It could no more leave people in darkness than in servitude! Behold it, at the epoch of its greatest development! Does it not sustain the cities and the Italian republics, in their struggles with the Germanic empire? In the thirteenth century, does it not infuse itself into that political movement which agitates all nations? At Grutli, does it not come forward to sanction the oath, of the three liberators, against the oppression of the house of Austria? Was it not a Catholic hand, which planted, at Fribourg, the Linden-tree of Morat? And did not Byron see, groping through the chambers of the little tower of Stanzstadt, the shade of

Nicholas de Flue, as good a patriot as William Tell? A glance at the German nation would suffice to convince an impartial observer, that, of all the forms of religion, Protestantism is the most inimical to the liberties of the people. And let no one appeal to England, in disproof of this fact, for there Catholicism had so deeply laid the foundations of liberty, that Protestantism had no alternative but to adopt them as laws of the state.*

At the period of Calvin's arrival at Geneva, the Reformation had been accomplished. The line of its march could be followed, like the soldiers of Vitellius, by the traces of disorder which it had left in its passage. Its triumph was recorded upon the ruins of our churches, upon the palaces of our bishops, upon the tombs of our canons, upon our cemeteries, and even upon the walls of certain dwellings still stained with blood. A poor maiden, a nun of St. Clara, has described these scenes of mourning, spoliation, and murder! We shall be thanked, without doubt, for having preserved some pages of her simple but dramatic narrative.

Certain modern historians, anxious about the destinies of the reformation, have speculated about its probable fate, had not Calvin appeared to seize upon it as an instrument of domination. Some think that it would have been absorbed by Lutheranism. Perhaps, fatigued by doubts, Geneva would have obeyed its natural inclinations, and returned to the bosom of the Catholic church. We must acknowledge that Calvin was the most powerful obstacle to this measure. Still, it would have been difficult to effect a reconciliation. The victors, would not, without many pangs, have restored to the vanquished the spoils which they had taken. We will tell you the means resorted to by the reformation in Switzerland, to prevent all return to order; upon the walls of the city were affixed notices for the sale of the goods of the churches and monasteries; the purchasers were numerous, for the magistrates had orders to sell at any price. Thus, the priory of Divosne, in the country of Lausanne, was sold to the Lord of the place, for 1,000 ecus: that of Perroy, was sold to M. de Senarchans for 1,125 francs; and the lands of Villars-le-Moine and Clavelayre, near Morat, were sold to the advocate John James de Watteville, for 1,300 francs.†

“The Electors,” said Melancthon, “keep the treasures of the churches and convents, and every thing else for themselves, and will not even

* *Revue du Nord*, p. 251.

† Haller. *Histoire de la reforme protestante dans la Suisse Occidentale*, in 12mo. p. 329.

give something for the support of the schools!"* They consented to break off the marriages of the priests, but they would not hear of a restitution of the spoils of the clergy, upon which they had seized, and which Luther had abandoned to them. For them, the goods of others became a family patrimony.†

Luther, at his appearance, only found the germs of revolution. It was his mission to make them prolific, and, to the misfortune of humanity, God permitted him to succeed. But when Calvin came, the rupture of Geneva with authority was a fact accomplished. Luther embodies a spiritual idea: he is the apostle of reason—but of fallen reason—opposed to faith and authority. His life is that of a theologian, who has marked his progress with sufficient noise, style, poesy, wrath, ruins and blood, to give interest to the drama in which he played the principal part. In the last act, the curtain falls, and the actor, still a theologian, appears in another scene, where, in a miserable bar-room, he exhausts the last dregs of a disordered imagination. Let him die, and still Protestant Germany will continue each day to lose some other rag of its nationality, some trait of its primitive imagination, some tie which bound it to its historical and intellectual past; for by the hand of power it is chained to the work of the reformer.

Informed Protestants, refuse to Calvin the title of demagogue, which they bestow upon Christ and Luther. Tzschirner calls Jesus, Luther the first, and regards Calvin as a mere usurper, who used the people to place the crown upon his brow.‡

The Psychological life of Calvin commences at the time when that of Luther ends; that is, when the reformation begins to live and move. For Calvin, like Henry VIII., adopted the Protestant idea in order to make himself head of church and state. In him, therefore, there is a twofold individuality.

As sectary, his power is greatly inferior to that of Luther, who resuscitated, under the name of free examination, the principle of fatalism, illumination by the Bible, justification through faith without works, and

* Die Fürsten roiszen die Einkünfte der Klöster und die Kirchengüter an sich, und geben kaum was wenigens zu den Bedürfnissen der Kirchen und Schulen.

† Die Groszen lieszen sich guten Thiels durch die Kirchengüter bewegen—Arnold.

‡ Und den (Christus) wir, nach Hrn. Dr. Tzschirner's Ansicht eigentlich Luther den Ersten nennen müszten.—Bermerkungen eines Protestanten in Preuszen über die Tzschirner'schen Anfeindungen ect. 1824, p. 52.

See; Honinghaus, Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen, Aschaffenburg, 1835. S. p. 349.

the *serf-will* of man; old errors indeed, but invested with new interest and colours by his picturesque language. Calvin was forced to receive the Saxon symbol, in part; what belongs to himself in the confession bearing his name, is his hermaphrodite system on the Lord's Supper—half Zwinglian, half Lutheran; but his God, or rather, his Destiny, damning at his own good pleasure, may be found in *Œcolampadius*.

What providential lessons are given in the existence of these two reformers! Both, if you believe their own testimony, raised up by God, to establish the Kingdom of Christ; the apostles of fatalism, which it is their mission to introduce into Christianity; the steel-gloved knights of brute force, which, under the name of reason, they crown king. And in order to be saved, it is necessary to believe blindly in their word! The Impanation of Luther, and the Predestination of Calvin, are two truths of salvation: the one devotes to eternal flames, all who refuse to accept his eucharistic symbol; and who refuse to believe? *Œcolampadius*, Zwingle, Bucer, Brenz, Bullinger, Calvin himself, the glorious representatives of religious emancipation: the other has not enough of the fire of the eternal future to punish those who resist him. He expels Bolsec, exiles Gentilis, burns Servetus, decapitates Gruet, because they will not adore him as their God! If the dogmatic life of Luther be more dramatic, because it is passed in the presence of Popes and Emperors, Kings and Electors, in the Patmos of the Wartbourg, and in the anti-chambers of the legates of Leo X.; upon the benches of the taverns of Orlamund, and in the imperial cities of Worms and Augsburg; that of Calvin possesses a different, but far more powerful interest. John of Noyon, contending with all the deserters of the Catholic school,—with Gentilis, Ochin, Castalion, Westphal,—who exert themselves to expose how much of feebleness, deception and inanity there is in his magisterial speech, is a spectacle which, in our contest with the reformation, we have a right to re-produce. Rejected by Westphal, cursed by Bellius, despised by Leo Judæ, anathematized by Luther, what opinion is it that he personifies? His own only. His masters, his disciples, his predecessors, and his successors in the way of revolution;—Zwingle, on his mountains of Albis, Melancthon at the University of Wittenberg, *Œcolampadius* at the foot of Hauenstein, Bucer at Strasbourg, brother Martin at Marbourg,—all teach a doctrine different from the one we shall hear in the church of St. Peter at Geneva. While confining ourselves to our task as historian, we could not, in our biography of Calvin, prevent ourselves from indicating the miseries of human reason, which remains alone, isolated, and powerless, when-

ever it emancipates itself from the great principle of authority; unity or truth. And if our task be now more easy than in the life of Luther, how much more striking shall our words be, when we shall bring into antagonism, not the Reformation and Catholicism, as in our former work, but two principles, having the same mother, and a common genesis! At Verriers, near Pontarlier, stands a habitation whose double roof turns the waters of heaven into a twofold rivulet, which gently conducts them off, part to the ocean, and part to the Mediterranean. This is the image of that reformed word, which is lost in two different rivers; whilst-ours has but one source, and but one reservoir.

Calvin endeavoured to be like Luther, in building upon ruins. It is this work of reconstruction for which we were waiting, and here we shall exhibit him in his sterile attempts to form a liturgy, where the soul suffers as much as the body. We shall call to our aid the Calvinists themselves, to judge these forms, whose sterility sensibly afflicts them: you shall hear their lamentations in union with our own, and you shall judge, whether that fallen spirit has understood the poetry of our worship better than the truth of our gospel.

M. Paul Henry recently said, that the laws of Calvin are written, not only with blood, but with fire; and, be it remembered, the writer is a fanatical admirer of the Genevan reformer. We shall make you acquainted with the legislator; we will appreciate those institutions, which one would say, had been stolen from Decius or Valens,—a medley of buffoonery and barbarism,—where, to speak ill, “of M. Calvin,” is blasphemy; where prohibition, under pain of imprisonment, is made against wearing shoes *a la mode Bernoise*; where, to cast a side-glance at a French refugee, is an offence worthy of the lash. In the Calvinist code we find every thing belonging to Pagan legislation, anathemas, scourges, melted lead, pincers, cords for hanging up by the arm-holes, props, a sword, faggots, a crown of sulphur. The torturer is an apostate jurist, named Colladon, who continues to tear the flesh of his patients, even after the avowal of their real or supposed crime. Those who have cognizance of heresy, are laymen, who scarcely know how to read.* The denunciators are judges, under the appellation of Elders, and the security for the denunciator, is a secretary or disciple of Calvin.

After having perused the process against Servetus or Gruet, one imagines himself just out of a poetic dream like those described by Shakespeare, and says to the vision:

* Quippe illiterati homines.—Castal. Contra Calvinum.

“Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
 To feeling, as to sight? Or art thou but
 *****, a false creation,
 Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?”

But it is not a dream. The things that shall pass before your startled gaze, are funeral realities; but another than ourselves shall write the recital of them; now it shall be the Secretary of the Archives of the State Council of the Republic, and again, Calvin himself. Did we narrate them ourselves, we should be accused of calumny.

However, our great discussion with Calvin, shall be held upon the political territory. Too long has the reformation made boast of having emancipated the human intellect. It is enough to have enjoyed for thirty years the triumph, which it one day obtained, when the French Institute crowned it, in the work of Charles Villers, for having saved the world from the darkness of the Papacy. At that time, not one of the judges had studied the condition of Saxon society, when it was invaded by Protestantism. In Germany, they have lately translated a writing of M. Spazier, inserted, by fragments, in the *Revue du Nord*, in which the author proves that the reformation of Luther was equally fatal to the development of knowledge, to social progress, to popular liberty, and to Germanic unity. And M. Spazier has taken care, in a note, to intimate, “that he must be the more above all suspicion, as he is a Protestant, and has been educated amid all the prejudices, and even almost in the intolerance of Protestantism; moreover, that he has lived in the north of Germany, and the opinion that he sets forth is the fruit of conscientious meditation, and has, in no wise, been induced by exterior influences.”*

We are, therefore, about to demand from Calvin an account of those franchises which had been bestowed upon Geneva by the Episcopacy. You will see those sacred liberties, violated, destroyed, stifled amid blood; the heads of the patriots, who imagined they had escaped from the tyranny of a royal house, too Catholic to be despotic, will fall, one by one. Peter Vandel, Berthelier, Ami Perrin, Francis Favre, shall be obliged to bend before one Abel Poupin, who, in the pulpit, will call them dogs, and “scurvy fellows;” to appear before a consistory of merchant popes, in order to render an account of their faith; to solicit absolution from some apostate monk, chased from his own country for theft or debauchery; to offer honorable satisfaction to some refugee, a citizen of Geneva, by the grace of Calvin, at the same price as the ex-

* *Revue du Nord*, No. 2, première année, Avril, 1835,

ecutioner, that is, gratuitously. The wives of these patriots will be insulted in the temple, driven from the communion table, thrown into prison for having danced, or for having beheld others dance: this is written in the records: scaffolds, swords, and faggots, such is the spectacle, which, during his theocracy of twenty-four years, Calvin will exhibit to the city that had received him, expelled, as he had been, says M. Galiffe, from every country "which he sought to subject to his dominion."*

On leaving the council, the temple, the street, we shall follow Calvin to his own lodgings, at Strasbourg and Geneva; we will study the private man, and we shall see if he merits the praises of Beza. Farel and Beza—behold the only friends who will remain faithful; all the rest will withdraw, voluntary exiles, or martyrs of their opinion, to escape this billious despot, who seeks to impose his yoke upon the necks of all who approach him, to crush every thing that resists him, to blast all that is opposed to him, whether men or doctrines. From this absolute apostle of selfishness, we will demand, what he has done with Ochino and Gentilis?

The biographer of Calvin has a beautiful part to perform! What matters it that the reader peruses his work with prejudices, opposition, or malevolent instincts? The historian is not under the necessity to say: this is a true and faithful narrative. The clerks of the courts of justice do not lie; and we write under their dictation. Thus Calvin, in all the phases of his life—Calvin, a young man at the schools of Paris; Calvin at Geneva, with Farel and Froment, when the germ of reform is being developed and ripening; Calvin banished, at Strasbourg, taking part in the religious discussions of the Diets of Worms, Frankfort, and Ratisbon; Calvin, returned from exile, theocrat, theologian, legislator, in all his contests with the representatives of free-will—with Bolsec, Castalion, Gentilis, Servetus, Gruet; and with the enthusiastic apostles of national franchises—Ameaux, Peter Ami, Francis Favre, Berthelier; Calvin, in fine, contending with authority represented by Paul III., the Sorbonne, and the clergy of Lyons:—This is our whole work.

In the *History of Luther*, it was our idea, to vindicate the memory of those intelligences, who devoted themselves to the defense of authority. In the biography of Calvin, we have desired to prove that the refugee of Noyon was fatal to civilization, to the arts, and to civil and religious liberty.

* Lettre a un Protestant.

Still, however, we must avow that we have not told the whole truth: but it was not for the want of courage to do so. Men of lively faith and high intelligence, among others, M. de Bonald, had blamed us for having, in our *History of Luther*, reproduced certain pages, transparent even to nudity. We imagined ourselves still in that Catholic Germany, the land of free speech: We were mistaken. They shall not here have occasion for the same reproach; we have been forced to show ourselves more chaste than the reformer. When we find his language too free, we will make him speak Latin. We shall not do violence to the text; Calvin has been his own translator.

We know not how to thank the critics, for the good will they have exhibited, in their account of our first work. This work is the sequel of the one we have published; may it be received with the same indulgence! While composing the biography of the Saxon monk, we collected the materials for the history of Calvin. There is not in Germany or France, a literary depot which we have not visited. Gotha, Berne, Geneva, have furnished us a great number of the reformer's letters, in part inserted in the German work of M. Paul Henry. For the first time, we reprint entire the epistle of Calvin to Farel, (1545,) regarding Servetus, the existence of which has been so long contested, and which we found among the manuscripts of the Royal Library of Paris. Some pieces in verse and prose, published in the sixteenth century, have been furnished us by Lyons and Dijon; some German pamphlets, on the dogmatic discussions of the reformation and of Protestantism, by Mayence and Cologne. At Bale, Berlin and Darmstadt, we found many curious facts, in the literary and scientific journals and reviews; and in Schroeckh, Plank and Muller, some profound estimates of men and events.

Admiration and affection for Catholicity, the principle of all true liberty, form the complex sentiment which has inspired this history.*

* We can affirm that, for the composition of this work, we have consulted more than a thousand volumes. We have given references to these works, in the progress of our history.

LIFE OF CALVIN.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST YEARS OF CALVIN.—1509—1529.

Birth of Calvin.—His parents.—His Father, Gerard, destines him for the study of Theology.—The family of the Mommors.—Calvin at Paris, in the house of his uncle Richard.—Mathurin Cordier.—Farel.—Return to Noyon.

ON the 10th of July, in the year 1509, John Calvin* was born, at Noyon, in the house where, at present, hangs the sign of the stag, and which his father had purchased at the wheat-market. He was baptised at St. Godbert's; the canon, John de Vatines, was his God-father.—“I retain my baptism,” did Calvin frequently say to Beza, “but I renounce the chrism.”†

“His father, Gerard, a native of Pont-l'Évêque, an ardent spirit, and greatly skilled in the cunning and intricacies of the law, was wanting neither in diligence nor invention, but pushed himself forward in business, and was very meddlesome. He was apostolical notary, fiscal agent, scribe in the ecclesiastical court, secretary of the bishop, and promoter of the chapter.”

“Gerard had two wives, the first of whom was named Jeanne-le-Franc, a native of Cambrai, and the daughter of a tavern-keeper, who lived retired at Noyon. She had a fine person, but was of sufficiently poor reputation. By her, Gerard had six children, four sons and two daughters. The eldest, was named Charles, the second, John, the third, Anthony, and the name of the fourth is unknown, as he died very young. The two daughters were married in the Catholic church, and one of them dwelt at Noyon, and had a daughter married to Luke

* The forefathers of Calvin wrote their name *Cauvin*.—Calvin had several pseudo-names.

† Beza. *Life of Calvin*, Geneva. 1657. p. 5.

de Molle, a furbisher of armour, who lived at Compeigne. From this marriage were born two children; Anthony and Mary. Anthony, who pursued the avocation of his father, died at Noyon, a good Catholic, on the third Sunday of Advent, in the year 1614. Mary became the wife of a man named Bruyant, of Compeigne, and had a son, Adrien, at one time, the landlord of *the Silver Lion*, at Chartres, near Mount Héry. Anthony de Molle left two children, Luke and Mary. Luke was a surgeon in the suburb of St. Germain-des-Pres; Mary became the wife of John Fauquet, a baker of the city of Noyon.*

For these details we are indebted to the abbé James le Vasseur, canon and dean of the church of Noyon, who extracted them from the registers of the cathedral. He adds in a whisper :

“Damoiselle Jeanne de Bure, femme d’honorable homme feu maistre
 ” Claude Jeuffrin; Françoise Maresse, mere de M. Vincent Wiard,
 ” president au grenier à sel, et Helene Hauet, femme de feu M. Wal-
 ” lerand de Neufville, orfèvre à Noyon, la plus ancienne de la ville,
 ” naguere vivante, ont plusieurs fois déclaré avoir entendu rapporter a
 ” leur meres, qu’elles etaient presentes a l’accouchement de la mere de
 ” Jean Calvin, lorsqu’elle Penfanta, et qu’avant la sortie de l’enfant,
 ” sortit du ventre de la mere une quantité de grosses mouches, presage
 ” du bruit que Jean devait faire dans la chrétienté.”†

Nearly about this period, a child, destined to fill the world with trouble, was wandering on the highway of Magdebourg, begging his bread from door to door, and singing the song *du bon Dieu*,‡ for each kind soul who threw him a græshen : this was Martin Luther, son of Hans Luther, a peasant of the village of Mærha, in Saxony. John Calvin was not fated to undergo such rude trials.

His father, who designed him for the study of theology,§ read the future, for he was a man of foresight and judgment.¶ The limpid and prominent eye of the child, his large forehead, his nose, modeled after the style which the ancients delighted to contemplate in their statues, his lips curled with disdain and sneers, his leaden and billious complexion, were the signs of cunning, artifice, and obstinacy. When you meet with the portrait of Luther, beside that of Calvin, in the library of Geneva, you immediately divine the mental idiosyncrasy of the two reformers. The first, with his florid face, in which the blood courses and boils; with his eagle-eye, and brilliant tints of colour quite

* Annales de l’Eglise de Noyon, par Jacques le Vasseur, in 4to. Paris, 1623. p. 1156.—“Jacques Desmay and Jacques le Vasseur, Doctors of the Sorbonne, have given a very exact journal of the life of Calvin, up to the time of his departure from the kingdom, and that too, taken from the registers of Noyon”—Drelincourt.

† We must leave this curious statement, respecting the circumstances of Calvin’s birth, under its French dress. We should not know how to set it before the world in English.

‡ Mathesius: In seinem vierzehnten Jahre kam er nach Magdeburg in die Schule. Allda ist dieser Knabe nach Brod gangen, und hat sein *panem propter Deum* geschrien.

§ Theologiæ me pater tenellum adhuc puerum destinaverat.

¶ Erat is Gerardus non parvi judicii et concilii homo. Beza.

Venetian, personifies popular eloquence, brutal force, and lyrical enthusiasm;—his place is the tribune, the forum, the tavern. The other, with his anchorite face, emaciated by vigils or disease, his faded flesh, his unquiet air, his cadaverous hue, his prominent bones piercing the skin,* will represent obstinate sophistry and dry argument. He is the man of the school, of the temple, of the cabinet—the diplomatic theologian,—the fox, who has assumed the monk's cap, for a disguise.

Gerard Calvin was a poor man. His office of fiscal agent brought him scarcely seven hundred francs' salary, and he had to support a wife and six children; but the noble family of the Mommors came to his aid, in the hour of his distress, whenever the winter was too rigorous, bread too dear, or when Noyon was made desolate by famine. Then, all the Calvins,—father, mother, children,—took refuge under the wings of that subsidiary providence, which gave them food and raiment. It were to be wished, that John, in his attempts at literature, should call to remembrance the good pastor of Noyon, with a more tender regard. It is true, that when on the threshold of manhood, Calvin dedicated his Commentary upon Seneca, "to the holy, pious Hangest, abbé of Saint-Eloy," a member of the family of the Mommors, but this is all; and yet, in this family, besides material bread, he had found the bread of life, for which he had so great an appetite. The family of the Mommors had taken care of the soul and body of their protégée; for preceptor, they had given him the master of their own children; and with these, Calvin had opened his first Latin grammar, and, as he said himself, received the first discipline of life and learning.† It is then a Catholic roof which shelters the infancy of Calvin; it is at the hearth of the Mommors that he warms himself, at their table that he is fed, with their children that he plays and studies; it is, as he says himself, from their books that he sips the first drops of "the milk" of learning. And one day, when the images and associations of childhood shall be blotted from his mind, when he shall have become powerful, exalted, and when a whole nation shall listen to his voice, he will forget the manna of Noyon and the hand that distributed it; and, in his puritan humour, he will damn all who shall have adored Baal,—Baal, that is the God invoked by his preceptor, the abbé Hangest, and to whom, each morning, prayers were addressed by his fellow disciples, the children of the Mommors, in that house of charity, which, in his eyes, will be nothing more than "a frightful nest of papists."

The teacher in the Mommor family was a skillful man, who gave to his pupil all that he possessed himself; a phraseology, abundant, but unrelieved; an idiom, made up of obsolete provincialisms, and coloured with all the literary glories of the epoch, Greek, Latin and French;—an instrument without edge or point, which the scholar might use

* *Colore subpallido et nigricante, oculis ad mortem usque limpidis, quique ingenii sagacitatem testarentur.* Bezà. Hist. Calv.

† *Verum etiam magis, quod domi vestræ puer educatus, iisdem tecum studiis initiatus, primam vitæ et litterarum disciplinam, familiæ vestræ nobilissimam acceptam refero.* Calv. præf. in Senecam, ad sanctiss. et Sapientissimum præsulem Claudium Hangestium, abbatem Divi Eligii.

against a college pedant, but never against a man of the people. Add to this, some shreds of Latin prosody and pœsy, and you have all the literary treasures obtained by Calvin, while in this family; yet, for a child, this was a great deal. As we have already seen, he was intended for the ecclesiastical state: by means of some hundreds of francs, presented to him by his benefactors, he purchased, on the 15th of May, 1521, the prebend of the chapel of *Notre Dame de la Gesine*.

He was then twelve years old. "His body was dry and slender; but he already exhibited a sharp and vigorous intellect, prompt at repartee, bold in attack; he was a great faster, whether he did so for the good of his health, or to arrest the fumes of that megrim which continually besieged him, or to improve his memory, and keep his mind more free for study and composition. He spoke but little; his language was serious, and always to the point. He entered seldom into company, and sought retirement."*

The task of the Noyon professor was accomplished, and Calvin departed for Paris, at that time the great rendezvous of the choice spirits of the provinces. Its learned chairs were occupied by literati, who enjoyed an European reputation: Aleandro, having come from Venice, with his head full of Greek, Latin, Syriac and Chaldaic—the treasures which he had amassed in the printing-office of Andrew d'Asola, where also, with the aid of certain students, he had collected the materials for his Greek lexicon,—was lecturing there with credit and eclat.

The Sorbonne had just come forth, glorious, from a struggle with the apostle of German reform, after having condemned most of the propositions of the Saxon monk: but its triumph was doomed to be cruelly expiated! Melancthon, whose name was known to all the learned of France, delivered the Parisian Sorbonnists over to the gross ridicule of the Germans. His satire, which had traversed the Rhine, and which was exhibited in secret, electrified the students. Alciati, then professor at Bourges, wept for joy while perusing it, and compared it with the best comedies of Aristophanes. The name of Luther had suddenly resounded through the colleges of the capital. His treatise, *the Captivity of Babylon*, had been translated into French, by Louis Berquin, the friend of Farel; and one morning, all the students in law and theology, had learned that the Pope was the Anti-christ announced by the prophets; that the monks were the acolytes of satan; the Cardinals, the porters of hell; the priests, debauchees; the doctors, asses! Now, imagine the dolorous sensation which must have been felt by a city like Paris, quite full of priests, bishops, cardinals, monks and Sorbonnists! The Sorbonne went immediately to the quarter St. Jacques, to awake an old doctor, Jose Clitowe, a pupil of James le-Fèvre, who set to work to compose a treatise against the Saxon monk, which met with great success. We are indebted to Beza for these details.†

* Florimond de Ræmond ou Remond, *Histoire de la naissance, progrès et decadence de l'hérésie de ce siècle*. Rouen in 4to. 1622. liv. 7. ch. 10.

† "Luther having commenced to write against the Indulgences, which were preached in the crusade of 1517, went still farther in the chase, and published his treatise entitled: *The Captivity of Babylon*. This caused the Sorbonne to

Scholasticism was at that epoch queen of the world! To create a sensation, she had assumed every costume: the red robe of the cardinal, the cape of the bishop, the priest's soutan, the monk's frock, the judge's ermine, the professor's square cap, the warrior's coat of mail, and even the petticoat of the ladies. Margaret, the sister of Francis I., in her hotel, fabricated the fashions, poesy, dogmas, and libertine stories. She sang:

La mort est chose heureuse
 Al'ame qui de luy est amoureuse (Dieu.)
 O mort! par vous J'espere tant d'honneur,
 Qu' a deux genoux, en cry, soupir et pleur,
 Je vous requiers, venez hativement
 Et mettez fin a mon gemissement.
 O heureuses ames, filles tres saintes,
 En la cité de Jerusalem jointes,
 Baissez vos yeux par misération,
 Et regardez ma désolation, etc.*

Having finished the canticle, she read for the duchess d' Etampes, the adulterous or incestuous amours of certain Parisian citizens, or perhaps, of some provincial nun, or else regaled her director, William Roussel, with a satire against the Sorbonne, which, to the great scandal of her daughters and chambermaids, had been bold enough to prohibit the *Miroir de l'ame pecheresse*: "A princess," says Beza, "of an excellent

condemn him as a heretic, in the year 1521, and finally to write a book against him, entitled: *Anti-Luther*, the author of which was a person named Jose Clitowe, a disciple of Jacques Fabri, but not of the same opinions with his master." Beza. *Hist. Eccl. des Eglises reformées au Royaume de France, depuis 1521, jusq'u'n 1563.* Anvers, 1580. 3 vols. in 8vo. t. 1. p. 5.

* At different epochs, Margaret wrote: 1st. *Les Nouvelles de la reine de Navarre*; 2d. *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses, avec quatre mysteres on comédies pieuses, et deux farces*; 3d. *Le Triomphe del'Agneau*; 4th. *Des chansons spirituelles*; 5th. *Le Miroir de l'ame pécheresse*. For her device, she had at first chosen a marigold, with this motto: *non inferiora secutus*: afterwards, a lilly with a daisy, and: *Mirandum natura opus*.

Here are some verses of a work censured by the Sorbonne.

Mary says to Jesus:

O quel repos de mère et filz ensemble!
 Mon doux enfant, mon dieu, honneur et gloire
 Soit a vous seul et a chacun notoire
 De ce qu'il plaist a votre humilité,
 Moy, moins que rien, toute nichilité,
 Mere nommer: plus est le cas estrange,
 Et plus en ha vostre bonté louenge. (1)

(1) *Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses, tres illustre royne de Navarre, Lyon, 1547, in 8vo. p. 34, 51, 59 68.*

Mr. Genin has endeavoured to vindicate the memory of the queen of Navarre, from the charge of heterodoxy, brought by Beda, against *the mirror of the sinful soul*. See the notice published at the head of *Margaret's Letters*. Paris, 8vo. 1841. *Le Semeur*, a Protestant journal, claims this princess, as a glorious conquest of the doctrines of the reformation.

understanding, and whom God at that time raised up, in order, as far as possible to frustrate the cruel designs of the Chancellor of France, A. Duprat, and the rest, who were urging the King to oppress those whom they called heretics.* This chancellor Duprat, an inflexible magistrate, and a man of profound foresight and exquisite logic, had committed the grievous wrong of seeing through the schemes of two ladies, the queen of Navarre and the duchess d'Etampes, who desired, as they averred, to convert Francis I., † "because the severity of the laws of the church, and especially the restraint of confession, embarrassed their consciences." ‡

The court of the king of France was the asylum and rendezvous of all the glories of the epoch, and particularly of the glories of literature, whom this prince both loved and patronized. There, was found William Budé, "who, in his erudition, was so fortunate as to meet with a king of excellent mind, and a great lover of polite letters, to whom the writer dedicated that fine work, entitled: *Commentaries on the Greek language*; at the same time persuading the prince, that the three languages ought to be allied together, in the schools and universities of his kingdom, and that he should erect for them a magnificent college." §

▲ JESUS SAUVEUR ET JUSTIFICATEUR.

O mon Sauveur par Foy Je suis plantée,
Et par amour en vous jointe et entée.
Quelle union, quelle bienheureté,
Puisque par Foy J'ai de vous seureté!

Donc monseigneur, qui me condamnera:
Et quel juge jamais me damnera,
Quand celui-la, qui m'est donné pour juge
Est mon espoux, mon pere, mon refuge?

Jesus Christ qui est mon redempteur
Qui par sa mort nous a restitué
Notre heritage, et s'est constitué
Notre advocat, devant Dieu présentant
Les merites: qui sont et valent tant.
Que ma grande depte en est si-surmontée
Que pour rien n'est en jugement comptée.

Quand vos vertus, mon Sauveur, presentez
Certes assez justice contentez,
Et sur la croix par votre passion
En avez fait la satisfaction. . . .

Moy donques ver de terre, moins que riens
Et chienne morte, ordure de fiens,
Cesser doy bien parler de l'altitude
De ceste amour.

* Beza. Hist. Eccl. t. 1. 5.

† Und sic Sowohl als die Maitresse des Königs, die Herzogin von Etampes, führten den Knöig fast bis zum evangelischen Glauben. Das Leben Johann Calvins. von Paul Henry. Hamburg. 1835. t. 1. p. 18.

‡ Florimond de Remond. liv. viii. chap. iii. p. 347.

§ Theodore Beza. Hist. eccl. t. 1. p. 5.

There, too, were found John du Bellay, who cherished Horace with an affection so ardent, that he placed him under his pillow; and Ramus, destined to perish so miserably at St. Bartholomew; and Scaliger, whose name is a sufficient eulogy; and Melchior Wolmar, one of those lawyers whom Luther, at the bar-room in Wittenberg, pursued with his biting ironies; "Verbal critics," said he, "who would remake the Lord's Prayer." You beheld there, also, William Cop, Peter de l' Etoile, "who both meddled with the Greek, and slightly with the Hebrew, to the great annoyance of the Sorbonne," says Beza, maliciously, "which was opposed to all progress, with so great fury, that, to listen to our masters, the study of the Greek is one of the greatest heresies in the world." A gratuitous calumny, this; for most of the Sorbonnists were at the same time versed in both the Greek and Hebrew.* Do you not admire the ways of God, who, as Beza testifies, raises up a lady gallant to reform religion, and withdraws understanding from men like the Sorbonnists, who have grown gray in meditating on the Scriptures!

Theologians thronged forward to give further splendour to this array of humanists, poets and literati. Especially, is to be remarked, James le Fevre d'Etaples, who had quite recently published his commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, and who, in the silence of his retirement, was then preparing his French translation of the Holy Bible. At that very moment, Luther announced that the bible had been a proscribed book among Catholics, until his advent; and master John Mathesius, a disciple of the Saxon monk, was uttering lamentations over the chains by which the papacy shackled christendom, in withholding from it the word of God.† This is an abominable falsehood, which is sufficiently refuted by Cajetan's commentaries on the Psalms, by fragments of the sacred books, translated at Venice, Rome and Florence, and by the version of the bible, published at Nuremberg. Among the votaries of science, were distinguished William Farel, Arnold Roussel and Gerard Roussel, whom a bishop of Meaux, Monseigneur Bricconnet, had summoned to his diocess, that they might labour to diffuse a relish for polite learning. This prelate, animated with the best intentions, was deceived in the selection of his instruments: the greater number of these theologians had become infatuated at Strasbourg, with heterodox notions, concerning liberty, grace, justification, works, and had come forth converts, some to the Lutheran idea, others, to Zwinglianism, and the rest to the opinions of Bucer. Not one of them possessed an uniform symbol, and all dreamed of a reform of Catholicism, by an immolation, of authority to individual sense, of tradition to private interpretation, of positive dogma to figurative meaning, of conscience, enlight-

* See *l'écrit de la Sorbonne*, on the subject of the dispute between Luther and Eck at Leipsic. Luther, before his condemnation, appealed to the Sorbonne: the mother and nurse of learning. t.] 1. of his correspondence, published by de Wette.

† Historien von des Ehrwürdigen in Gott seligen M. Luther Anfang, Lehre sc durch Magister Mathesius, 1627. p. 28. cited in the edition of Arnim. 1827.

ened by the instruction of pastors, to the capricious illumination of the Holy Spirit.

It was into the midst of these theologians, agitated by doubt, incredulity, the love of novelty, and pride, that the young Calvin was soon to be thrown! It was in the midst of religious factions of every hue and colour, that he was one day to search for truth!

He went to the house of his uncle Richard, a locksmith, near the church of St. Germain l' Auxerrois.* Richard Calvin was an honest workman, who, at his own cost, fed and lodged his brother's son for many years. The youth had a little room looking out upon the church, whose chants roused him from slumber each morning. The two sons of the Mommors, who had accompanied their fellow-disciple, left him at the threshold of the locksmith's door, and went to lodge in the street *St. Jacques*. They met daily at the college de la Marche, at the lecture of the professor, and on Sundays and festivals, at the table of some noble seignior, allied to the Mommor family, or else in the gardens of the gymnasium, where they walked together, and rehearsed from memory the fine things which they had learned during the week. Richard Calvin, proud of the success of his nephew,—for the child was successful,—continued to go every morning to the mass of his parish, to abstain from flesh on Fridays and Saturdays, to tell his beads, to fast on the ember days: practices at which the proud student scoffed and laughed. For, at fourteen, John had already read some of Luther's books, and doubt glided into his soul, then disquiet, afterwards, anguish. He envied the repose enjoyed by the poor artisan, but this repose fled from him. That interior peace, however, was not a hidden secret; and his uncle would have willingly revealed it to him: to believe, to love, and to pray, was the whole science of the locksmith.

The professor of the college de la Marche was Mathurin Cordier,† who, of the writers of ancient Rome, made his friends, his hosts, his gods:—"a very good personage," says Beza, "of great simplicity, and very exact in his profession; he since has passed his days in teaching children, as well at Paris, as at Nevers, Bordeaux, Geneva, Neuchatel, Lausanne, and finally again at Geneva, where, in this year, 1564, he died, at the age of 85, while instructing the youth of the sixth class."‡ A veritable revolutionist at heart, who, after having introduced a salutary disorder into the science of instruction, would have desired to treat the catechism as a theory. In the chair, he was elegant and flowery; his style, slightly familiar, savoured of the antique; a poet, after finishing his lecture, he descended from the Greek or Roman Olympus, and began to extemporize hymns to the Lord. His verses, which, perhaps, Sadolet might not have disavowed, did not always exhale that perfume of orthodoxy,

* *Hæc causa fuit cur pater eum quam doctissimum fieri cuperet, mitteretque Lutetiam, et Ricardo fratri commendaret, in vico divi Germani, Altissiodorensis, fabro ferrario. Pap. Masso. Elogia, p. 410. Parisiis, in 8vo. 1638.*

† *Maturinus Corderius spectatæ tui probitatis, tum eruditionis vir. Beza. His colloquies have long been in the hands of pupils. He tried his skill in French poetry, by writing spiritual hymns, of about the same value as the canticles of Marot. (Lyons, 1552.)*

‡ Beza. *Life of Calvin.*

which the learned Italian has so well understood how to combine with the pagan ambrosia. Cordier inclined towards the German novelties, because they were doctrines born yesterday, and because those who propagated them were marvelously well acquainted with the language of Homer and Virgil. As yet, he knew nothing of the works of Bembo, of Vida, and of Sadolet: his eye paused upon Bale, where Œcolampadius, Capito, Erasmus, were resuscitating antiquity, but it never traversed the Alps, to behold, at Rome, pagan statues issuing from the earth, and their recovery chanted in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. While Germany was essaying some new gloss upon a text of scripture; while, in the little letters of Hutten, she was persecuting monastic obscurity; while, at Wittenberg, she listened, in ravishment, to the commentaries of Melancthon on Aristophanes, or, at the Augustinian convent of Erfurth, became inflamed beneath the fiery words of Luther:—Melancthon, Luther, Hutten, brilliant and fatal meteors of the revival!—Italy produced a Machiaval, an annalist after the manner of Tacitus; an Ariosto, poet like Homer; a Guichardin, historian, often as warm as Salust; a Sannazar, whom Plato would not have had the strength to exile from his republic; a Michael Angelo, a Raphael, a Benvenuto Cellini—a beautiful heaven of poets, painters, sculptors, historians, jurists, orators, which each hour of the day unfolded its portals, to send forth some divinity, like that which lighted at Bourges, under the name of Alciati, to teach there the science of the law, or at the University of Paris, under that of Aleandro, to diffuse a taste for Greek literature.

This spectacle was hidden from Cordier, who was unwilling to see it, and obstinately persevered in predicting a speedy waking up of intellect, when already Italy, thanks to the papacy, could point to her epic poets.*

The professor of the college Montaigu, under whom Calvin studied dialectics, resembled the professor of La Marche, in nothing: a Spaniard by birth, he made Aristotle his idol, in spite of all the sarcasms showered upon the stagyrite,† by the learned of Germany. Among the humanists of doubtful faith, it was then the fashion to ridicule Aristotle, by whom, in the schools, authority was represented, as in the Catholic world, it was symbolized by the papacy. Besides, Aristotle must have been a favourite of Calvin, who was captious, fond of retort, and of syllogisms, which Luther left behind him, “as Abraham did his ass.” The scholar of Noyon could feel no love for Plato: his imagination was too cold to be captivated by the poetic reveries of this moralist.

It was about this period, that Calvin first met and became acquainted with Farel, that puritan of the reformation, who would have desired to establish the kingdom of God, by aid of fire and sword, and whose lips Œcolampadius essayed, in vain, to tinge with honey; “a lying, viru-

* Our readers will allow us to refer them to the chapter of our Life of Luther, entitled, *Leo the Tenth*, where we have shown the influence upon letters, exercised by this Pope.

† *Hispanum habuit doctorem non indoctum. A quo exculto ipsius ingenio, quod ei jam tum acerrimum erat, ita profecit, ut cæteris sodalibus in grammatices curriculo relictis, ad dialectices et aliarum quas vocant artium studium promoveretur.* Beza. vit. Calv.

lent, seditious soul,"* as described by Erasmus, who had a right to know him well. Farel, a native of Gap, and the son of a notary, called Fareau, visited Bale. "Zwingle, the burning and shining candle of Zurich; Haller, the vessel of election of Berne, and Œcolampadius, the lamp of the house of God, welcomed him warmly, and recognized him as a brother."† He was engaged in parading his vagabond proselytism through Switzerland, when he arrived at Bale, and demanded a discussion. Louis Berus, a renowned theologian of the University, objected to this, under pretext that the principles of the stranger savoured of heresy. Farel posted his propositions at the college gate: the grand vicar, and the rector of the University, forbid any to assist at the dispute, under penalty of excommunication. The Senate took the alarm, imagined its authority in danger, and commanded all—theologians, curés, students,—to assist at the religious tournament; at the same time declaring, that all who should not be present, should forfeit their right to the use of the mills and ovens, or to purchase their meat and vegetables at the city markets.‡ Therefore, on the fifteenth of February, all dealers in theology, at least all who dreaded a death by starvation, were at their posts. Farel defended his thesis; reviled, calumniated, grew angry, and was compelled to leave the city, which he cursed in his wrath.

Calvin was then just entering upon his nineteenth year. On the 27th of September, 1527,§ he was invested with the charge of Marteville: being only tonsured.|| Some years later, his father, who was esteemed by the bishop, succeeded in procuring for his son an exchange of Marteville for Pont-l-Eveque, "the parish in which his grandfather had his domicile, and where his son Gerard had been baptised. Thus did they summon the wolf to keep watch over the sheep."¶ It is still the good abbé Claude d'Hangest who presents him to his charge: the pupil is now grown up; he is a man; and yet he dreams not of blessing the hand, which thus, for the future, secures him bread. He feels no other joy, than that of a proud child, who, by means of a single thesis, has become curé of a parish.** Search his books or his letters, and you will not discover one word of affection or gratitude for this new bounty of the house of Mommors! An icy heart, which has no memory for anything but an insult or an injury. Oh! how much we prefer the character of Luther to that of Calvin! With the Saxon monk, every thing is a passion, even gratitude itself. In the midst of his triumphs, quite sufficient to intoxicate a youthful brain, he still cherishes

* Habetis in propinquo novum Evangelistam Pharellum quo nihil vidi unquam mendacius, virulentius, aut seditiosius. Er. ep. xxx. lib. xviii. p. 798.

† Ancillon. vie de Farel, p. 197-198.

‡ Melch. Adam in vitis Theol. exter. Francof. ad Mœnum, 1705. fol. 113-114.

§ Moreri, Article *Calvin*.

|| Calvin never was a priest, and was not allied to the clergy, except in virtue of his tonsure. Bayle. *Art. Calvin*. Quo loco (Pont-l-Eveque) Constat J. ipsum Calvinum antequam Gallia excederet, nullis alioqui pontificiis ordinibus unquam initiatum, aliquot ad populum conciones habuisse. Beza.

¶ Desmay, Acts of the Chapter of Noyon, cited by Drelincourt, p. 168.

** Paul Henry, lib. cit. t. 1. p. 24.

tender memories for Cotta, from whom he received his first alms. This female image, which, now and again, glides before us, and takes its stand between the Pope and the doctor, possesses an ineffable charm, and seems greatly to soften down the outbursts of the reformer. Florimond de Remond was right: "Calvin, after having lived at the expense of the crucifix, forgot who had fed and educated him.*"

He returned to Noyon, and sometimes preached at Pont-l-Eveque.† In his letters, Calvin does not tell us of his parting with his college chums, his preceptor, Mathurin Cordier, and his uncle, the locksmith. Here would have been a tender scene for the descriptive pen of Luther, and the monk of Wittenberg would not have let it pass unrecorded!

About this time, we are told, Calvin entered into communication with his relative, Robert Olivetan, who was then labouring at his French translation of the Bible:—one of those spirits of doubt and pride, whom Dante places in hell. . . .

Ne fur fedeli a Dio, ma per se foro

* * * * *

Misericordia et giustitia gli sdegna-

Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda e passa.

Inferno. Cant. 3.

* Florimond de Remond, Histoire de l'hérésie de ce siècle.

† Beza.

CHAPTER II.

THE UNIVERSITIES.

The Student at the University.—Renting of chambers.—When he must pay the rent.—His right to eject all renters who make a noise.—Is not bound to render service to the State.—Costume.—His books not seizable.—Civil rights of students.—They cannot be excommunicated.—Student's prayer.—Rebuffy's advice.

CALVIN is about to become the inhabitant of a new world, whither we must follow him. In the sixteenth century, the students of the universities constituted a distinct society, governed at once by the canon law, the civil law, and local customs. Collected from all parts of France, they brought with them to the city, to which they resorted for study, manners, a language, a costume, quite peculiar, and the form of which could be changed but slowly. The student of that epoch, in some things, resembles the student of the nineteenth century: both, careless, noisy, quarrelsome: with good hearts, but bad judgments. Religious and political opposition, which at that time could not use books and journals as its organs, had taken refuge in the schools. The student was then a living ballad, censuring throne and altar, monarch and Pope. In Saxony, when Luther's voice resounded from Wittenberg, the students rushed to the college, gathered up their books, and made a bonfire of them, before the church of All-Saints, imagining themselves forever disenthralled from the yoke of their preceptors. In France, they welcomed with infantile joy, the first Lutheran missionaries, who preached the abolition of the law of abstinence on Fridays and Saturdays. Protected by popes and kings, our students, in their civil and religious life, enjoyed privileges of which they were jealous, and which could not have been wrested from them with impunity. The picture of these scholastic franchises has been drawn by Peter Rebuffy,* who was professor at Montpellier, at the time Calvin went to study at Paris. The examination of these immunities, granted to the university students, during so many centuries, would, it seems to us, be a curious moral study. Precious are these images, which carry us back to an epoch, when the human mind was marching onward to utter confusion.

We are at Paris, where the student seeks for a room, nearly always in the Latin quarter, convenient to the college which he frequents. As

* Petri Rebuffi Monspensulani jurisconsulti, in privilegia et immunitates universitatum, doctorum, magistrorum et studiosorum, commentationes enucleatissimæ. Anturpiæ, 1583, in 4to.

seen as he has announced his title, the proprietor is compelled to rent; and in case of need, the student can force the proprietor to dislodge an old renter, for his accommodation.*

The student, on giving security, can likewise compel his habitual landlord to hire him a horse, according to this maxim: "The host, who has put up the sign of an inn, is bound to fulfil the duties thereof."† If the horse, beaten with rods, and not with the stirrup-leather, dies under the flagellation, he must pay its value: but, if for want of fodder, the animal has become lean and lank, he is bound for no damages, according to the text in *Animalia; C. de curso publico; lib. 12.*, and the opinion of Platea, thus ruled:—The student is not obliged to stuff a hired horse with fodder, seeing that his income is very slight.‡ If he can give no security, he must employ a guide or runner.

If the owner of a house demanded too much from the student for his rooms, the latter appealed to the rector, who fixed the rent.§ At Montpellier, in virtue of a privilege accorded to the city, in the month of January, 1322, by king Charles IV., it was the judge of the *parvum sigillum*, who fixed the price to be paid by the student. At Paris, the amount was decided by two magistrates, selected by the University, assisted, if there was need, by two citizens, in virtue of the bull of Gregory IX., given at St. John of Lateran, on the 6th of the Calends of May, and deposited in the archives of this learned body.

But when must the student pay his rent? If there be a contract, the act obliges; in default of a contract, custom makes the rule.

Should the proprietor, for important motives, need his whole house, he cannot eject the student to whom he has rented rooms, for the simple and apparent reason—that in cities, where there are universities, it is often very difficult for students to procure lodgings; that they ought not, in seeking rooms, to be made to lose their time, destined for study; and because every good citizen should consult the good of his country, rather than his own private comfort and convenience.

Innocent IV., by a bull given at Lyons, on the second of the nones of March, in the second year of his pontificate, had, under penalty of excommunication, prohibited any owner of a house, to rent a room which was already occupied by a student or a doctor.

Was the student annoyed in his studies, by the hammer of a forger, the wheel of a turner, or the song of a workman, dwelling under the same roof with him, he could procure the dismissal of his troublesome neighbour, as we are informed by Barthole and Platea,|| and as was effected by Peter Rebuffy, in the case of a weaver (*textor*), who lodged near the college du Vergier, at Montpellier, and who, rising each

* Qui si non inveniant domos, possunt compellere habitantes ad illis locandum. Guil. de Cugno.

† Nam hospes, postquam signa hospitii erexit, cogitur hospites recipere. Joc. Ruffus in 1. cursum c. de curso publico. lib. 12. arg. 4.

‡ Nam studentes non solent equos locatos avena pinquefacere, cum modicum sit eis.

§ Panormit, in lib. de locat.

|| In lib. 1. in line. Et solut. mat. in lib. 2.; c. qui ætate lib. 10.; lib. 1. de Excusat. artif.

morning with the cock, sang so loud as to deafen all the professors.* This privilege of ejection reached also the manipulator of offensive odours, which might impair the health of the student, according to the precept: *Non licet alicui immittere in alienum quicquam, quamvis in suo possit facere quod libet*,† and—because, were it the devil himself, we have the right to prevent him from troubling us, or from poisoning us in our lodgings, as confirmed by Barba, in C. 1. *de prolat.*, provided, always, a valet could be found bold enough to announce the prohibition to the archfiend;‡ and no forger, no turner, no exciter of unclean odours, shall be able to stay the sentence, which shall be carried into execution in spite of opposition or appeal.

The student's father is obliged, in the beginning of the scholastic year, to pay at least one month's board for his son, who, at his father's death, cannot be held to account for the sums he has received, nor to charge the amount upon his portion of the succession, because the father is presumed to have given this gratuitously. If, during the progress of his studies, the student have contracted debts for the interest of science, he is not obliged, after the death of the head of the family, to pay them out of his own share, but only to satisfy his creditor at the expense of the common inheritance.

The student should listen to his master in silence, and not disturb the lecture, by making noises with his feet, hands, and voice, as, unfortunately, says professor Rebuffy, too frequently happened at Toulouse and Orleans, where the students are so turbulent, that, when two of them have resolved to disturb the class, the professor is compelled to leave his chair.§

Though a father may whip his son, place him under arrest, or put him in prison for more than twenty hours, even till he solicits pardon; doctors, the fathers of students, cannot, however, buffet them, because, for one blow, the students would return four ||; and moreover, for the correction of youth, mild treatment is the most efficacious.

Under no pretext, shall the student be distracted from his studies for the service of the state. On the 23d of February, in the year 1345, Philip VI. enacted the following ordinance:

“That, of the said masters and students, no goods whatever be taken for our garrisons of war, our hotel, or that of our loved companion, the queen, or for our children, or for any others whatever of our lineage, our lieutenants, captains, constables, or others desiring or pretending to have care of our kingdom, under what authority soever, but that the said masters and students be left in peaceable possession of their goods.”

The student had a right to refuse for examiner any doctor whom he suspected: the chancellor and deans were bound to see that no precep-

* Petri Rebuffi in privilegia et immunitates universitatum, etc. p. 11.

† L. Sicut § aristo. ff. servit., vendic.

‡ Etiam si esset diabolus qui potest prohiberi ne strepitum faciat in domo sua si tamen inveniretur serviens qui hanc illi inhibitionem facere auderet.

§ Rebuffus. p. 124.

|| Quia forte ipsi, cum sint jam magni, redderent suis doctoribus quadruplum.

tor, resting under the weight of legitimate suspicion, should enter the hall of examination. The examination must be conscientious, and mild, rather than severe: "*qui nimis emungit, elicit sanguinem.*"

Professors, beadles, and college messengers, were prohibited to receive dinners from students who were commencing their course, even in those universities where a contrary custom prevailed, as at Montpellier.

In the universities, and particularly at Toulouse, Poitiers, and at Cahors, it was the custom for masters to receive no *salary* from students that were poor, and they should even remit the whole sum which such students were required to pay. At Bourges, when a poor person had a suit against the crown, the king was obliged to employ two advocates, one for himself and the other for his adversary,* that the case might be no fiction.

The student was at that epoch compared with the poor, *parum habens*, who returned to his home with an empty purse.

Non unquam gravis ære domum mihi dextra redibat.

In the year 1295, on the Tuesday after Trinity, Philip the Fair exempted the masters and students of the University of Paris from all state imposts, even for the expenses of war.†

Students had the right to wear short garments, *vestes breves*, and of any colour which suited their fancy. In traveling, they could carry arms at their side. At Avignon and Montpellier, even the clergy wore red shoes, *caligas rubras*.

"We professors," said Rebuffy, "judge the intellect of our pupils from their costume.

A feather in the hat, the sign of levity.

Grave dress, mark of *semi wisdom*.

Brilliant robes, sign of heedlessness.

Dirty garments, sign of gluttony."

"Do you desire now to know the fashion proper for a student? Ask Simachus, the philosopher, and he will tell you that his robe should not sweep the dust, and if it trails upon the ground, the mud should not be seen on it; he ought therefore to choose a gray colour; gray denotes hope."

In case of grave offence towards a student, the judge could investigate it officially. For the protection of students, St. Louis, in the month of August, in the year 1229, passed an ordinance running thus:

"Let not our overseer, or officer of justice, lay his hand upon a student, or send him to prison, unless the offence be one requiring a prompt repression: then the officer shall arrest him without a blow, if the guilty person do not defend himself: he shall be placed under the authority of the ecclesiastical tribunal, which shall confine him until satisfaction be made us."‡

* Quod si pauper habet litem cum rege et non habeat unde faciat expensas, rex administrat advocatum ut veritas causæ servetur.

† Rebuffus, 148.

‡ Et tunc justitia nostra arrestabit eum in eodem loco sine percussione, nisi se defenderit, et reddet eum ecclesiasticæ justitiæ quæ custodire debet pro satisfaciendo nobis.

The books of a student, like the arms of a soldier, could not be seized. The creditor could not take them as a pledge, but must wait until the student had completed his course. "For," this privilege said, "it is important for the student to have books to improve and strengthen his intellectual faculties. Society is interested in his studies, and, consequently, so is the creditor, as a member of the community. He ought then to have patience, for the sake of the public good, and wait till the student shall have finished his course:" &c. What is deferred is not lost.*

The Jews, who, in many parts of the kingdom, had the right to keep stolen goods, which had been sold to them, or placed in pawn, until claimed by the lawful owner, who had to pay what had been advanced, did not enjoy the same privilege where students were concerned, who had been robbed of their books by some domestic. The book being recognised, the student took it away without any compensation to the one who had bought it, or who held it in pawn. Severe prohibitions were made to all boarding-house keepers, against taking books as the price for dinners or repasts.

As wives, in right of dower, had preference over every creditor, with regard to the property of their husbands, so in every distribution of a debtor's effects, the student had the same advantage, and that in behalf of the professors and rectors of colleges, whose pay must be assured to them.

The student enjoyed all the civil rights of the city in which he was studying, whether he had a domicile there or not; by this privilege it was intended to rescue him from the action of the common law, which allowed a citizen, even for the claim of one cent, to imprison a stranger, and detain him until he had given bail.†

The student was dispensed, from standing sentinel at the city gates, even in time of war or pestilence, from mounting guard, or from other duties imposed on citizens, in virtue of an immunity conceded by Charles VI., at Pontoise, on the 12th of June, 1419, and this, notwithstanding any charter of Normandy to the contrary.‡

During the whole time of their studies, students were not required to pay any of those taxes known under the name of *excise*, (*gabelles*.) In the month of June, 1340, Philippe de Valois had enacted the following ordinance: "In virtue of our plenary power, it is our will that no layman, whatever his office or dignity, whether bailiff or overseer, should, under any pretext, disturb or molest the students in passing to or from college, or require them to pay any impost, under the title of toll, tax, customs, etc." This privilege was confirmed by Charles V., who, on the 26th of September, 1369, ordered that the student should be dispensed from all tax, *tam in aqua quam in terra*. . . . Tax-gatherers, who exacted from a student any impost which he did not owe,

* Quod differetur non auferetur.

† Quo cavetur quod civis, cum literis clamoris unius solidi, possit debitorem forenssem etiam ad corpus non obligatum capi facere et in carceres detrudere, donec dederit fidei-jussores. Rebuffus, p. 305.

‡ Bar. per. Mum. tex. in. l. 1. c. qui ætate, lib. 10.

were condemned to compensate to the party in damages, according to a privilege granted to the University of Paris, by Charles VII., on the 25th of November, in the year 1460.

At Montpellier there is preserved a charter of Charles VIII., wherein the monarch,—taking into consideration the services rendered to France by the University of that city, and the labours and pains undergone by those devoted to letters, who, in their studies, search for the pearl of wisdom* at so great a cost,—frees the masters and students from all duties of the excise.

The rector of the University of Paris, and the managers, were accustomed to assemble together three times each week,—at two o'clock on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays,—to exercise what they termed *jurisdictionem in suos*; that is, to examine every thing regarding the charges of professors and beadles, the respective rights of the students and landlords, and to regulate whatever concerned literature, as manuscripts, bookbinding, and the art of illumination or colouring.†

Neither the masters nor the students of the University of Paris could be excommunicated. Innocent IV. had thus decreed: Let no one dare pass or publish a sentence of excommunication against any rector, master, manager, or student of the University of Paris, even for the crime of murder, without an express permission of the Apostolical See.‡

By the canon law, the student was allowed to occupy himself in his studies on festival days; because, if, for the good of the State, it be lawful on the Lord's day to repair or construct bridges, there is greater reason for allowing studies by which the kingdom of God may be benefited. The civil, came to the aid of the canon law, and decided that if it be allowable to engage in occupations, but for which men could not *subsist*, there is stronger reason for allowing the study of sciences, without which the world would cease to exist.

Here is a beautiful prayer, taken from St. Thomas, which the pious student was wont, each morning, to recite on rising from his slumbers.

“— Oh ineffable Creator, who, from the treasures of thy wisdom, hast formed nine choirs of angels, which, in marvelous order, thou hast established above the firmament: thou, who hast with such order distributed the spheres of the universe! fountain of light, sovereign principle of all things, deign to illumine the darkness of my understanding with the rays of thy splendour, and to correct that twofold misery which I inherit at my birth—ignorance and sin. Oh thou who makest eloquent the infant's tongue, instruct my tongue and spread upon my lips the treasures of thy grace: Grant perspicacity to my understanding, facility to my memory, subtilty to my intellect, and grace and abundance to my elocution: sustain my efforts, direct my progress, and complete my instruction.”

Rebuffy, the Montpellier professor, who never let a morning pass

* Margarita Sapientiæ.

† Robert Goulet in compendio—Rebuffus, p. 233.

‡ Rebuffus, pp. 240,–241.

without saying this prayer of the angel of the schools, certifies that those who will recite it devoutly, will be successful in their studies.*

His "*Manuel for Students*," (*scholasticis necessarium*.) is a moral code, where, in his advices to his pupils, one may study the life of a student of the sixteenth century. It appears that it was an agitated, tumultuous, idle life. Rebuffy complains of young men, who, at college, give very little heed to the lectures of the professor, amuse themselves in counting the tiles on the neighbouring houses, and whose minds are ever in the dishes.† He would wish them to stay in their rooms instead of going forth to study in the open air, on the public promenades, where they are disturbed by the noise of persons passing, and are tempted by the ogling of ladies, who peep at them from the windows. He wishes them to be laborious the first year, more laborious the second, very laborious the third, and most laborious the fourth. Gather, during your young days, does he say to them, collect, and keep in mind the beautiful verses of the poet:

Ut ver dat florem, flos fructum, fructus honorem,
Sic studium morem, mos sensum, sensus honorem.

He would desire that, at each university, the student should be made do what he had seen practised at Toulouse, where the student, before taking a drink, had to expound a text of the Roman law, or recite it from memory. He recommends to his pupils not to chatter at table like women, to have only one or two dishes, and, if possible, not to eat oftener than three times every two days.‡ "Oh shame!" he exclaims, "in our times we not only eat oftener than thrice in every two days, but ten times, and frequently even three times in every hour! Oh! how much preferable is the rain which falls slowly and gently, to those showers which inundate and tear the soil!"

*Et qui hoc fecerint, venient ad studiorum suorum frugem, multamque scientiam accipient, et omnia eis prospera succedent—*scholasticis necessarium*, p. 270.

† Sed sunt in studio tegulas domus numerantes et animum in patinis habentes, p. 276.

‡ Ter in duobus diebus comedere.

CHAPTER III.

CALVIN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BOURGES.—1529-1532.

Death of Gerard Calvin.—Letter of John Calvin to Daniel.—Bourges, Andrew Alciati.—Melchoir Wolmar.—Calvin resumes the study of theology.—Theodore Beza.—System of Predestination.—Calvin's return to Paris.—The Civil Power deals severely with the Reformers.

THE views of Gerard Calvin underwent a change. Whether he had divined the religious tendencies of his son, or had foreseen those contests to which Catholicism was destined to be subjected, and amid which the faith of the neophyte might yield; or, perhaps, because, in his view, theology presented but a rude career, overspread with perils, and offering but little prospect of profit or glory, he determined to give a different direction to the studies of his child. The paternal bosom was agitated by worldly thoughts, as Calvin himself remarks.* At that epoch, the law was the path to honours, to dignities, to the councils of the prince, and to fortune. Andrew Alciati had just been summoned from Italy, by Francis I., to teach at Bourges, for an annual salary of twelve hundred crowns (*ecus*) of gold.† “The king has made an excellent disposition of the twelve hundred crowns of gold, which he has granted to master Alciati,” said the aldermen of Bourges, “for never before was the city so illustrious or happy; never had its magistrates so much business.”‡ Gerard resolved that his son should study law. The student submitted, without a murmur, and at first went to Orleans, where the lecturer was Peter de l'Estoile, an able man, who afterwards became president of the parliament of Paris, and, in his day, enjoyed the reputation of being the most acute jurist in France. Peter de l'Estoile instructed his pupil to give more closeness and solidity to his logic, to prune his rather exuberant phraseology, to be more sober in his use of figures and ornaments, and to render his style more free and unembarrassed in its march. John Calvin constituted the delight of his master; he was assiduous, docile, and full of zeal for study: already

* Cum videret pater, legum scientiam passim augere suos cultores opibus, spes illa repente cum impulit ad mutandum consilium. Ita factum est ut revocatus a philosophiæ studio ad leges discendas traheret, quibus tametsi ut patris voluntati obsequeretur, fidelem operam impendere conatus sum. Calv. præf. ad Psalm.

† Paul Freherus, *Theatrum virorum eruditione singulari clarorum Norimbergæ*, 1588. p. 826.

‡ Letter to Chancellor Duprat.

he was ranked "as teacher, rather than pupil," says one of his biographers;* Master Francis Baudoin, (Balduinus,) relates that Calvin pursued no other occupation at college, except that of calumniating his comrades: hence, they gave him the surname of *accusativus*. They were wont to say of him:—John knows how to decline even to the accusative.†

From Orleans he went to the University of Bourges, where his studies were suddenly interrupted. He was hurried away to take care of his sick father, whom God was soon to remove from him altogether. Gerard Calvin slept in the faith of his ancestors, reconciled with the church which he had afflicted, and praying silently for the salvation of a son, who was about to be exposed to the temptations of the world. Calvin was not willing to leave a description of the last moments of his father; most probably, because he would have been obliged to paint the hopes of a soul, which burst its earthly ties and soared away, at this exhortation of the priest: "Depart, christian soul, from this body of clay, and go to meet thy God." Here are the first lines traced by the student of Paris and of Orleans. The letter is addressed to Nicholas Duchemin.

"When we parted, I promised to rejoin you soon again, and I expected to do so; but the sickness of my father has delayed my departure. The physicians induced me to look for his restoration to health, and then I thought only of you. Days have passed away; at last nothing remains but despair, death is at hand. Whatever happens, I shall see you again; embrace Francis Daniel, Philip, and all the family. Have you enrolled your name among the professors of literature?‡". . . .

This letter is written by the bedside of a dying father, at the moment the physician has declared that all hope is gone, and when the priest, at the sound of the parish bell, is bringing the last consolations of religion to the dying man. . . . And Calvin has no tear to shed while announcing this sad news to his friend! See whether he breathes a prayer, or solicits one from Duchemin! He narrates the scene as we would describe an ordinary drama. "There is no more hope of recovery; death is certain." The physician, who issues from the chamber of the sick man in his agony, would not have spoken otherwise; and yet the kiss, which John has, no doubt, impressed on the lips of his father, is the last: he will see him no more; the father and child will never meet again. "Gerard, an impenitent papist," according to Beza, "is now in a dwelling of flames; John, the Evangelist, the elect of God, will see the Lord face to face." Thus has the reformation already

*Theodore Beza.

† Franc. Balduinus, Apol, secunda contra Calv.

‡ Manssc. ex Bibl. Gen. Quod tibi promiseram discedens me brevi adfuturum, ea me expectatio diutius suspensum habuit, nam dum reditum ad vos meditor, patris morbus attulit causam remoræ. Sed cum medici spem facerent posse redire in prosperam valetudinem, nihil aliud visum est quam tui desiderium, quod me antea graviter affecerat, aliquot dierum intervallo acui. Interim dies de die trahitur, donec eo ventum est ut nulla spes vitæ sit reliqua, certum mortis periculum. Utcumque res ceciderit ad vos revisam. Saluta Franciscum Danielelem, Philippum, et totum domus tuæ contubernium. Jam dedisti nomen inter rei literaræ professores?

stified in this young heart, every throb of filial sensibility. Luther did not have the sad consolation to be present at the death of old Hans. He was far from his father, when he learned the news that the last hour of the miner of Mœhra had struck, and then he also wrote to a friend, but with what bitter sadness, with what poignant sorrow !

Calvin departed from Noyon, in order to continue the study of law. A professor was then figuring at Bourges, whose reputation was widely spread as jurist, theologian, historian, and poet : this was Alciati of Milan, the man of all sciences,* of whom we have spoken already, and whose great fame induced Francis I. to invite him to France. He had received honours almost divine, from the several university cities through which he passed. Calvin heard him, and was filled with wonder. Alciati was as well acquainted with the Rome of the age of Justinian, as if he had then inhabited it : he might be taken for a pleader of the Via Sacra, coming to explain the customs, laws, and usages of Latium. When some thought vividly engrossed him, he transferred it to verse, that his auditory might preserve the memory of it eternally. One day, when speaking of Horace, he commenced chanting the poet's arms :

Gentiles clypeos sunt qui Jovis alite gestant ;
Sunt quibus aut serpens aut leo signa ferunt.
Dira sed hæc vatum fugiant animalia ceras,
Doctaque sustineat stemmata pulcher olor.
Hic Phœbo sacer et nostræ regionis alumnus
Rex olim veteres servat adhuc titulos.

Beautiful verses, which one of the pupils of Alciati translated on the instant, but less poetically ;

ARMOIRIES DES POETES.

D'aucuns ont en leurs armes aigles ;
D'autres lions, serpents ou foinés (fouines.)
Mais nous ne tenons point ces regles :
Ains (mais) avons trop plus nobles signes.
Nous, poetes, portons le cygne
De Phébus, oiseau bien chantant.
Sa naissance nous est voisine :
Roy fut dont est le nom portant.

Calvin, among the first to come to the lecture of the doctor, took his place near the chair, and with eye fixed and mouth wide open, listened to Alciati, in a sort of ecstasy. On his return to his lodgings, and in his little study chamber, he hastened to fill his note-books with all the fine things he had just heard. "He wrote and studied till night, and to be able to do this, he ate very sparingly at supper : then, on awaking in the morning, he was wont to remain awhile in his bed, recalling to mind and ruminating upon all he had learned the evening before."†

* Qui omnium doctrinarum orbem absolvit. Epitaph of Alciati, engraved on the tomb of this jurist, in the church of St. Epiphanius, at Paris.

† Beza.

His memory was thus fertilized; and without suspecting it, upon those benches, filled with students of all countries, he learned the very thing which was then taught in the convents; the mechanical process of argumentation. There was this difference, that at Bourges, Alciati's syllogism was coloured with profane poesy, that it might produce a more vivid impression. Calvin would have left the convent with but one God, Aristotle; but from the benches of the university he brought away a thousand, which Alciati had presented to him for his adoration. These were the several founders of Roman jurisprudence, whom in his lyrical enthusiasm, the Milanese compared with Romulus.

The student soon exchanged the emperors, consuls, ediles, and magistracy of Rome, for the gods and poets of Greece, to propagate whose worship in France, the king had given the mission to a German Lutheran, by name Melchior Wolmar. Melchior cherished as the sons of his own flesh, the pupils which he engendered, rather for Luther than for Sophocles or Demosthenes: he took especial care of them, caressed them, and, in case of need, even paid their debts. It appears that he manifested a marked predilection for John Calvin, whose nature seemed a compound of two; for he was Teutonic, in his laborious perseverance at study, and Gallic, "in his great promptness to apprehend his master's lessons and the sallies of oral disputation."*

Melchior Wolmar made great calculations upon his pupil, to aid the work of the reformation. It appears that particularly did he found his hopes of the future upon the capricious humours of Calvin: he wrote to Farel: "As to John, I do not fear so much as I hope from his whimsical disposition: for this vice is well suited to advance our cause, and make him an able defender of our opinions; because he will not so easily be taken himself, as he will be able to entrap his adversaries in still greater snares."† Calvin did not forget this college friendship, and let him be praised for it! Very long after his departure from the university, he called to mind his good Wolmar, and said to him:

"During my whole life I shall cherish the memory of your zeal for my advancement, of your love for your disciple, of your delight in ornamenting my mind with all the gifts of science. It was under you, that I studied Greek letters; and you were not content to watch over my progress in literature, but also were kind enough to open for me your purse."‡

Wolmar often, on finishing his lecture, would take Calvin's arm, and, walking in the college court, discourse with him on the Greek mythology, of which he was passionately fond. But this passion did not blind him. He had divined that Calvin was not born to be a commentator of Aristophanes, like a college pedant, or to attach himself, like Aleandro, to some famous printer, for the purpose of illustrating, with notes and variations, some recently discovered manuscript.

* Beza.

† De Calvino non tam metuo ingenii sui *ten Strebloten*, quam bone spero, id enim vitii aptum est rebus nostris, ut in magnum assertorem nostrorum dogmatum evadat; non enim facile capi poterit quin majoribus tricis adversarios involvat.

‡ Præf. Comment. in Ep. ad Cor.

One day, the two were taking their usual evening walk :—"Do you know," said Wolmar to his pupil, "that your father has mistaken your vocation? You have not been called like Alciati to preach law, nor like myself to spout Greek; give yourself up to theology, for theology is the mistress of all sciences."*

These words decided the future destiny of John Calvin, who closed his Homer, and from that day set himself to the study of the word of God. Now, the word which he found in the Bible, was not that of the Latin Vulgate,—still to-day read in the school and the church,—but the French of Le Fevre d'Etaples, or perhaps, of John Olivetan, which, with the zeal of a neophyte, he endeavoured to expound, as he would have done one of those ancient comedies, upon which Melchior was then commenting. A Catholic preceptor would not have neglected to inform him that there existed a beautiful exegesis of the holy books, transmitted from age to age—from Jesus to Leo X.—and against which no human voice, were it that of Berengarius, of Arius, or of Luther, could ever prevail—the exegesis of authority. Such preceptor would have shown him the Bible, at that very moment a prey to the disputes of men fond of novelties;—of Zwingle, Luther, Melancthon, Colampadius, Capito, Hedio, Bucer,—who could not come to an understanding among themselves, and were engaged in erecting a tower of Babel, which still stands a monument of confusion.

Among the students who crowded round the chair of Melchior Wolmar, to catch, drop by drop, the dew of magisterial instruction, was Theodore Beza, less harshly judged by Catholicism than by Protestantism, which calls him "the opprobrium of France, a simoniac, and an infamous libertine."† An elegant young man, quite perfumed with amber and poesy, who, at the same time, made court to women, to the muses, and to his professor Wolmar. The professor spoiled him, the muses inspired him with chants that Catullus would not have disavowed, and the women deceived him. It appears that the student of Vezelay had reason to complain of the last, and that he was compelled to seek in a suburb of Paris, for the health which he had compromised in their service.‡ He is the only artist belonging to the Genevan reformation. At that epoch, he thought little about the word of God: his whole concern was to study Anacreon and Horace, and to set forth his conquests in trochees or iambics, which, with a voice still sweeter than his lyrics, he read to his comrades. At times, he was too antique in his fancies, and essayed to imitate the poet of Teos, even in his shameful amours. He sang a youth, named Audebert, whose beauty he eulogised in verses, which formerly Rome would have applauded, but which, in France, should have been consigned to the flames. In his later years, many a bitter regret was caused by these libertine pages, which Beza, the minister, would willingly have torn from his book of epigrams! But the

* Florimond de Remond. p. 332.

† Gallia probrum, simoniacus, sodomita, omnibus vitiis coopertus.

‡ He led a dissolute life at Paris, and, in one of the suburbs of that city, was subjected to a course of medicine. Bolsec. Histoire de la vie de Théodore de Beze, Paris, in 12mo. 1532.

scandal was without remedy, as the pages had been made imperishable, by Robert Etienne, who had lent the aid of his presses. We must quote Catullus, as witness of Beza's virtue, in default of christian poets, ancient or modern, whom we should in vain exhume to certify the innocence of his verses to Candida and Audebert.*

In our history of Luther, we have exhibited the Saxon monk amusing himself at the tavern of the Black-Eagle, in Wittenberg, and with his lips steeped in the beer of Thorgau, treating of woman more like an anatomist than an apostle of the gospel: but in his *Table-talk*, there is no Corydon chanting his Alexis. We had a right, at least to expect, from Beza a little more modesty, and that he would not put himself forward, as he has done, to tell us of the sad state of morals at Orleans and Bourges, previously to Calvin's arrival. It was not becoming, in this poet of equivocal amours, to affirm, that the spark of faith at that time was only kept alive in two or three hearts; †—in those of Daniel,

* THEODORUS BEZA, DE SUA IN CANDIDAM ET AUDEBERTUM BENEVOLENTIA.

Abest Candida; Beza, quid moraris?
Audebertus abest: quid hic moraris?
Tenent Parisii tuos amores, †
Habent Aurelii tuos lepores;
Et tu Vezeliis manere pergis,
Procul Candidulaque, amoribusque,
Et leporibus, Audebertuloque?

Immo Vezelii procul valete;
Et vale, pater, et valete, fratres!
Namque Vezeliis carere possum,
Et carere parente, et his, et illis:
At non Candidula, Audebertuloque.

Sed utrum rogo præferam duorum?
Utrum invisere me decet priorem?
An quemquam tibi, Candida, anteponom?
An quemquam anteferam tibi, Audeberte?
Quid si me in geminas ipse partes,
Harum ut altera Candidam revisat,
Currat altera versus Audebertum?

At est Candida sic avara, novi,
Ut totum cupiat tenere Bezam.
Sic Bezæ est cupidus sui Audebertus,
Beza ut gestiat integro potiri.
Amplector quoque sic et hunc, et illam,
Ut totus cupiam videre utrumque;
Integrisque frui integer duobus.
Præferre attamen alterum necesse est;
O duram nimium necessitatem!

Sed postquam tamen alterum necesse est
Priores tibi defero, Audeberte.
Quod si Candida fortè conqueratur
Quid tum? basiolo tacebit uno.

† Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. p. 9, and the following.

the lawyer, and of Nicholas Duchemin :—that then hope in Christ, our Redeemer, was extinct; that the merits of his blood were no longer invoked by sinners; calumnies spread upon their path, by Luther, when he appeared at Wittenberg; by Ecolampadius, on his entry into Bale; by Zwingli, on his mountains of Schwytz; and by Bucer, at Strasbourg.* This accusation must fill us with astonishment, issuing from the lips of a young student, who must sometimes have entered the cathedral of Bourges, were it only to listen to those magnificent hymns of our venerable old church, in which they sang that “a drop of the divine blood was sufficient to save the world.” Where then did Beza pass his time? What! did this poetic spirit, in visiting Strasbourg, never cast his eye upon the portal of Munster, on which the architect Ervin de Steinbach, has sculptured this beautiful allegory?—On the right, a female (the church) holding in one hand a chalice full of hosts; in the other, a cross; while above her head, in the form of a crown of glory, is this motto:

Mit Christi Blut überwind' ich Dich.
The blood of Jesus Christ makes me triumph over thee.

On the left, a female with her eyes closed, (the synagogue,) one hand grasping a broken arrow, and the other resting on the shattered tables of Moses, and her head surmounted by these words:

Dasselbig Blut verblindet mich.
This blood blinds me.

And was he never inside the temple? For he would have beheld upon the door of the tabernacle, priests vested in surplices, kneeling before the blessed Sacrament, and murmuring: *O Jesu qui passus es pro nobis miseris, misero peccatori miserere.* *Oh Jesus, who suffered for us miserable, have mercy on a wretched sinner.* †

A comparison has been instituted between Beza and Melancthon, two natures entirely different. In Beza it was matter poetically organized: his musical ear would have been tortured by a limping verse, a doubtful epithet, or a word which did not savour of antiquity; his brain opened, on the least excitement, to pour forth metrical treasures of every sort, but his soul had little share in this mechanical labour. Thus, when the reformers carried their devastation into the abbey of Cluny, you beheld him moved, and that but feebly, at the sight of mutilated statues, of arabesques shivered by some soldier's lance, and of all the wonders of art effaced by fanaticism, in its ruinous march. But on seeing the priests, who had erected those monuments, blessed them and consecrated them to the Lord, driven forth without a shelter and without bread, he will remain cold as marble. Melancthon is not thus constituted. With him, it is the soul that lives and feels. Hence, when Luther, at Cobourg, shall essay to break to pieces the clerical

*Christum a nobis primum vulgatum audemus gloriari. John Pappus, in der Widerlegung des Zweybrückisch-Berichts, p. 427.

† Osias Schadaus, Beschreibung des Münsters, 56, 57.

hierarchy, then observe the countenance of Melancthon, and you will surprise the tears stealing from his eyelids. He weeps over the ruins of the episcopacy, but from human respect, and a too carnal affection for his father, he conceals his tears. Should he, like Beza, ever visit Strasbourg, be assured he will listen to the concert which the very stones of its cathedral will sing for him, and not insult the faith of the bishops sleeping in the vaults of the church. He will not, like Beza, the scholar of Vezelay, damn the prelates. The reason is, because his mother, like that of Beza and of Calvin, is a Catholic, and he cannot comprehend that God has not had mercy on the woman, who nourished him with her milk. Calvin, in his puritanism, sent to the flames of hell, all who did not walk in the light of the reformation. You are mistaken, if you imagine that God placed Beza near Calvin, in order to moderate his ferocious zeal. Beza has indeed his lyre, but he will not use it : and, besides, would Calvin, who compares himself to a prophet,* listen to its soothing tones ? Music or poetry can never exercise sway upon a soul as cold as his.†

Thus, the friendship which, on the benches of the school of Bourges, brings them together, will be one entirely worldly in its character, without a single holy ingredient. Both, workmen of evil, will labour for the ruin of the papacy, or, to borrow their language, of the papolatry, without commiseration for the white heads of the priests, whom they will rob of their daily bread, and of their ancient charge of souls. If they enter the temple of St. Peter, at Geneva, and stumble over some statue of a saint, reversed by popular fury . . . , neither of them will stoop to gather up the fragments, because, in their opinion, this image will recall the memory of a religion which they desire to abolish. If a pyre be raised on Champel, and a man be seen ascending it, chanting hymns to God, be assured that Calvin will not even wink in contemplating the scene ; and should a tear come to moisten the eye of Beza, he will know how, with the hem of his ministerial robe, to wipe it away so completely, that his master shall not detect the slightest trace of its presence. Perhaps, in the case of Beza at least, you will explain this entire want of human sensibility, by the creed which Calvin has taught him : they both believed in predestination. Luther understood this degrading system, which, delivering man over to despair, would make him doubt of God ; he expressed his opinion of it to Melancthon, and cursed him who first introduced it into the world. Singular destiny ! the reformation dries up the noblest sentiments of the soul ; in the *serf-will* of Luther, it degrades it to a level with the brute ; in the work of the illumined Carlstadt, it deprives it of those places of expiation, beyond the present life, where it can still, by its tears and sufferings, make satisfaction to divine justice ; and in Calvin's Institutes, it nails it to fatalism, like a criminal upon his gibbet. Behold, then, the three grand truths which the reformation comes to present to man : the servitude of the *interior self*, the inutility of prayer, and the mark of damnation upon the forehead of the new-born babe.

*Preface to the Psalms.

†See the chapter entitled : *Theodore Beza*.

It seems that Calvin had elevated his ideas about predestination into a system, and was frightened at his own doctrines: for, at this period, we behold him agitated by remorse, which disturb the tranquility of his soul. Fear is apparent in his letters.* He writes to one of his friends, Francis Daniel: "I behold around me no secure asylum, although my friends offer me one on every side. De Coiffart, the elder, has his house ready to receive me." It is in virtue of the mission of his bishop, that he preaches his desolating dogmas to his Catholic flock. Though he has renounced the "papism," he still discharges the office of a "papist." "Yes," he relates, "I was then at all times very far from an assured tranquility of conscience. For, whenever, and as often as I descended into myself, or lifted my heart to thee (God!) such extreme horror seized me, that no purifications, no satisfactions, could, in any manner, cure me. Ah! the more closely I looked into myself, the sharper stings pierced my conscience, in such sort, that no solace or comfort remained for me, except to forget, and thus to deceive myself."†

Afterwards, on a sudden, this interior struggle ceased: the "solace and comfort" came, and usurped dominion over his soul: and the reason was, that he no longer belonged to Catholicism. "God," if we shall credit his own assertion, "by a sudden conversion, subdued his heart, and made it docile; for, age considered, it had hitherto been somewhat too hardened in such things."‡ Calvin has neglected to inform us what stroke of Providence this was, which rescued him so suddenly from the darkness of "papism." Nor is there any explanation how it happened, that God, who illumined him, did not impel him to send to his bishop his clerical letters, renounce his benefices, and cease to live on bread prepared by heretical hands; for he still continues to eat, and live upon, the bread of Pont-l-Eveque. Had it not been for this bread of episcopal charity, he would not now be at Paris, or preaching his doctrines in the neighbouring villages; but for this bread, he might, perhaps, be labouring at the trade of his uncle, the locksmith; or at Noyon, engaged in continuing the occupation of his father. For his mother is no more; and, for support, he is dependent upon the liberality of the Mommors, who would, no doubt, withhold their contributions did they know the use that he makes of their bounty; or upon the revenues of his modest benefice, which his bishop might still let him enjoy, as an alms, to save him from despair and starvation, even though aware of the new path which he is treading. His panegyrists are quite proud because they can say to us: Observe now! Calvin never received orders, he never belonged to the Catholic priesthood, and did not imitate the conduct of Luther. We answer them: that Luther, in

* *Quoties enim vel in me descendebam, vel animum ad te attollebam, extremus horror me incessebat, cui nulla piacula, nullæ satisfactiones meredi possent.* præf. ad Psalm.

† *Opus fr. p. 194. Geneva. 1611.*

‡ *Deus tamen areano Providentiæ suæ freno cursum meum alio tandem re-flexit: ac primo, cum superstitionibus Papatus magis pertinaciter addictus essem quam ut facile esset e tam profundo luto me extrahi, animum meum, subita conversione, ad docilitatem subegit.* Præf. ad Psalm.

affixing his theses publicly on the front of the church of Wittenberg, displayed a courage, of which the student of Noyon was destitute. Calvin hides himself; he denies his faith, but he does so in silence, and wrapped up in secrecy and darkness. He imitates those electors of Saxony, who, while declaiming against monkish intemperance, become intoxicated out of the goblets which they had stolen from the convents. If it be by a stroke from heaven, that he has been smitten while on the route to Damascus, let him then cease to think of the morrow: God will provide for him. When, about this time, Ignatius of Loyola knocks at a convent gate, demanding a mission to preach to the infidel, he does not say: Give me bread; but he asks for the staff of a pilgrim, and sets forth upon his journey, supported on his way by the God who feeds the birds of heaven. We cannot comprehend this distrust of Providence in a man who, like Calvin, calls himself another David, "seen, as it were, in a mirror,"* and who, upon his epistles, impresses a beautiful seal, representing the hand of a youth, offering to God his heart, around which are the letters J. C. † It was a want of confidence in God;—a timid nature; a soft, pusillanimous spirit, ‡ (and it is Calvin that gives this testimony of himself,) who is driven on by circumstances, but who never could have been able to command circumstances.

Calvin had left the University of Bourges, in the year 1532, and returned to Paris, for the purpose of advancing the cause of the reformation; searching for souls like his own, easily seduced, amorous of change, whom he soon intoxicated with that wine of novelties, so sweet to the taste, but so fatal to the brain. These allowed themselves, one by one, to be taken in his net, seduced by his siren voice, the spell of which could lull those, whose reason it did not disturb. To youth, he preached contempt of confession, the inutility of works, the danger of pilgrimages. He poured out his ridicule upon monks, convents, and Catholic priests. He declaimed against the luxury of bishops, the wealth of churches, and the ignorance of the priesthood. He preached against the pomp and state of the successors of Leo X., the lavishment of indulgences, and the revenue paid to the papacy by the court of France. He announced a word, destined, as he boasted, to change the world, moralize society, destroy superstition, and diffuse light. He pointed to a new star, which first appeared at Wittenberg, and was then gleaming in the horizon of France. They listened to him, and his success was far greater than he could have anticipated. He wrote: "I was quite astonished, that, in less than a year, all those who manifested a desire for pure doctrine, thronged around me to learn, although I had myself but just commenced. For my part, inasmuch as I am naturally a little unpolished and bashful, I have always loved repose and tranquility, and I began to seek for some lurking-place, and pretence to withdraw from men; but so far from attaining the object of my desire, on the contrary,

*Preface to the Psalms.

† See page 24th de l'Avertissement des lettres a Bourgogne, with regard to Calvin's seal.

‡ Ego qui natura timido, molli et pusillo animo me esse fateor. Præf. ad. Psalm.

every retreat and private place became for me like a public school. In short, however much it has been my wish to live retired and unknown, God has so made me travel, and subjected me to such different changes, that he has never allowed me repose any where; but in spite of my natural disposition, he has, as it is termed, brought me to light, and made me take a prominent part.”*

Calvin formed acquaintance at Paris, with a merchant, named Etienne de la Forge,† an ardent Lutheran, whose shop served, every evening, as a rendezvous for his sect, and where John commonly preached. His discourses, replete with outbursts against Catholicism, were always terminated by the same formula: If God is with us, who shall be against us? By Luther it was said: If our work be from men, it will fail; if from God, it cannot perish. It is the same thought, expressed in different terms, and its truth has been disputed by Adolphus Menzel; as if, he says, in his preface to his history of the reformation in Germany, fact, in its extreme power, can ever constitute right!

What had occurred in Germany, now was witnessed in France: from these nocturnal and clandestine predications, there issued forth—a host of neophytes, quite inflamed with a fire which they called divine; impromptu prophets, who imagined themselves called to regenerate the work of fifteen centuries; doctors without learning or study, who pretended to convict our sacred interpreters of falsehood; Levites without soutans, transformed into apostles by the breath of Calvin; Sorbonnists without diplomas, who asked to dispute with master and maid-servant. Artizans in the morning, disciples at noon, and preachers in the evening, they were like the buffoon described by Walter Scott: with an archer’s head, the waist of a major-domo, and the feet of a runner. These new men were then called Lutherans, for the name Huguenot had not yet been discovered. These Lutherans existed in many of the cities of France, and especially at Meaux, where they excited great disturbance: the civil authority was more than once compelled to repress their fanatical zeal and insolent language. Before the magistrates, they were proud and bold; in prison, radiant with serenity: they thought themselves called by God, and inspired with his word. At Paris, Calvin had founded a little church, where he preached at night, with closed doors, and attacked tradition, in its Catholic organs, faith, in its mysteries, the magistracy, in its representatives, the church, in the papacy, and society, in its religious forms; thus, at once, revolting against the constitution of the country, its creed, and its laws. Pasquier presents him to us, “in the midst of his books and study, with a nature exerting its greatest energies for the progress of his sect. We sometimes beheld, says he, our prisons crowded with poor, abused people, whom, without ceasing, he exhorted, consoled, encouraged by his letters; nor did he

* Præf. ad Psal. Ego qui natura subrusticus umbram et otium amavi, tunc latebras captare cœpi, quæ adeo concessæ non sunt, ut mihi secessus omnes instar publicæ scholæ essent.

† Etienne de la Forge, deceased, whose memory (according to Calvin,) should be hallowed among the faithful, as a holy martyr of Christ.

want messengers, to whom, in spite of all the precautions taken by the gaolers, the prison doors were opened. It was by this process, in the commencement, that he succeeded to secure by degrees a portion of our France, in such sort, that after considerable time, beholding the hearts of many predisposed for his designs, he resolved on a further step, and sent to us ministers,—by us termed preachers,—to exercise his religion privately, especially in our city of Paris, where fires were enkindled against them.”*

At first, the civil power had recourse to menaces: but menaces proved useless; it employed the prison: but the prison converted nobody. The Lutherans, in their pamphlets, circulated by night, devoted the magistrates to the indignation of the populace, their judges to the execration of posterity, the prince to the anger of the Lord, and papists to eternal flames. Were they banished, they soon again re-entered to France, with a zeal for proselytism increased by all the sufferings they had endured in exile. Was a passage read to them from the Bible, in which the apostle recommends obedience to the powers of earth? they pointed to their father in Christ, at the Diet of Worms, hurling his defiance in the teeth of the emperor and orders, and choosing rather to obey God than men. In their eyes, Luther was a new Paul, whose word would rescue the earth from the darkness of superstition. Were they told that Luther had been condemned by the Holy See, they responded, by quoting some Latin verses which had found their way across the Rhine:—If Luther be guilty of heresy, Christ himself must be brought to judgment.† The magistrates, for the most part, were ignorant of the circumstances which had transpired in the country, which heresy had ravaged, else they could have, at that very hour, pointed to poor Carlstadt flying from the wrath of Luther, and forced to abandon Saxony, and beg his bread, because he had credited the monk's word, and essayed to introduce a new doctrine into the reformed world.

Violence was resorted to: pyres were erected, and various fanatics perished, whose death was transformed into a martyrdom! Credulous souls, and meriting commiseration rather than anger, who expected to gain heaven by apostacy, and died joyously for the glory of a word which they did not comprehend, and for which not one of Calvin's successors would at this day shed so much as a drop of ink! for the Christ made after the image of Calvin, no longer resembles the Christ of certain ministers of Geneva in our day. The Christ of John of Noyon possessed a double nature; he was God and man; and the Christ of the reformer's successors is no more than a son of Adam, formed out of the slime of the earth, and only a little greater than Mahomet or Alexander.

* Pasquier, *Recherches sur la France*. liv. 3. p. 769.

† *Hæresibus si dignus erit Lutherus in ullis,
Et Christus dignus criminis hujus erit.*

Sagt man, dasz Lutherus sey schuldig einiger Ketzereyen;
Ey so musz dann Christus selbst dieses Lasters schuldig seyn.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TREATISE ON CLEMENCY.—1532.

Examination of the work.—Trouble and torments of the author.—Various letters.—Calvin sells his benefice, and his part of the family inheritance.

WHEN the sword of the law fell upon one of his followers, the voice of Luther was magnificent; it exclaimed, in the ears of emperors, kings, and dukes: You have shed the blood of the just. And then the Saxon, in honor of the martyr, extemporized a hymn which was chanted in the very face of the civil power:

“In the low countries at Brussels,
The Lord his greatness hath displayed,
In the death of two of his loved children,
On whom grand gifts he had bestowed.”*

Calvin had not the courage to imitate Luther. He has told us that he wanted courage; he again repeats it: he says—that he, a plebian, trifling as a man, and having but little learning, has nothing in him which could deserve celebrity.† And yet he essayed a timid protest in favour of certain Huguenots who had been burned on the public square: “The work,” says Papire Masson, “of a double-faced writer, a Catholic in his writings, and a Lutheran in his bed-chamber.”‡

This is his first book. It is entitled: *De Clementia*, or, *Treatise on Clemency*, and is a paraphrase of some Latin writer of the decline.§ Moreover, this is the first time that a commentator is ignorant of the life of him whose work he publishes. Calvin has confounded the two Senecas, the father and the son, the rhetorician and the philosopher, of

*Zu Brüssel in dem Niederland
Wohl durch zween junge Knaben
Hat Gott sein Wunder macht bekannt,
Die er mit seinen Gaben
So reichlich hat gezieret.

†Unus de plebe homuncio, mediocri, seu potius modica eruditione præditus, nihil in me habebam, quod spem aliquam celebritatis excitare possit.

‡Ediderat Calvinus Commentarios illos de Clementia, aliud agens, aliud simulans.

§Lutetia transiens quum annum ageret vigésimum quartum, egregium illum commentarium scripsit in Senecæ libellum de Clementia: quo scriptore gravissimo, et ipsius Calvinii moribus plane conveniente valde delectatum fuisse constat. Beza, vita Calvinii, at the head of the reformer's epistles. Geneva, 1576, in folio. p. 3.

both of whom he makes but one literary personage, living the very patriarchal life of more than one hundred and fifteen years.

We must pardon Varillas,* for having, with sufficient acrimony, brought into relief this mistake of the biographer of Seneca, the philosopher, and not, like the historians of the reformation, become vexed at the proud tone of the French historian. Had the fault been committed by a Catholic, where is the Protestant who would not have done the same thing as Varillas?

The literary work, which Calvin, in the shape of a commentary, has interwoven with the treatise of Seneca, is a production not unworthy a literato of the revival: it is an amplification, which one would suppose to have been written in the cell of a Benedictine monk, so numerous are the citations, so great is the display of erudition, so replete is it with the names, Greek and Latin, of poets, historians, moralists, rhetoricians, philosophers, and philologists. Calvin is a coquetish student, who loves to parade his reading and his memory. His work† is a gallery, open to all the ancient and modern glories of literature, whom the commentator calls to his aid, often for the elucidation of a doubtful passage. The young rhetorician glorifies his country, and when upon his march he encounters some historic name, by which his idea can be illustrated, he hastens to proclaim it, with all its titles to admiration. He there salutes Budé in magnificent terms: "Budé, the pillar and glory of human learning, thanks to whom, at this day, France can claim the palm of erudition."‡ The portrait which he draws of Seneca is the production of a practiced pen: "Seneca, whose pure and polished phrase savours, in some sort, of his age; his diction florid and elegant; his style, without labour or restraint, moves on, free and unembarrassed."§ It may be seen that the student had the honour to study under Mathurin Cordier, and to attend the lectures of Alciati; but, after all, his book is but a defective allegory; for what reader could have divined that the writer designed to represent Francis I., under the name of Nero, as addressed by the Cordovan? The treatise could produce no sensation, and, like the work of Seneca, must be shipwrecked in that sea of the passions, which, at the two epochs, raged around both writers.||

Calvin experienced much trouble in having his Latin commentary printed: he was in need of funds, and the revenues of his benefice of Pont-l-Eveque, were insufficient to defray the expense of printing.

*Varrillas, *Histoire de l'Hérésie*, etc. liv. x. Bayle, *Art. Calvin*.

† Joannis Calvinii in L. Annæi Senecæ, Romani senatoris ac philosophi clarissimi, libros duos de Clementia ad Neronem Cæsarem, commentarii, Genevæ, ex typographia Jacobi Stør, 1611.

The first edition published at Paris bears the title: L. Annæi Senecæ, Romani senatoris, ac philosophi clarissimi, libri duo de Clementia ad Neronem Cæsarem: Joannis Calvinii Noviodunæi commentariis illustrati. Parisiis apud Ludovicum Cyaneum sub duobus gallis, in via Jacobæa, 1532. in 4to.

‡ Rei literariæ decus ac columen, cujus beneficio palmam eruditionis hodie sibi vindicat nostra Gallia.

§ Sermo purus ac nitidus, suum scilicet sæculum redolens; genus dicendi elegans ac floridum, stylus illaboratus ac sine anxietate fluens.

|| Und wurden in diesem tobenden Meere von Leidenshaften überhört und nicht beachtet. Paul Henry, p. 55.

How could he apply to the Mommor family? Moreover, he was in dread that his book should prove a failure, and thereby injure his budding reputation. All these alarms of a maiden author are set forth in various letters, which he addressed on this subject to the dear friends of his bosom.

“Behold my books of Seneca, concerning *Clemency*, printed at my own expense and labour!* They must now be sold, in order that I may again obtain the money which I have expended. I must also watch that my reputation does not suffer. You will oblige me, then, by informing me how the work has been received, whether with favour or indifference?” The whole anxiety of the poor author is to lose nothing by the enterprise; his purse is empty; it needs replenishing: and he urges the professors to give circulation to the treatise; he solicits one of his friends at Bourges, a member of the University, to bring it forward in his lectures; and appeals to the aid of Daniel, to whom he sent a hundred copies.† Papire Masson was mistaken: the commentary on *Clemency* did not first appear, as he supposes, under the title of *Lucius Calvinus, civis Romanus*,‡ but under that of *Calvinus*, a name ever after retained by the reformer.§

This treatise introduced Calvin to the notice of the learned world: Bucer, Capito, Œcolampadius, sent congratulations to the writer; Calvin, in September 1532, had sent a copy of his work to Bucer, who was then at Strasbourg. The person commissioned to present it, was a poor young man, suspected of Anabaptism, and a refugee from France. Calvin’s letter of recommendation is replete with tender compassion for the miseries of the sinner. “My dear Bucer,” he writes, “you will not be deaf to my entreaties, you will not disregard my tears; I implore you, come to the aid of the proscribed, be a father to the orphan.”||

This was sending the sick man to a sad physician: Bucer, by turns, Catholic, Lutheran, Anabaptist, Zwinglian! Besides, why this prose-lytism of a moral cure? The exile was Anabaptist by the same title that Calvin was predestinarian, in virtue of a text of scripture: “Go, whoever shall believe and be baptised, will be saved.” The Anabaptist believed in the inefficacy of baptism, without faith manifested by an external act; but is not Calvin, at this very hour, as much to be pitied as the Anabaptist? He also doubted, searched, and interrogated his bible, and imagined that he had caught the meaning of a letter,

**Libri Senecæ de Clementia tandem excusi sunt meis sumptibus et mea opera; nunc curandum ut undique colligatur pecunia quæ in sumtus impensa est; deinde ut salva sit mea existimatio, primum velim mihi ut rescribas quo favore vel frigore excepti fuerint.* Mss. Arch. Eccl. Bernensis.—The first book of this treatise on *Clemency* contains twenty-six chapters, the second, seven.

† Tandem jacta est alea. Exierunt commentarii mei in libros Senecæ de Clementia, sed meis sumptibus, qui plus pecuniæ exhauserunt quam tibi persuaderi possit, etc. Mss. Arch. Eccl. Bern.

‡ *Calvin, a Roman citizen.*, Papirius Masso, Vita Cavini. p. 412, t. 11. e-logiorum.

§ Maimbourg. Histoire du Calvinisme, p. 57.

|| Paul Henry, p. 55. t. 1.

which no intelligence before him had been able to seize. And what was this truth, the conquest of which infused such fear into his soul, that, before he could announce it to the world, he sold his charge of Pont-l-Eveque, and even his paternal inheritance?

In the year 1531, John Calvin presented himself before Simon Legendre and Peter Le Roy, royal notaries at Paris, to invest his brothers with powers of attorney, to sell what had been left him by his father and mother.

“To all to whom these present letters shall come; John de la Barre, Chevalier Count d’Estampes, Governor of Paris, and Chief of the judicial tribunal of said city, greeting; We make known that before Simon Legendre, and Peter Le Roy, notaries of our Lord the King, at Paris, came in person, master John Cauvin, licentiate at law, and Anthony Cauvin, his brother, clerk, living at Paris, and sons of Gerard Cauvin,—while yet alive, secretary of M. the Bishop of Noyon,—and of Jeanne le Franc, his wife; who jointly and severally, make, name, ordain, appoint and establish as their general agent and special attorney, master Charles Cauvin, their brother, to whom bearing these present letters they grant, and, by these presents, do give full power and right to sell, concede and alienate, to whatever person or persons, the two undivided thirds belonging to the aforesaid constituents, coming to them in proper right of succession by the demise of the aforesaid deceased Jeanne le Franc, their mother, also the fourth undivided part of a piece of meadow, containing fourteen acres, or thereabouts, situated in the territory of Noyon, and pertaining on one part to the wood of Chastelain; on another to the nuns and abbess of the French Convent, the Abbey aux Bois; on another, to the monks and sisters of the Hotel-Dieu of St. John, at Noyon, and to the chapter of the church of Notre Dame, of the said city, and running up to the highway passing from Noyon to Genury; to make sale and alienation of the same, for such price, and at such costs, as the aforesaid master Charles Cauvin, their brother, shall judge for the better; to collect the money and give security, with lean upon all their future possessions. Done, and passed, on Wednesday, the fifteenth day of February, in the year 1531.”

Some short time after this, Calvin resigned his charge of the chapel de la Gesine to Anthony de la Marliere, *mediante pretio conventionis*, for the sum agreed on, says the act of transfer, and also to Caïm his benefice of Pont-l-Eveque, for a similar consideration.*

* All the above details are grounded on the information of the late M. Antoine de Mesle, Doctor of Law, Treasurer and Canon of the church of Noyon, ordinary judge of the Episcopal court of the place; and further, on the testimony of Papire Masson: Duo illa beneficia vendidit, Antonio Marliero unum, alterum Guilielmo Bosio presbytero Noviomensis ecclesiæ. Papius Masson has taken Bosius (du Bois) for Caïm.—le Vasseur.

CHAPTER V.

CALVIN AT THE COURT OF MARGARET.—THE PSYCHOPANNYCHIA—
1534-1535.

Cop and Calvin fly from Paris.—The Court of Nerac.—Calvin at Claix.—Du Tillet.—Calvin at Orleans.—The Reformation in France.—Servetus.—Exile of Calvin.—Strasbourg.—Bale.—The Psychopannychia.—Examination of the work.—Judgment of Calvin.

THE storm was gathering: Calvin wished to expose to its fury some other head than his own, and chose that of Nicholas Cop, rector of the Sorbonne, at Paris. Cop was a German of Bale, who was captivated with the student, because of his ready speech, his airs of virtue, his scriptural knowledge, his raileries against the monks, and his ridicule of the University. As to the rest, he was a man of a dull, heavy mind, understood nothing of theological subjects, and would have been much better placed in a refectory, than in a learned body; at table, than in the professor's chair. Cop had to pronounce his usual discourse on All-Saints' day, in presence of the Sorbonne and the University. He had recourse to Calvin, who set to work, and "built him up a discourse," says Beza,—“an oration quite different from those which were customary.”* The Sorbonne and University did not assist at the discourse, but only some Franciscans, who appeared to be scandalized at certain propositions of the orator, and among others, at one concerning justification by faith alone in Christ:—an old error, which, for many ages, has been trailed along in all the writings of heretics; often dead and resuscitated—and which Calvin, in Cop's discourse, dressed out in tinsel, in order to give it some appearance of novelty. But our Franciscans had sight and hearing equally good; they detected the heresy easily, and denounced to the parliament the evil sounding propositions, which they had taken pains to note down in writing. Cop was greatly embarrassed by his new glory; he had not expected so much fame. He, however, held up well, and convoked the University at the Mathurins. The University assembled in a body in order to judge the cause. The rector there commenced a discourse, drawn up by Calvin, in which he formally denied having preached the propositions denounced, with the exception of one only, precisely the worst, that concerning justification. Imagine the tumult which the orator excited! Scarcely could he make himself heard, and ask mercy. The old Sorbonnists

* Beza. Hist. Eccl. t. 1. p. 14.

shuddered on their benches. The unfortunate Cop would have been seized, had he not made his escape to return no more.*

The student kept himself concealed at the college du Fortet, which was already surrounded by a body of archers, headed by John Morin. Calvin was warned of their approach. "He escaped through a window, concealed himself in the suburb St. Victor, at the house of a vine-dresser, changed his clothes, assumed the long gown of the vine-dresser, and placing a wallet of white linen and a rake on his shoulders, he took the road to Noyon."† "A canon of that city, who was on his way to Paris, met the curé of Pont-l'Évêque, and recognized him.—"Where are you going, master John," he demanded, "in this fine disguise?" "Where God shall please," answered Calvin, who then began to explain the motive and reasons of his disguise. "And would you not do better to return to Noyon, and to God?" asked the canon, looking at him sadly. Calvin was a moment silent; then taking the priest's hand:—"Thank you," said he, "but it is too late."

During this colloquy, the lieutenant was searching Calvin's papers, and secured those which might have compromised the friends of the fugitive.

Calvin found a refuge with the queen of Navarre, who was fortunate enough to reconcile her protégée with the court and the University. The person, whom she employed to effect this, was an adroit man, who had succeeded in deceiving the government. Francis I. based his glory upon the patronage and encouragement which he accorded to learning, and Calvin, as a man of letters, merited consideration. The King needed some forgiveness for serious political faults, and, with reason, he believed that the humanists would redeem his character before the people. He was at once the protector and the slave of the literati.

At that period, the little court of Nerac was the asylum of writers, who, like Desperriers, there prepared their *Cymbalum Mundi*; of gallant ladies, who composed love-tales, of which they were often the heroines themselves; of poets, who extemporized odes after Beza's model; of clerics, and other gentry of the church, who entertained packs of hunting dogs, and courtizans; of Italian play-actors, who, in the queen's theatre, presented comedies taken from the New Testament, in which Jesus was made to utter horrible things against monks and nuns; or of princes, who, like the queen's husband, scarcely knew how to read, and yet discoursed, like doctors, about doctrine and discipline.‡

It was against Roussel, the confessor of Margaret, that Calvin, at a later date, composed his "*Adversus Nicodemitas*." At Nerac, he found

* *Revera Copus suspectæ cœpit esse fidei, et quia pater ejus Guilielmus, regis medicus, parum sane sapere credebatur, et quia cum hæreticis familiariter conversari compertus est. Unde postquam rescitum est eum fugisse, Johannes Morinus balivus Calvinum qui tunc in collegio Fortetico morabatur, aliosque ejus familiares inquisivit adprehendendum, sed illi similiter fuga sibi consuluerunt. Hist. Univ. Parisien. auctore Bulæo t. vi. p. 239. in fol. Paris. 1673.*

† Desmay.—Dreincourt, p. 157. Papius Masso. Beza: . . . quo domi non reperto. cited by Paul Henry, p. 56. t. 1.

‡ Florimond de Remond, p. 839.

le Fevre d'Étaples, who had fled from the wrath of the Sorbonne, and who "regarded the young man with a benignant eye, predicting that he was to become the author of the restoration of the church in France."* Le Fevre recalls to our mind that priest, about whom Mathesius tells us, who said to Luther, when sick,—My child, you will not die; God has great designs in your regard.† As to the rest, James le Fevre d'Étaples was a sufficiently charitable and honest man, who often repeated these two verses, which have been engraved on his tomb, at Nerac :

Corpus humo, mentemque Deo, bona cuncta relinquo,
Pauperibus: Faber hæc dum moreretur ait.

He died a Catholic, and very probably without ever having prophesied in the terms mentioned by Beza.

It does not appear that Margaret enjoined the law of silence upon her guest of Noyon, for we find him disseminating his errors in Saintonge, where many labourers flocked to hear him, and abandoned Catholicism to embrace the reformation. It was while on one of his excursions, that the missionary encountered Louis du Tillet, clerk of the parliament of Paris, and secretary of du Tillet, bishop of Meaux. Louis possessed a beautiful dwelling, at Claix, a sort of Thebais, retired and pleasant, where Calvin commenced his most serious work, THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTES.‡ The time he could spare from this literary occupation, he devoted to preaching in the neighbouring cities, and especially at Angouleme. A vine, beneath which he loved to recline and muse, may still be seen; it was for a long time called Calvin's vine.§ He was still living on the last bounties of a church which he had renounced, and which he called, "a step-mother, and a prostitute;" and on the presents of a queen gallant, whose morals and piety he lauded, continuing to assist at the Catholic service, and composing Latin orations, which were delivered out of the assembly of the synod, at the temple of St. Peter.¶

He left the court of Margaret, and reappeared at Orleans.

The reformation in France, as in Germany, wherever it showed itself, produced on all sides, disorder and trouble. In place of a uniform symbol, it brought contradictory confessions, which gave rise to interminable disputes. In Germany, the Lutheran word caused a thousand sects to spring up, each of which wished to establish a christian republic on the ruins of Catholicism. Carlstadt, Schwenkfeld, Ecolampadius, Zwingle, Munzer, Bockold, begotten by Luther, had denied their father, and taught heterogeneous dogmas, of which every one passed for the production of the Holy Ghost. Luther, who no longer concealed himself beneath a monk's robe, but borrowed the ducal sword, drove

*Beza, Vie de Calvin.

† Als er krank lag, weissagte ihm ein alter Priester, er werde nicht sterben, sondern noch ein groszer Mann werden. Mathesius, p. 2.

‡ Bayle's Dictionary. article, *Calvin*.

§ Das Leben Johann Calvin's von P. Henry, t. 1. p. 50.

¶ Florimond de Remond.

before him all these rebel angels, and, at the gate of Wittenberg, stationed an executioner to prohibit their entrance: driven back into the provinces, the dissenters appealed to open force. Germany was, then, inundated with the blood of her noble intelligences, who had been born for her glory: Munzer died on the scaffold, and the Anabaptists marched to punishment, denying and cursing the Saxon, who did violence to their faith. Every thing was perishing: painting, sculpture, poesy, letters. The reformation imitated Nero, and sang its triumphs amid ruins and blood.

In France it was destined soon to excite similar tempests. It had already troubled the church. It no longer, as before, sheltered itself beneath the shades of night, to propagate its doctrines. It erected by the side of the Catholic pulpit, another pulpit, from which its dogmas were defended by its disciples; it had its partizans at court, among the clergy, in the universities and in the parliaments. Calvin's book *de Clementia*, gained him a large number of proselytes: his disciples had an austere air, downcast eyes, pale faces, emaciated cheeks,—all the signs of labour and sufferings. They mingled little with the world, avoided female conversation, the court, and shows; the Bible was their book of predilection; they spoke, like the Saviour, in apologues. They were termed christians of the primitive church. To resemble these, they only needed that which constitutes the very essence of christianity, viz: faith, hope and charity. To be convinced that their symbol was as diversified as their faces, it was only necessary to hear them speak; some taught the sleep of the soul, after this life, till the day of the last judgment; others, the necessity of a second baptism. Among them, there were Lutherans, who believed in the real presence, and Zwinglians who rejected it; apostles of free will, and defenders of fatalism; Melancthonians, who admitted an ecclesiastical hierarchy; Carlostadians, who maintained that every christian is a priest; realists, chained to the letter; idealists, who bent the letter to the thought; rationalists, who rejected every mystery; mystics, who lost themselves in the clouds; and anti-trinitarians, who, like Servetus, admitted but two persons in God. These doctors all carried with them the same book,—the Bible.

Servetus, or Servedus, a Spanish physician, had left his own country, and established himself, in 1531, at Hagenau, where he had published different treatises against the Trinity. He had disputed at Bale with Ecolampadius, sometime before this renegade from the Lutheran faith "was strangled by the devil," if we are to believe the account given by Doctor Martin Luther. Servetus boasted that he triumphed over the theologian. Having left Bale, in 1532, and crossed the Rhine, he came to hurl a solemn defiance at Calvin; the gauntlet was taken up by the curé of Pont-l-Eveque, the place of combat indicated, the day for the tournament named, but at the appointed hour, "the heart of this unhappy wretch failed," says Beza, "who having agreed to dispute, did not dare appear." Calvin, on his part,—in his refutation of the errors of Servetus, published, in 1554,—boasts of having in vain offered the

Spanish physician remedies suitable to cure his malady.* Servetus pretends that his adversary was laying snares for him, which he had the good fortune to avoid. At a later period he forgot his part, and came to throw himself into the ambuscade of his enemy.†

The parliaments redoubled their severity: Calvin was narrowly watched, his liberty might be compromised, and even his life put in peril. He resolved to abandon France, either from fear or spite,—if we are to credit an ecclesiastical historian,—not being able to forgive Francis I. for the preference manifested by this prince towards a relation of the constable, “of moderate circumstances,” who was promoted to a benefice, for which the author of the Commentaries on Seneca had condescended to make solicitation. The testimony of the historian is weighty. Soulier knows neither hatred, passion, nor anger; he seeks after the truth, and he believes that he has found it in the recital which we are about to peruse:‡

“We, the undersigned, Louis Charreton, counsellor of the king, dean of the presidents of the parliaments of Paris, son of the late *messire* Andrew Charreton, who was first Baron of Champagne, and counsellor to the high chamber of the parliament of Paris; Madam Antoinette Charreton, widow of Noel Renouard, former master in the chamber of the courts of Paris, and daughter of the late Hugh Charreton, Lord of Montauzon; and John Charreton, sieur of la Terriere: all three cousins, and the grandchildren of Hugh Charreton; certify that we have frequently heard from our fathers, that the aforesaid sieur Hugh Charreton, had several times told them, that, under the reign of Francis I., while the court was at Fontaine-bleau, Calvin, who had a benefice at Noyon, came there and took lodgings in the hotel where the aforesaid sieur de Charreton was lodging, who, understanding that Calvin was a man of letters and of great erudition, and being very fond of the society of learned men, informed him that he would be delighted to have some interviews with him; to this Calvin the more willingly consented, under the belief that the aforesaid sieur de Charreton might be able to assist him in the affair which had brought him to Fontaine-bleau; that after several interviews, the aforesaid sieur de Charreton demanded from Calvin the object of his journey; to which Calvin answered, that he had come to solicit a pendency from the king, for which there was but one rival, who was a relative of the constable. The sieur de Charreton asked him, if he thought this nothing? He replied, that he was aware of the high consideration enjoyed by the constable, but he also knew that the king, in disposing of benefices, was wont to choose the most proper persons, and that the relative of the constable

* Admonui Servetum me jam ante annos sexdecim non sine præsentis vitæ discrimine, obtulisse meam operam ad eum sanandum, nec per me stetisse quominus respicienti manum pii omnes porrigerent.—Job. Calvini refutatio errorum Serveti, Amst. Oper. Calv. t. viii. p. 511. This refutation bears the date of 1554. It was in 1538 that Calvin had defied Servetus to a discussion. The scene here transpires in 1533: therefore the date indicated by Calvin is false.

† See the chapter entitled, *Michael Servetus*.

‡ Soulier, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, Paris, 1686. in 4to. p. 6-8.

was of very poor capacity; to which the aforesaid sieur de Charreton rejoined, that this was no obstacle, since no great capacity was needed to hold a simple benefice; whereupon, Calvin exclaimed, and cried out, that if such wrong was done him, he would find means to make them speak of him for five hundred years; and the aforesaid sieur de Charreton having urged him strongly to tell him how he would do this, Calvin conducted him to his room, and showed him the commencement of his INSTITUTES; and after having read a portion of them, Calvin demanded his opinion; he answered, that *it was poison well put up in sugar*, and advised him not to continue a work which was only a false interpretation of the scriptures, and of every thing which the holy fathers had written; and as he perceived that Calvin remained firm in his wicked purpose, he gave notice thereof to the constable, who declared that Calvin was a fool, and should soon be brought to his senses. But two days after, the benefice having been bestowed on the relative of the constable, Calvin departed, and began to propagate his sect, which, being very convenient, was embraced by many persons, some through libertinism, others from weakness of mind. That some time after, the constable was going to his government of Languedoc, and passed through Lyons, where the aforesaid sieur de Charreton paid him a visit, and was asked if he did not belong to the sect of Calvin, with whom he had lodged: he answered, that he would be very sorry to embrace a religion, the father and founder of which he had seen born. In testimony whereof, we have given our signatures, at Paris, this 20th of September, 1682. Signed: Charreton, President; A. Charreton, Widow Renouard; and Charreton de la Ferriere.—”

After having published “his Psychopannychia,” in 1534, at Orleans, Calvin left that city. He felt a desire to visit Bale, at that time the Athens of Switzerland, a city of renown, so long the abode of Erasmus; famous for its literati, its celebrated printers, and its theologians amorous of novelties; where Froben had published his fine edition of the works of St. Jerome, where Holbein had painted his picture of Christ ready for the sepulchre, where Capito taught Hebrew, and Æcolampadius commented on the Psalms.

He set out from Orleans in company with his friend, du Tillet. Near Metz, their domestic robbed them, and fled with their sacks and valises, and they were forced to seek Strasbourg on foot, nearly destitute of clothing, and with but ten crowns in their pockets. Calvin spent some time in Strasbourg, studying the different transformations which the reformed gospel had undergone, during the brief space of fifteen years. He entered into intimate relations with some of the most celebrated representatives of Protestantism. Any one else, who had arrived there free from prejudices against Catholicism, would have found salutary instruction in the ceaseless agitations of that city, which knew not where to poise itself in order to find repose, and which, since 1521, had become Lutheran, Anabaptist, Zwinglian, and, at that very moment, was dreaming of a new transfiguration, to be accomplished by the aid of Bucer, one of its new guests.

At Bale, Calvin found Simon Grynæus and Erasmus. Calvin could not neglect this opportunity of visiting the Batavian philologist, whose

fame was European : after a short interview, they separated. Bucer, who had assisted at the meeting, was solicitous to know the opinion of the caustic old man :—"Master," said he, "what think you of the new comer?" Erasmus smiled, without answering. Bucer insisted : "I behold," said the author of the *Colloquies*, "a great pest, which is springing up in the church, against the church."*

On the next day, du Tillet, clerk of the parliament of Paris, arrived at Bale, and by dint of tears and entreaties, brought with him his brother Louis, who repented, made his abjuration, and was shortly after elected archdeacon : a dignity, disputed with him by Renaudie, who was to be used by the reformation for the execution of the plot of Amboise.†

The *Psychopannychia*,‡ the first controversial work of Calvin, is a pamphlet directed against the sect of Anabaptists, whom the bloody day of Frankenhausen had conquered, but not subdued. The spirit of Munzer lived again in his disciples, who were parading their mystic reveries through Holland, Flanders, and France. Luther had essayed his powers against Munzer, imagining that by his fiery language, his pindaric wrath, his flames and thunders, he would soon overwhelm the chief of the miners, as he had defeated, it is said, those theological dwarfs, who were unable to stand before him. From the summit of the mountain, he had appeared to Munzer in the midst of lightnings, but those lightnings did not alarm his adversary, who was bold enough to face him with unquailing eye. Munzer also possessed a fiery tongue, which he used with admirable skill, to inflame and arouse the peasants : this time, victory remained with the man of the sledge-hammer. And Luther, who wished to terminate the affair at any cost, was reduced, as is well known, to avail himself of the sword of one of his electors. The wrecks, which escaped from the funeral obsequies of Thuringia, took refuge in a new land. France received, and listened to the prophets of Anabaptism.

These Anabaptists maintained seducing doctrines. They dreamed of a sort of Jerusalem, very different from the Jewish Jerusalem : a Jerusalem quite spiritual, without swords, soldiers, or civil magistracy : the true city of the elect. Their speech was infected with Pelagianism and Arianism ; on several points of dogma they agreed with Catholics : on predestination, for example, and on the merit of works. Some of them taught the sleep of the soul till the day of judgment.

* *Video magnam pestem oriri in ecclesia contra ecclesiam.*

Con. Heim. Barkhusen, in his historical notice of Calvin, (*Historische Nachricht von Joh. Calvino.* Berlin, 1721, in 4to. p. 24,) raises doubts concerning the saying of Erasmus, and other circumstances of the interview, narrated by Florimond de Remond.

† Florimond de Remond, p. 389.

‡ This work is entitled : A treatise, in which it is proved that souls live and watch after leaving their bodies : against the error of certain ignorant persons, who imagine that they sleep till the day of judgment.—Preface of John Calvin, addressed to one of his friends of Orleans, 1543, in Latin.—*Psychopannychia quo refellitur eorum error qui animas post mortem ad ultimum judicium dormire putant.* Paris. 1534.

It was against these "sleepers" that Calvin determined to measure himself.

The commentary on Seneca, is a philological work, a book of the revival, a rhetorical declamation, in which Calvin is evidently aspiring to a place among the humanists, and making his court, in sufficiently fine Latin, to all the Ciceronians of the age: this was bringing himself forward with skill and tact. The Latin language was the idiom of the church, of the convents, colleges, universities, and parliaments. The *Psychopannychia* is a religious pamphlet, and now Calvin must expect a rival in the first pamphleteer of Germany, Luther himself. It is certain that Calvin was acquainted with the writings of the Saxon monk, against Eck, Tetzels, Prierias, Latomus and the Sorbonnists. He must be praised for not having dreamed of entering the lists against a spirit of such a temper as his rival. Had he desired, after Luther's manner, to deal in caricature, he would certainly have failed. Sallies, play upon words, and conceits, did not suit a mind like his, whose fort was finesse. By nature sober, he could not, like the Saxon monk, fertilize his brain in enormous pots of beer; moreover, beer was not as yet in use beyond the Rhine. Nor had he at his service those German smoking houses, where, of an evening, among the companions of gay science, his wearied mind might have revived its energies. In France, the monks did not resort to taverns. Calvin was, therefore, every thing he was destined to become: an adroit, biting disputant, ready at retort, but without warmth or enthusiasm. He loves to bear testimony in his own behalf, that "he did not indulge his wrath, except modestly; that he always made it a rule to set aside outrageous or biting expressions; that he almost always moderated his style, which was better adapted to instruct, than to drive forcibly, in such sort, however, that it may ever attract those who would not be led."* One must see that, with such humor and style, Calvin might have died forgotten, in some little benefice of Suabia, and that he was never formed for raising storms, but only for using them.

At this epoch the grand agitator of society, was first, society itself, and then, Luther, that great pamphleteer, "whose books are quite full of demons,"† who drove humanity into the paths of a revolution, for which all the elements had been prepared years before. Luther had sown the wind, Calvin came to reap the whirlwind. Not that the latter does not sometimes rise even to wrath, but it is a wrath which savours of labour, and which he pursues as a rhymster would a rebellious epithet. Besides he is good enough to repent for it, as if this wrath burned the face over which it glowed. "I have presented some things," he murmurs, "a little sharply, even roughly said, which, peradventure, may offend the delicate ears of some. But, as I am aware there are some good persons who have conceived such affection for this dream of the sleep of souls, I would not have them offended with me." Where Calvin is concerned, we must not allow our admiration to be too easily awaked; we must note, that he is speaking of an Anabaptist, that is,

* Epistle of John Calvin to his readers, of Bale, 1536.

† *Lutheri scripta plena sunt dæmoniis.*—Theol. Tigurini in Confess. Germ. Tigurini, 1544.

of a soul which has thrown off the "papism." But let a Catholic appear,—a priest unknown to fame, who, as editor, shall have reprinted a new edition of the work of Henry VIII., "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum,"—for instance, Gabriel de Sacconay, precentor of Lyons; and you shall then behold Calvin, under the form of a dithyrambic, or congratulatory epistle, without the least regard for delicate ears, throw into the face of the Catholic filthy expressions, which one would say were gathered in some Genevan brothel.*

Calvin has himself given a correct estimate of the value of his *Psychopannychia*, and of his treatise against the Anabaptists, which one of his historians desires to have reprinted in our time, purged of all its bitterness of style.† He was right in saying: "I have reproved the foolish curiosity of those who were debating these questions, which, in fact, are but vexations of mind."

One day, this question, about the sleep of souls,—one that in the ancient church had long since been examined, by Melito—was presented to Luther, who disposed of it in a few words:—"These," said he, "are picked nutshells."‡

In an epistle to his readers, serving for preface to a new edition of the *Psychopannychia*, published at Bale, in 1536, Calvin resumes courage. He no longer dreads lieutenant Morin, and insults the papacy. If we believe him, France is marching in two-fold darkness: he calumniates the intelligence and the faith of his country. Let us examine if it be true, that God has withdrawn his Spirit and his Christ from the fellow-countrymen of Calvin.

* *Congratulation á venerable prestre etc. op. de Calvin. 1566.*

See the chapter entitled: CLERGY OF LYONS.

† Es könnte dies kleine Werk im Auszuge in einer Uebersetzung heut wohl seinen Nutzen haben, wenn man einige Härten, manch polemishes Wort Wegliesze . . . Paul Henry.

‡ Some of these reveries about the sleep of souls have been reproduced in a work entitled: *Two hundred queries, moderately propounded, &c.* London, 1684, in 12mo.

See, *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Mai, 1684. p. 289, in 18. Amsterdam, 1686.

CHAPTER VI.

FRANCIS I.

When Calvin appeared the Reformation had already been commenced in France.—Influence of Francis I. on Letters.—The Bishops,—Poncher,—Pelissier,—Du Bellay.—The Literati,—Budé,—Vatable,—Danés,—Postel.—The College of the three Languages.—Marot.—The Sorbonne.—The Poet protected by the Prince.—Literary movement.

IN the year 1802, the Institute of France proposed the following question for discussion : What was the influence of Luther's reformation upon the political condition of the different European States, and upon the progress of knowledge? Charles Villers, a writer whose talents we do not question, obtained the prize.* He sang the reformation much better than he judged it, for he made of it another muse, diffusing life and colour over every thing she touched. This work was printed. The philosophical world admired the essay of Mr. Villers, out of hatred for the ancient faith, which the government was then attempting to re-establish. It was, at that period, decided, that the reformation was an idea of progress for which Providence should be blessed, and that, had it not been for Luther, Europe would have continued to grope her way in darkness. Some few courageous souls protested against the book of the laureate, but they were not heard : the moment had not yet arrived, when impartial, enlightened reason would do justice to this manifesto against our national faith.

Still, at this day, there are weighty names, who, not impregnated with the prejudices of the Protestant school, continue to give honor to Germany for the intellectual impulse, which began to manifest itself in Saxony on Luther's appearance. They are unwilling to understand that this impulse, proceeding from Italy, and particularly from the Rome of Julius II., traversed the Alps, and, at the foot of the mountains, separated into two streams, of which one flowed into Germany, and the other into France. Had it not been for Luther, a social, reli-

* *Essai sur l'influence de la reformation de Luther*, par Charles Villers, 1 vol. 8vo. M. de Laverne has disputed the conclusions of this work crowned by the Institute, in "his letter to Mr. Charles Villers," in 8vo. Paris, 1804.—There is an admirable refutation of the book of Villers, by Robelot, ancient canon of the cathedral of Dijon, under this title—*De l'influence de la reformation de Luther sur la croyance religieuse et politique, et sur le progrès des Lumières*; in 8vo. Lyons, 1832. The German question is treated in the book of Mr. Jacob Marx: *Die Ursachen der schnellen Verbreitung der Reformation zunächst in Deutschland*. in 12mo. Mayence, 1834.

gious, and intellectual reformation would have been accomplished, without injury to faith. It had already been commenced in Germany, when he arose to preach against indulgences; and in France, when Calvin's voice began first to be heard. We think, that without closing the eyes against truth, no one can deny that the papacy was the instrument which God used for the revival of letters; from Italy came the spark destined for the illumination of the world. Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, Reuchlin, all marched by this light, and often profited by its rays, and so far from having been created, it was often obscured or perverted by them.

Calvin, just like Luther, has said:—that he was sent by God to free the world from the meshes of “Papism,” to make reason shine, and to moralize society. At this day, the eye of the stranger entering Geneva, is arrested by this magnificent motto: *Post Tenebras Lux*, enclosed in the talons of an eagle:—the vain boast of a lapidary, which provokes a smile from the Catholic traveler.

It is said that Cagliostro possessed the faculty of summoning the dead from their graves: the historian must have this power also. We shall therefore call before us some of those shades who gave glory to the age of Francis I.: we shall inquire into the condition of the human mind, when Calvin appeared. Before the tribunal of the reader, these glories of the past shall be summoned, by a man who sleeps with them in the tomb; for already has this been done, in his funeral oration for Francis I., by Galland, one of the professors of the Royal College, who “never opens his mouth without dropping honey from his lips.”

Qui quoties avidas reficit sermonibus aures,
Motis blanda putes spargere mella labris.

Francis I. was a pupil of the college of Navarre, beloved by his fellow-disciples, esteemed by his rivals, and who, at the early age of fourteen, received from one of them, as the pledge of scholastic fraternity, the dedication of a Hebrew grammar, the first rudimental work in that language known in France. The author, Francis Tissot, was a professor of the University. Thus, before he had yet attained the age of majority, before his head was circled by any crown, but such as were placed there by his masters, the muses pay their court to him. Castiglione, the author of that golden book, “*Il Cortegiano*,” must have it read to the Duke de Valois; he departs from the capital, carrying with him the corrections indicated by the prince: admirable annotations, which he exhibits to all his friends, and regards as one of his titles to glory.

The Duke de Valois becomes king: but fear not that he will forget the lessons of his masters. You shall see upon whom the favours of the monarch descend.

Poncher, bishop of Paris, resisted the accumulated wrath of Louis XII., and alone had the courage to oppose the league of Cambray. Erasmus considers him an angel descended from heaven, to revive the cultivation of letters.

— To Poncher, he gives an archbishopric, with a mission to allure

to France the most renowned of the humanists. The king is not made to wait: behold Justiniani, bishop of Nebio, comes to teach Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, at Paris.

Petit, the confessor of Louis XII., is a priest, who does not know his own parents, and has all the poor of Paris for his children.* Petit is promoted to the bishoprics of Troyes and Senlis.

William Pelissier, bishop of Maguelonne, whose erudition is proverbial, was devoted to antiquity, with an ardour which allows the soul, possessed by it, neither sleep nor repose.

— He sent Pelissier on an embassy to Venice, a city then the resort of Greek fugitives, and whence he returned loaded with all kinds of manuscripts, in Greek, Hebrew and Syriac, the future ornaments of the royal library.

The names of the prelates are not yet exhausted.

To James Colin he gave the post of Royal Almoner and reader. This is the same Colin who extemporises in Latin and French, and whose praise has been chanted by Marot:

"Aussi l'abbé de St. Ambrois, Colin,
Qui a tant beu au ruisseau cristallin
Que l'on ne sait s'il est poète né
Plus qu'orateur a bien dire ordonné.

Colin appreciated Amyot, whose fortune he was solicitous to secure.

— The king also rewarded by brilliant embassies John du Bellay Langeai; at Rome the confidential friends of du Bellay were Bembo, Vida, Sadolet, Ascolti, and the other glories of the court of Leo X., who listened to him in ravishment.

— The bishoric of Meaux, with a pension to be paid out of the private coffers of the prince, was the reward of René du Bellay, who liberally devotes his revenues to the relief of the poor, and to the purchase of a cabinet of physics, the first possessed by the province.

Now, let Calvin declaim against the ignorance of the higher clergy of France! We know some of the prelates who occupied the principal sees of the episcopacy. Can any one believe that these priests were obscure individuals, as he calls them? Could they not, as well as John of Noyon, boast of celestial endowments?

And in contemplating these violet and purple robes, we are not to imagine that Francis I. sought for light only in the sanctuary: we should be mistaken. At this epoch, the French episcopacy felt the necessity of placing itself at the head of the movement, which propelled the minds of men into new paths. The court of Leo X. gives the example of a passion for letters: the Pope is poet, musician, linguist; and our bishops, if they cannot sing under the inspiration of the muses, with laudable ambition, will study the human sciences, learn the ancient idioms,—Greek, Hebrew, Syriac,—languages no longer spoken. They will erect colleges, as did Cardinal de Tournon; instruct youth, as did René du Bellay; surround themselves with men of letters, as did Briconnet of Meaux; resuscitate from the tomb the antique Roman

* Eustathe de Knobelsdorf.

stones, as did the archbishop of Vienna; and they will know how to counsel and enlighten the prince, who has invested them with the purple.

But there is a modest votary of learning, called by Lascaris,* "the Athenian of France," who, far from court, conceals himself in an obscure retreat, to pay his suit to the muses. Erasmus knows his name, but will breathe it to no one, not from jealousy, but because he regards him as a prodigy of erudition, philology, and skill in the languages and sciences, and he wishes alone to profit by the hidden treasure. Unfortunately for the Batavian philosopher, one day, at one of those repasts, where Francis I. gathered around him all the glories of his age, and at times disputed with them on various topics,† the name of this poor provincial,—lost among his books, and ignorant of any thing of the external world, except the road to the chapel where he so devoutly prayed,—was suddenly mentioned :

It was William Budé, or Budæus.

The young student, summoned to Paris by the king, is forced to abandon his retreat, but not his books, for these he brings with him, upon a large car, in which, to be always near them, he sleeps at night, and takes his meals by day. Behold him at length at court, after a long journey, during which, Horace, Homer, Virgil, and Demosthenes, were his companions and fellow-travelers. On the very day of his arrival, he was named master of petitions, chief judge of mercantile causes, and guardian of the royal library.†

Now, while making his way to the capital, Budé indulged in delightful reveries. If he knew by heart his subterranean Rome, he was also, from the writings of travelers, well acquainted with the modern Rome of Leo X., inhabited, in default of deities, by Michael Angelo, Raphael, Bembo, and Sannazar. He had been informed that the Medici had erected a splendid building, or rather palace, for the college of the young Greeks, and he said to himself:—"If I see the king, I will say to him: Sire, it is by the study of the ancient languages that we shall revive letters; build a college,—as Leo X. has done, as also has been done at Louvain, by Jerome Busleidein, a simple canon,—where the Hebrew, Greek and Latin shall be taught. Then, when the building shall be completed, invite thither Erasmus, for whom all nations are contending; to whom Ingolstadt offers the general direction of studies; Louvain, its principal professorship; Spain, a bishopric; Rome, the purple; the Elector of Saxony, his University. You must, by all means, secure Erasmus; I solicit this in the name of the three Williams,—of William Petit, your bishop; of William Cop, your chief physician; and of William Budé, your scholar." Erasmus was, for a moment, tempted to yield to the entreaties of the king, not in order to

* *Atticorum facundiam adæquavit.*

† Galliard, *Hist. de Francois 1er*, t. vii., p. 250.

‡ *Nulla illi unquam cœna, nullum prandium, nulla statio aut ambulatio sine colloquiis et disputationibus literariis peracta est, ut quicumque mensam ejus frequentarent . . . doctissimi et diligentissimi philosophi, scholam frequentare arbitrentur.* *Pet. Gal. orat. funeb.*

enjoy the dignities which were proffered him, but that he might at Paris refresh himself with Burgundy wine, which, it was thought, might probably aid to re-establish his enfeebled health.*

Unfortunately, Francis I. had a rival:—Charles V., who defeated him on the listed field of the literati, as he had done at Padua. Erasmus was lost to us.

But nevertheless, the college of the three languages is resolved on. It shall be a royal edifice, rising from the grounds of the Hotel de Nesle. There shall be beautiful rooms for the professors, and vast halls for the students. The sum of fifty thousand crowns is assigned for the support of the institution.† A chapel shall be founded, after the designs of an architect, to be obtained from Leo X., and which shall be served by four canons and four chaplains. The accounts shall be kept, and payments made, by Audebert Catin; Nicholas de Neuville-Villeroy, secretary of finance, and John Grollier, treasurer of France, shall determine the cost; Peter des Hotels will supervise the expenses.‡

Death surprised Francis I., at the moment the college was about to be erected.

But the professors were already nominated and endowed:—two for Hebrew, two for Greek;—whose lessons were to be gratuitous. This college is called the Royal College; the professors received annually four hundred and fifty francs each, and a good abbey, which afterwards was withdrawn from their successors, “I know not,” says Remus, in a book dedicated to Catherine de Medicis, “by what spunger.”§

But, can any one divine who it is that shall nominate to the new professorships? Not the king, who, however, is a good judge, but public opinion; which, as is justly said by the historian of this monarch, has made its choice beforehand.

For Hebrew professor, they had to direct their eyes to an Italian; a Venetian, and convert to Catholicism, Paul Paradis,|| an Israelite, who knew the Talmud by heart. Paul Paradis died in 1555, lamented by Paris, and ushered into the other world amid the hymns of Olympos:

Splendor
Musarum charitumque, qui peristi
Tota flente Lutetia, ast olympos
Applaudente.¶

* De Burigni, vie d'Erasmus, p. 405, etc. t. 1. Epist. Erasmi, epist. 646.

That prodigy of erudition, Budé, was a zealous Catholic. As Calvin observes David Clement, had published his Institutes of the Christian religion, in 1535, and dedicated the work to Francis I., so Budé dedicated to the same king his treatise, *de Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum*, to induce him to support the rights of the religion established in France, and oppose the novelties which threatened its destruction. *Bibliothèque curieuse*. t. v. p. 382, note in 4to. Hanovre, 1754.

† Belleforet, Hist. liv. vi. ch. 65.—Louis Vrevin, code des privilégiés, p. 630.

‡ Hist. de la ville de Paris, t. 11, p. 140. Preuves, t. 11. p. 578.—Galland.

§ Galliard, Hist. de François 1er.

|| Galliard, Hist. de François 1er.

¶ Leger du Chesno.

The bishop of Apt, John Nicholai, presents us another professor of Hebrew, Guidacerio, who was loaded with favours by Leo X., and who, at Paris, as he relates himself, found a brighter destiny than the Medici and all the popes could have procured him at Rome.

But let us bow our heads in reverence! here is a name which eclipses all the rest: Vatable, a poor village curé of Brametz, in Valois, who, at the period of the emigration of the Greeks, arrested upon the highway a fugitive Hellenist, divided with him his bread and his parishioners, and in exchange obtained an initiation into the Greek and Hebrew languages. To his lectures he attracted even the Israelites, who returned marveling at his science, and regretting that God had not given the young professor the grace to be born a Jew.

Vatable, upon whose religious opinions there was an attempt to cast suspicion, was a good Catholic, who, from predilection, became attached to Ignatius of Loyola. Ignatius, then a pupil, was wont sometimes to prevent his companions from assisting at the recitations, by taking them to the church to pray. Govea wanted an example. There was question of subjecting the too pious student to the *aula*; now, the *aula* was some strokes of a rope upon the back of the criminal, administered by the principal and the master. Vatable pleaded the cause of Ignatius, and Govea allowed himself to relent.*

Vatable found a rival in Peter Danes, professor of Greek;† and a fortunate rival, for the poet says, "If Budé was acquainted with the Greeks, Danes also knew all others."

Magnus Budæus, major Danesius; ille
Argivos norat, iste etiam reliquos.

"A great orator, according to his disciple Genebrard, a great philosopher, a great mathematician, skilled in medicine and theology," and so disdainful of human glory, that he published, under his servant's name, an edition of Pliny, held in high esteem by the learned. Never was a literary life more completely occupied. His biographer says, "that he laboured only four hours on the day of his marriage."‡ You will find him at the royal college, commenting a Greek historian or poet; at Venice, decyphering manuscripts; in the shop of Trincavel, revising the proof-sheets of the *questions d'Aphrodisie*, which this printer has dedicated to him; at Paris, reading to Francis I., the commencement of his learned treatise, *the Ambassador*; at the Council of Trent; at

* Mos est Parisiis in scholasticos improbos ac seditiosos ad sanciendo academia disciplinam ad hunc fere modum animadvertere: Dissimulato consilio ad conductam diem in aulam collegii primarius, magistrique nudatum certo plagarum numero singuli afficiunt: id supplicium de ipsius nomine aula vulgo appellatur. Bulæus, Hist. Univer. Paris, t. vi. p. 945.

Ignatius, on another occasion, was reprimanded as a heretic, because the manuscript of his *Spiritual Exercises* had been discovered in his lodging; such fervour in a pupil astonished his professors, who imagined to discover in it a tendency to Lutheranism.

† Ravisius Textor.

‡ Die nuptiarum quatuor tantum horas studiis impendit. . . .

the court of France, where Henry II. names him preceptor of the Dauphin; afterwards at Lavour, where, forgetful at once of literature, of manuscripts, of his cherished annotations, and of the ancient writers, he thinks only of the poor of his diocess, whom he loves as a father does his children. The civil wars do not terrify him. He was visiting the mountains, in order to carry succour to the poor Catholics, whose dwellings had been burned by the sectaries, when he fell into an ambuscade:—What is thy name? said a Huguenot soldier to the Catholic priest. I am called Danes, responded the prelate.—God protect thee, said the soldier, proceed; I know thee; it is not I, that will kill the father of the poor!

Hail! exclaims Galland, hail Postel, whose merits and virtues I could not duly celebrate, had I a hundred mouths and a hundred tongues, as was said of thee by one of thy colleagues, Maurice Bressieu:

Postelli virtutes et literas
Non mihi si centum linguæ sint, oraque centum
Ferreæ vox
Enumerare queam.

“The man of all languages, of all arts, the epitome of all the sciences.”*

The life of Postel is quite a romance. At the age of eight, he is made an orphan; God having removed his father and mother by the pest. He begs upon the highway. At fourteen, he teaches reading at Say, near Pontoise. Ambition seizes him: he sets out for Paris, to seek his fortune, falls in with some Bohemians, who maltreat, rob, and strip him, and he enters the first hospital which he finds, and there passes two years of his life. He comes out cured, but without a cent in his pocket, and devoured by hunger: he then remembers his old trade, and again turns beggar. Travelers at that period were rare: he is on the point of dying with starvation, when he encounters a wheat-field, from which the grain had just been reaped: he gleans it, and sells what he has collected by the labour of a whole day, for a few farthings. The owner of the field takes pity on the boy, and employs him in his service. One morning, at early dawn, Postel takes his field staff, flies to Paris, and enters into the service of the University. He sweeps the class-room, puts ink into the inkstands, locks up the books of his master, lights fires in the stove during winter, and goes to market for the college provisions. One day, the servant was transformed into master: he could now teach all the professors of Paris! He no longer fears poverty, hunger, or thirst: he has a princely treasure in his brain. This treasure, in his notion, is not yet sufficiently large; by traveling, he will be able to procure new literary wealth. But here is the misfortune! Science has disturbed his reason. Postel becomes Rabbín, and has visions: an angel, the angel Raziel, reveals to him the secrets of heaven. He dreams of an universal religion, of which he shall be supreme Pontiff, and prints his *Concord of the World*, in

* Bressieu: de senat. Reg. profess. et Math. erga se Benef.

which he salutes Francis I. with the title of universal monarch. To the new prophet, a new land was necessary. Postel is at Rome, where he assumes the habit of a Jesuit, "because," says he, "the conduct of the disciples of Loyola is the most perfect of any in the world, since the days of the Apostles."

He abandons Rome for Venice: there he is discovered by a little woman fifty years old, who illumines him, and fills him with inspiration.* Under the dictation of this muse in rags, Postel writes his book *de Vinculo Mundi*, his treatise of mother Jane, or the very wonderful victories of women, and the "*prime nove dell'altro mondo*," (the first news from the other world,) in which the writer, divested of his terrestrial envelope, and clothed with an angel's body, sees nothing but air, † and announces to the world the apparition of a Venetian virgin, like that woman sought for in the east, three centuries after, by the Saint-simonians. The young maiden, inspired by God, prophesies of times, when the sovereign Pontiff shall choose his most christian majesty, as minister of his kingdom, and when the Turks shall believe and be baptized. Postel, "the spiritual father of the virgin," seems in this prodigious book, to have anticipated Mesmer: he teaches positively that the human eye can see locally through bodies. ‡

He had lucid intervals. It was during one of these intervals, replete with all sorts of intellectual prodigies, that Francis I. confided to him the chairs of mathematics and the oriental languages: the learned world could but applaud the perspicacity of the prince.

This impulse of classical erudition was not the only one favoured by the instincts of the monarch.

The convents began to be freed from the obligation to monopolize the guardianship of literature and the sciences: they manifested a tendency to secularization, and to liberate themselves from the cloister, within which they had so long been supported and feasted. The world felt the necessity of recurring to juridical studies, in order to ground its protest against the feudal despotism, which, for so long a period, had weighed upon its destinies: it needed other focuses of light and activity. Francis I. had the honor to establish in France, those chairs of Roman law, of which Bologna furnished the model. He invited the jurist, Alciati,

* *Retractation de Guillaume Postel*, manuscripts of the Royal Library.—*Mem. de l'Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, t. xiv.

† Io son in tal disposizione che ne satieta, ne bisogno del mangiare o bere, non fan nulla in me, imperoche quasi tutta la natura del cibo se ne va in aria et si disfa tal che a pena la centesima parte se ne va per la via naturale.

‡ Come sia possibile che siano talmente aperti li occhi di una persona che lei possi vedere localmente a traverso i corpi scuri, over quello che nessuno altro vede.

The Royal Library possesses a copy of this apocalyptic book. This is its title:

Le prime nove dell'altro Mondo, cioe l'admirabile historia e non meno necessaria et utile da esser letta et intesa da ogni che stupenda intitulata la vergine Venetiana.

Parte vista, parte provata et fidelissimamente scritta per Gulielmo Postello, primogenito della restitutione et spirituale Padre di essa Vergine. 1555.

to France, who, at Bourges, on the 29th of April, 1529, opened that school, which was destined to exert so potent an influence upon civilization. Thanks to this prince, France took the lead in behalf of other ideas, which, in their turn, were to control the future. It is a beautiful spectacle, which is presented to us by the monarch, when he takes his seat on the University benches of Bourges, to listen to the lessons of Alciati, and when he shields his poet, Marot, from the wrath of the Sorbonne.

And yet this wrath was just. Marot had abandoned France, chanting the praises of all the courts which eagerly granted him an asylum. Grumbler, epigrammatist, "pleasant in his rondos, ballads, lyrics, and cock-and-bull stories," he aped the Lutheran, in order to be different from his compeers of Parnassus, who went to mass, and abstained from meat on Fridays and Saturdays, but at bottom, he repelled the suspicion of heresy, with which they sought to tarnish his muse. He said :

De Lutheriste ils m'ont donné le nom.
Que droit ee soit; Je respond que non.

The duchess d'Etampes was desirous to see the poet again, who was tired of his exile, and burned with anxiety to return to Paris.—To her royal lover she had exhibited a piece of verse wherein Marot, speaking of Francis I., said : he would recall me,

S'il savoit bien comment
Depuis un peu Je parle sobrement:
Car ces Lombards avec qui Je chemine
M'ont fort appris a faire bonne mine.

Marot was recalled, and, unfortunately, fell into the clutches of a learned Hebraist, who would not let him go, till he promised to renounce the pagan muses, and sing after the manner of King David. Marot gave the promise, kept his word, and without knowing a word of the language of the Prophets, began to turn their magnificent hymns into rhyme. Imagine the sun darting its rays through a tuft of thorn bushes. The Sorbonne, which did not pride itself upon poesy, but theology, found that faith was outraged in the verses of Marot, and condemned the thirty Psalms of the valet de chambre. Happily, the poet had a royal mantle with which to shelter himself from the indignation of the learned body : he seized it, and forthwith began to sing :

Puisque vous voulez que Je poursuive, O Sire,
L' œuvre royal du Psautier commencé
Et que tout cœur aimant Dieu le desire ;
D'y besongner ne me tiens dispensé.
S'en sente donc qui voudra offensé,
Car ceux a qui un tel bien ne peut plaire
Doivent penser si ja ne l'ont pensé
Qu'en vous plaisant me plait de leur déplaire.

The parliament took sides with the Sorbonne, insisted; and the king was compelled to listen to his counselors; but the poet was well com-

pensated! his Psalms became the delight of the court: Henry II., to the air of a hunting song, sang "*Ainsi qu'on voit un cerf braire.*" Madam de Valentinois gave vogue to "*du fond de ma penssee.*" The queen, and the king of Navarre, danced a reel of Poitou, humming, "*re-vange-moi, prends ta querelle.*"*

Now, let them cease to tell us that the reformers were the preceptors of France. Was not the tree of knowledge flourishing there, when Calvin came to study under Mathurin Cordier? Calvin, says Mr. Nisard, formed himself after the manner of Melancthon;† but this method had not yet appeared in France, at the period when Cordier published his dialogues; Ravius Textor, his *Specimen Epithetorum*; Aleandro, his *Lexicon*; Sadolet, his *de Liberis recte instituendis*; Budé, his treatise *De Studio literarum recte instituendo*; Tissot, his Hebrew Grammar; Fichet his Rhetoric; Martin Delphe, his treatise on the art of oratory. What then can the reformation cite at this epoch of renovation? At most, Calvin's Psychopannychia, and Beza's ode to *Audebert*; and, in truth, there is here no subject for glorying. We speak not now of Italy, who had her historians when France was making her essay in Latin grammar. What work of art has the reformation produced? None. It was not it that inspired master *Roux*, the architect, poet, musician, canon of the holy chapel of Paris, when he was constructing the grand gallery of Fontaine-bleau; nor *Jules Romain*, whom Francis attracted to France by his benefits; nor *Andrew del Sarto*, the painter of the Madonna del Sacco; nor *Benvenuto Cellini*, the sculptor, so poetic; nor *Primateice*, who makes a Vatican out of Fontaine-bleau; nor *Vecelli*, the great Venetian colourist; painters, statuaries, humanists, literati, you all belong to Catholicism! We claim your glory as hers. Doubt, says a critic, (Mr. Planche,) is a method of investigation, and not of instruction or study;‡ he who learns must believe already; now, Calvin did not believe. Let him then admire himself in his pride, compare himself to the sun, applaud himself for having brought light and truth to his country.§ We think that Budé, Danes, John du Bellay, Vatable, and those floods of Greeks and Italians, who, at the voice of the great monarch, came to mingle with the Parisian population, are glorious representatives of human letters; that Nicolai, Jerome Poncher, Petit, William Pelissier, —the honor of the French episcopacy,—have taught and practised the gospel; that the reformation, in the person of Calvin, has no more found light than truth, both of which were of the patrimony of France at the time he dreamed of reforming Luther, and of converting Francis I., by dedicating to him his book of the Christian Institutes.

We must study the efforts made by Protestantism to revolutionize the religious aspect of the country, and, for the Catholic symbol, which was yesterday what it will be to-morrow, to substitute the thousand con-

* Florimond de Remond.

† Revue des deux mondes, Oct. 1839.

‡ L'Artiste, November, 1839.

§ Superbiam illam detegunt loci mille in quibus soli se comparans, pro tenebris lucem, pro falso verum attulisse in patriam gloriatur. Papirius Masso, vita Calvinii, p. 25.

fessions of its doctors. We shall see, if, as said by Beza : "The sins of France and of its king drew down upon the heads of our ancestors the wrath of heaven, and if it be true that the innovators had more science than the fathers of primitive times."*

* Dicere nec immerito quidem, ut opinor, consuevi, dum illa tempora apostolis etiam proxima cum nostris comparo, scientiæ minus illos habuisse. Beza, ep. 1, Th.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LADIES.

Intrigues of the Ladies of the Court to introduce the Reformation into France.

—The Duchess d'Etampes.—The Ladies de Pisseleu and de Cani.—The Mass of the Seven Points.—Reformation Colporteurs.—Le Coq, curé of St. Eustache, preaches before Francis I.—An effort is made to bring Melancthon to France.—Letter of his to the King.—Cardinal de Tournon frustrates the conspiracy of the Ladies.—The Placards.

Who would, at this day, believe that the intrigues of women came near robbing France of her ancient *credo* of Athanasius? The chief of this conspiracy was Margaret, the real or pretended author of the *Heptameron*; the auxiliaries were the duchess d'Etampes, her sister Madame de Pisseleu, and Madame de Cani. At Pau, Margaret had a fine castle, where since Henry IV. was born, a true feudal habitation, quite thick-set with drawbridges, and impenetrable to the human eye, were it even as sharp as that of lieutenant Morin. In this old manor the queen's court assembled of an evening, in imitation of the christians of the primitive church, and there read in French some prayer arranged *a la Lutherienne*. When Roussel, the queen's chaplain, was absent, a fugitive Carmelite, by name Solon, held forth the word. This monk did not scruple heaping insults on those whom he termed papistical gentry. These were received with loud peals of laughter, such as arose at the jovial recitals of Desperriers, in the evening *reunions*. In an especial manner, they ridiculed the Catholic mass, and resolved to displace it for the mass of the seven points.

Now, here is the mass of the seven points.*

Mass, with public communion; first point.

Mass, without elevation of the host; second point.

Mass, without adoration of the species; third point.

Mass, without oblation of the bread and wine; fourth point.

Mass, without commemoration of the Virgin and Saints; fifth point.

Mass, with breaking the bread at the altar: first, for the priest, then for the faithful; sixth point.

Mass, celebrated by a married priest; seventh point.

Mass, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinistic.

* Florimond de Remond, p. 698.

The ladies, d'Etampes, de Cani, and de Pisseleu, grew passionately fond of the mass of the seven points: had it been allowed them, perhaps, together with the abolition of confession, they would not have been very exacting with regard to the other dogmas of the Catholic church. They accepted the Pope's supremacy, purgatory, the veneration of the Virgin and the Saints, the greater part of the sacraments, and even hell itself: only it was necessary that they should have a prayer book in French, which was found for them. Margaret caused a French translation to be prepared of the "book of hours," by the bishop of Senlis, the confessor of the king, whose orthodoxy was not doubtful.

Now, this mass-book, entirely French, was a great novelty to the little court of Nerac, which set to work to peruse it devoutly, then to comment and explain it, in other words, to torture it, until at length it became utterly unintelligible. As soon as it was incomprehensible, every body wanted it. It was printed secretly, with little notes, glosses, and explanations; and colporteurs were sent forth to distribute it in the neighbouring provinces. These simple souls, who were ignorant of every thing concerning the kingdom of God, imagined their trade blessed by heaven, because it was successful. A historian of the revival has described, in joyous terms, this mercantile proselytism.

"Many companions of the French and German printers, thronged forward, allured by the prospect of great profit, who afterwards dispersed themselves on all sides, to distribute bibles, catechisms,—bucklers, kettles, anatomies, and other such books, particularly the little Psalms, when they were printed, gilt, embossed and nicely executed. Their very elegance invited the ladies to peruse them; and as avaricious merchants, allured by the hopes of gain, fear not to traverse the seas, and encounter a thousand hazards and chances from tempests, in the same sort, these companions of the type, from the appetite of gain induced by the first taste thereof, and to secure access to the cities and country places, and entrance into the houses of the nobility,—some of them made themselves pedlers of little articles for the ladies, concealing at the bottom of their bales, the little books which they presented to the maidens, quite slyly, as if they were things very precious, in order to stimulate a relish for them. These postillions and couriers of contraband merchandise often fell a prey to the flames, into which they were cast, when taken in the act of violating the laws which forbid their trade. Those who have collected the details of their history, are quite humorous, when they represent these colporteurs before the parliament, harranguing like learned doctors. John Chapot, they tell us, the vender of books which he had brought from Geneva, came near routing the whole parliament of Paris, by a very learned and very holy remonstrance, which he made to the counselors, when allowed to dispute, face to face, with three doctors of the Sorbonne, who were never willing to come direct to the subject matter of the controversy."

In the meantime, all this clamor of women, preachers, colporteurs, reached even to Paris. The Sorbonne grew angry, and threatened to end the business by a decree. The king, who wished to shield the honor of Margaret, his darling, orders her to come to Paris. The

queen arrives, attended by the lord de Buri, governor of Guyenne, and de Roussel, her almoner; an interview takes place; it is stormy. Margaret laments, cries, prays; she desires that Roussel, Coraud and Berthaud should be heard, for they preach the true doctrine. The king is melted, and consents to listen to the preachers. Roussel, Coraud, and Berthaud, by turns, preach before the king and the Sorbonne: Berthaud and Coraud, on leaving the church, are arrested and thrown into prison. Berthaud effects his escape, and in his flight comes across a church, into which he enters, and there he weeps and repents; Coraud goes to Switzerland, there meets with Farel, seduces a young girl, and becomes a minister. Roussel saves himself at Nerac, because lieutenant Morin has received orders to allow him to escape. Roussel took with him his Vicar General, Aimerici, a religious of the order of St. Benedict, who, after the death of his bishop, threw off his gown, and married an old woman, who caused him to die of ennui.

It was an affair with women, nay, with great ladies, who were resolved on the conversion of Francis I. Intrigues were renewed.

Among the orators of the age, the most admired was Le Coq, curé of St. Eustache, a sort of village missionary, who feared not to tell truth to courtiers, and in place of the incense of adulation, threw into their faces his word, quite imbued with biblical colours;—a popular preacher, with whom the literati were delighted, because he used the French language with no more deference than he did the noble seigniors. It is not precisely known, why he was attracted to the Lutheran novelties: those who preached them, in general, had very pale faces, haggard features, and skins of sepulchral hue, whilst the monks presented a rubicund visage; now, Le Coq, though very pale himself, admired the tints of vermilion.

The duchess d'Etampes and queen Margaret persuaded the king to hear the orator of St. Eustache. The discourse had been prepared beforehand. Le Coq was on fire, according to his custom; thumped the pulpit with clenched fists, and screamed at the top of his voice, that we should not stop at a contemplation of the species on the altar, but allow the mind to soar upon the wings of faith, even to heaven: *sursum corda*, he repeated, *sursum corda*.* The grand ladies, who were present at the sermon, re-echoed, *sursum corda*; but Cardinal du Bellay went out scandalized, and summoned the priest to court. Le Coq wanted to dispute, the duchess d'Etampes was of his opinion:—the dispute took place. The cardinal easily fathomed the resources, and exhausted the eloquence of the missionary. Le Coq, on that day, lost all his glory: the duchess d'Etampes ceased to receive his visits, and closed upon him the doors of her hotel.

She had a boon companion, who enjoyed the reputation of a great theologian: Landri, another curé, who desired no better fun than to be allowed to grumble and complain. Landri obtained an audience of the king, through the influence of the duchess; but the poor man mumbled such pitiful things, about purgatory and the veneration of saints, that he

* Histoire de François 1er., par Gaillard, in 8vo. t. iv. p. 264.—Maimbourg, histoire du Calvinisme, liv. 1.

was politely conducted out, and sent back to his parishioners. Landri soon again returned to Catholicism.

This exotic mania of disputation bewitched souls, divided families, enkindled enmities, and filled France with troubles and commotions. It always happened that each disputant claimed the victory, and grew proud of his glory. Whoever was in search of truth might be sure to find it in two hostile sanctuaries. And yet a person could not help asking, if truth be one, how it could be the heritage of Zwingli and of Luther, of Bucer and of Farel, of Œcolampadius and of Carlstadt, who did not agree among themselves, but damned each other without mercy.

They wished to introduce trouble into the conscience of the king, and lead him gently to doubt; they would have then left him in quiet until doubt threw him into heresy: this was a skillful manœuvre.

At that period, Melancthon was in high repute in France, as well as in Germany. It was known that he had fallen out with the puritans of his party, and was endeavouring to reconcile Luther with the Pope. The duchess d'Etampes and queen Margaret conceived the project of inviting the Saxon humanist to France. After some opposition, Francis I. at length consented to send for Melancthon, who was to dispute with the most renowned theologian of the capital. The king's billet to the Wittenberg professor is a model of courtesy:

"Some time since, I was informed, through William du Bellay, sieur of Langeai, gentleman of our chamber, and member of our privy-council, of the ardent desire you entertain to restore peace to the church, and to appease the troubles and divisions which have come upon her. Since, by the letters you have written me, and the report made by Barnabas Voceus after his return, I have learned that you are willing to take the trouble to visit me, and confer with our doctors and theologians, concerning the reunion of the church, and the re-establishment of the ancient Catholic discipline;—an object which I desire to advance with all possible care and solicitude; whether you come as a private individual or as the representative of your party, you will be welcome, and you will find me in truth very desirous of the repose, peace, honor and dignity of Germany."

Melancthon hastened with skillful terms to reply to the noble advances of the prince:

"Although, very christian and most powerful king, the very noble kingdom of France excels the other kingdoms of the earth in many other things, serving for its honor and ornament, yet among its chief eulogies, this should hold the first rank, that it has ever surpassed other nations in doctrine, and has always stood like a sentinel for the defense of the Catholic religion. On account of this, with good right, it enjoys the title of *very christian*, which is the grandest and most august eulogy that can be spoken on earth, and consequently it is a thing very praiseworthy in your majesty, that, at this time, you are careful to preserve the unity of the church, not by violent remedies, but by means of reason, as becomes a very excellent and very christian king, and that in the midst of these dissensions, it is your endeavour and affectionate aim, so to moderate and compose the efforts and violence of both parties, that the christian doctrine, being explained and purified, may be dilli-

gently studied and practised, to the glory of Christ, for the dignity of the ecclesiastical order and public tranquillity. Certainly there is nothing which merits so much glory and praise as this desire. Nothing more worthy of a king can be imagined. Wherefore, I beseech your royal majesty, not to grow weary, or cease employing all your power for this care and for this thought: for although public dissension has, in certain places, opened the way for some disorderly and wicked teachers, yet, there are many things undecided, and esteemed by good people, which it is very important, and would be very useful to teach, and which should remain in the church. And besides, the petulance of the wicked ought to be repressed; nevertheless, I beseech your royal majesty, not to allow yourself to be so led by the more severe opinions and writings of some, as to suffer things good and useful to the church to be abandoned. As to myself, no irregular opinions, such as those which have desolated and corrupted the most beautiful and most holy order of the church, have been pleasing to me, as also, there ought to be nothing more dear and commendable than this. And since I am aware that you esteem all good persons, who are versed in this same kind of doctrine as myself, as soon as I saw the letters of your royal majesty, I take God to witness, that I exerted myself with all my power, that I might immediately be able to visit your majesty; for there is nothing that I so much desire, as to have the power to give some aid to the church, according to the extent of my limited capacity. And I have begun to entertain good hopes, from the time I knew that the piety and prudence of your royal majesty desired nothing so much as to advise and provide for the common good of Christ's glory. But your majesty will learn from Voceus, how many difficulties yet retain me for a little while, which, though delaying my journey, have never turned my mind from the profession, counsels, affection and desire which I have to appease the differences of christendom. Voceus will, more in detail, unfold all these things to your majesty: in conclusion, I recommend myself to your majesty, and promise you that I shall always assimilate and defer my judgment to the opinion of the good and learned men who are in the church. May Christ preserve your royal majesty, prosperous and safe, and deign direct you for the common salvation of the whole world, and for the illustration of the glory of God. Given in Saxony, the fifth day before the calends of September, 1535."

To this long epistle, Melancthon had appended a Latin treatise, with this title: *De morandis controversiis religionis ad Gallos*, (concerning the arrest of religious controversies in France,) in which he frankly recognized the supremacy of the Pope, and the necessity of an ever living spiritual authority, for the government and discipline of the church.

After such an avowal, it seemed as if peace was on the point of being restored to the Catholic world. The great ladies congratulated themselves on the coming of Melancthon, who was to confound the science of all our Catholic bishops. Their favourite poet, however, prophesied that Melancthon would not come. He said:

Je ne dis pas que Melancthon
Ne declare au roy son avis:

Mais de disputer vis à vis
Nos maistres n'y veulent entendre.

This prevision was taken for a poetic sally, and Marot was sent back to his muses. He was, however, right. On a sudden, a red robe appeared to break off these negotiations, already so far advanced.

Cardinal de Tournon, archbishop of Lyons, one day entered into the king's presence with a book under his arm :

"You have a fine book, my Lord," said the prince, casting his eyes on the gilded clasps of the book.

"Sire, you have rightly called it," replied the archbishop, "it is written by one of your first bishops in the church of Lyons. By good fortune, I have come across this passage, which is in the third book. Ireneus relates, that he heard from St. Polycarp, that his master, St. John, the Apostle, on a time, going into the baths, met the heretic Cerinthus, and suddenly he withdrew, saying, 'let us fly, for fear we be sullied and defiled by the water, in which that enemy of truth is bathing.'"*

The archbishop had no difficulty to make the prince understand, that a disputation between Catholics and Protestants would be altogether as unsuccessful as those, of which Germany had been the theatre during twenty years past; that Miltitz, Cajetan, Veh, Aleandro,—missionaries of the Holy See,—had conferred with Luther, and been embarrassed by his obstinacy. Francis I. countermanded the passport which the chancellor was on the point of sending to Melancthon.

The public mind grew feverish and irritated. The reformation, emboldened by the protection of queen Margaret, by the praises of certain literati, by the intrigues of the duchess d'Etampes, by the threatening League of Smalcald, and in consequence of the external and internal difficulties which embarrassed the government, no longer concealed itself, as formerly. It had become scoffing, disputatious, and insolent: in place of joining its hands for prayer, it raised them in order to curse or strike. It posted its errors, and it penetrated into the workshops, to corrupt the labourers. It obscured our glories, calumniated our bishops, insulted our priests, invented words to excite public contempt against us, and called us *Papulators* and *Theophagists*. In the evening, when night had covered the earth with darkness, it ran through the streets of the city, and posted insulting placards upon the doors of the Louvre, of the convents and churches, which, on the next day, its disciples took down, and, for their amusement, read aloud. Then, if some poor monk chanced to pass by alone, he was hooted at, bespattered with mud, and pursued with hue and cry. Lieutenant Morin struggled in vain: the reformation had even seduced the king's *valet de chambre*, who took pains to place, upon the study-table of his master, some of those clandestine pamphlets, which Farel had transmitted to Paris from Switzerland.† So many of these were spread abroad during 1535, that this year was designated *the year of the placards*.

* Florimond de Romond.

† Man kann nach dem Berichte Crespin's annehmen, dasz Farel diese Mani-

The reformation came and posted on the palace of the Sorbonne, this sacrilegious manifesto, the work of some demoniac, whose courage was warmly eulogized :

TRUE ARTICLES CONCERNING THE HORRIBLE, GREAT AND IMPORTANT ABUSES OF THE PAPAL MASS.

“I call heaven and earth to witness the truth against this pompous proud mass, by which, if God grant not a remedy, the world will soon be desolated, ruined, sunk, since in this, our Lord is so outrageously blasphemed, the people are seduced and blinded, which no longer should be suffered or endured.

“First, it is, and must be very certain to every christian, that our Lord and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, as great Bishop and Pastor, eternally ordained of God, has offered his body, life and blood, for our sanctification, in a most perfect sacrifice, which sacrifice cannot and should not be reiterated by any visible sacrifice, if we would not make void that of Christ, as if inefficacious, insufficient, imperfect, making out that Jesus Christ had not satisfied for us to the justice of his Father; that he was not the true Christ, Saviour, Priest, Bishop, Mediator, to think which thing even, much more to say it, is a horrible, execrable blasphemy. And yet, the earth has been, nay, now is, in many places, troubled with miserable sacrificators; who, as if they were our redeemers, put themselves in the place of Jesus Christ, or make themselves his companions; saying that they offer to God a sacrifice, pleasing and acceptable as that of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, for the salvation of the living and the dead; which they do manifestly against all truth of the holy scriptures, making the Apostles and Evangelists liars.

“Now, they cannot induce any one of sound mind to think Jesus Christ, the Apostles and Prophets liars, but must gnash their teeth, since the Pope, and all his vermin of cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, and other *capbars*,—the sayers of masses,—are such: to wit, false prophets, damnable deceivers, apostates, wolves, false pastors, idolators, seducers, liars, execrable blasphemers, soul-murderers, deniers of Jesus Christ, thieves, ravishers of God’s honor, and worse than devils. For, by the great and admirable sacrifice of Jesus Christ, all exterior and visible sacrifice has been abolished and abrogated. . . .

“And where have they invented the gross word, transubstantiation? The apostles and fathers have not spoken thus: they have openly named the bread, bread, and the wine, wine. St. Paul does not say: eat the body of Jesus Christ, which is contained, or which is, under the semblance of bread, but he said, clearly: eat this bread. Now, it is certain, that the scripture contains no deception, and that in it there is no hidden artifice, whence it clearly follows, that it is bread; who then can endure longer such antichrists? for, having no shame in their wish to shut up in tabernacles the body of Jesus Christ, to be forgotten,

feste drucken liesz, die zu Paris Placards genannt wurden. Paul Henry, p. 54. Note.

they do not blush to say, that he suffers himself to be gnawed by rats, spiders, vermin, as is written with red letters in their missal, in the twenty-second precaution, commencing thus: If the body of the Lord, being consumed by mice and spiders, be reduced to nothing or very much gnawed; if the worm be found entire there, let it be burned, and put in the reliquary. Oh earth! why dost thou not open and engulf these horrible blasphemers? Oh villains, and most detestable! is this the body of the Lord Jesus, true Son of God, and does he allow it to be eaten by mice and spiders; he, who is the bread of angels and of all the children of God, is he given to us to be the food of beasts; he, who is incorruptible, at the right hand of God, is he to be cast by you to worms and rottenness, of whom David wrote, prophesying about his resurrection? Light up your faggots, to burn and roast yourselves, and not us, because we will not believe in your idols, your new Gods, your new Christs; who allow themselves to be eaten by beasts, and by you, likewise, who are worse than beasts, in your mummeries, which you perform around your God of paste, in which you rejoice, as a cat does over a rat, whining and striking your breasts, after having divided it into three pieces, as if you were very repentant, calling it by God's name."^{*†}

Beza himself acknowledges the violence of his co-religionists. "There is great appearance," he writes, "that the king himself began to taste something of the truth, having been won to this point, as well by his sister, the queen of Navarre, as by two brothers of the house of Bellay, whom he was on the point of inviting to France, and hearing in presence of that eminent person, Philip Melancthon; but about the month of November, in the year 1534, all this was broken up, by the indiscreet zeal of certain persons, who had caused some articles, written in a very bitter style, to be printed."[†]

This violence was not exercised only against the dogmatic teachings of our church. The reformation, grown still bolder, seized upon our very temples themselves, which it despoiled of their ornaments, upon our reliquaries, which it broke to pieces, upon our statues, which it mutilated, upon our paintings, which it tore into shreds, upon our convent libraries, which it threw into the flames, enveloping, in its hatred, the treasures of art, the riches of worship, and the spoils of the dead. Had free sway been allowed it in France, there would not have remained a stone upon a stone of our sacred edifices. And when we call to mind that these sacrilegious profanations wrested from the reformers neither tear nor sigh, we ask, if, for the sake of mere material art, it was not necessary to arrest this horde of Vandals, who would have imitated the constable Bourbon, and turned our churches into stables.

The civil power, admonished by the murmurs of the people and the eloquent voice of Budé, at last began to act. The people wanted to live and die Catholic. It was resolved, first, by a solemn procession,

* Si qua unquam fuit putrida et insulsa farrago vanitatis atque falsitatis, si qua impura sentina fabularum atque *anistoresias*, illam perfecto esse altissima voce profitemur. Resp. pro Balduino ad Calvinum et Bezam, fol. 98.

† Beza. Hist. Eccl. p. 15.

to expiate the numerous profanations. The king assisted at the procession, with uncovered head, a torch in his hand, and followed by his whole court, by the foreign ambassadors, and crowds of the people. The bishop of Paris, John du Bellay, holding the Holy Sacrament, marched beneath a canopy, borne by the Dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Angouleme, and the duke of Vendome, first prince of the blood. The king entered the grand saloon of the episcopal palace, and in these terms harrangued the members of parliament, in their red robes, the clergy, and the nobility :

“Gentlemen assistants, should the subject, upon which we invite your attention, not be arranged and presented in such order as becomes a discourse, be not astonished : the great zeal we feel for the honor of him, of whom we wish to speak, the omnipotent God, causes us so ardent an affection, that we cannot watch our words, to restrain them to the requisite and necessary order, seeing the offence offered to the King of Kings, for whom we reign, and whose lieutenant we are, in our kingdom, to accomplish his holy will ; and considering the wickedness and fatal influence of those, who try to embarrass and destroy the French monarchy, which, for such a succession of years, has been upheld by this Sovereign King, we cannot refuse to acknowledge it, even supposing that, in the progress of time, it was never before so much afflicted by them : the kings, our predecessors, have always persevered firmly in the christian, Catholic religion, of which we still bear, and will always bear, the name of “very Christian.” And, indeed, our good city of Paris has always been the leader and model of all good christians, except that of late certain innovators, persons wearied of good doctrine, wrapped in darkness, have tried to essay every thing against the saints, our intercessors, and against God, Jesus Christ, without whom we can do nothing, or prosper in any good deed, it would be a thing very absurd in us, did we not, as far as in our power, confound and extirpate these wicked persons, of feeble understanding. For this cause we have desired to call you together, and beseech you to put from your hearts and thoughts all these opinions, which will seduce you and introduce confusion among you, and we entreat you to instruct your children and servants in christian obedience to the Catholic faith, and so to follow and preserve it, that should you know any contaminated and infected by this perverse sect, even were such your parent, brother, cousin, or relation, you would denounce him. For, in concealing his wickedness, you would become adherent of this infected faction. And as to ourselves, your king, did we know any member of our family stained or infected with this detestable error, not only would we deliver him to you to be cut off, but did we see one of our children so infected, we would ourselves sacrifice him.”

On that very day, or the next, piles were erected at Paris, on which Barthélemy Milo, a shoemaker ; Nicholas Valetton, Jehan du Bourg, a huckster ; Henry Poile, a mason ; Stephen de la Forge, a merchant, mounted, chanting hymns. Had any one arrested these poor creatures, on their way to eternity, to make them recite their symbol of faith, no two of them would have said the same. They were neither Zwingli-

ans, Calvinists, nor Lutherans, but fanatics, inflated and excited by the perusal of Farel's libels, and by the clandestine preachings of some renegade, and they scarcely knew the meaning of a confession of faith. Crespin opens the gates of heaven to all of them, and inscribes their names in his book of martyrs;* whilst Westphal, another reformer, tears away this crown, woven by the hand of a Calvinist, in order to decorate with it the brows of such only as died in the faith of Luther.†

Let us lament these unhappy victims, who were led to punishment as to a martyrdom, which they welcomed on the faith of some apostate, who, the evening before, had renounced his vows of continency, and chanted the funeral pile, which he would not have been willing to ascend, as at the time was said by the poet :

O ame peu hardie
 Qui ressemble celuy qui fait la tragedie,
 Lequel sans la joier demeure tout craintif,
 Et en donne la charge au nouveau apprentif
 Pour n'estre point moqué, ni sifflé, si l'issue
 Ne réussit à gré du peuple bien receue.

Here are some noble words, called forth from a Catholic, on witnessing these human sacrifices, to which the civil power had recourse, less, perhaps, for the preservation of the national faith, than for the welfare of society, which the violent deeds of the reformers threatened to subvert.

“ In the meantime, fires were enkindled every where ; and, as on the one hand, the justice and rigor of law restrained the people to their duty, so on the other, the obstinate resolution of those who were dragged to the gibbet,—in whom it was easier to extinguish life than courage,—was the occasion of great astonishment to many. For when they saw, little feeble women seeking torments, in order to prove their faith, and, on their way to death, exclaiming only the name of Christ, the Saviour, and singing some psalm ; young virgins, marching more gaily to punishment, than they would have done to the hymenial couch ; men, rejoicing at the sight of the terrible and frightful array of instruments of death, which had been prepared for them, and, half burned and roasted, contemplating from the height of the burning piles, the number of wounds inflicted by the pincers, carrying joyful air and visage, while in the fangs of the executioners, and standing like rocks amid the waves of sorrow ;—in short, when they saw them die laughing, like those who have eaten the sardinian plant ;—these melancholy spectacles of firm suffering, produced some trouble, not only in the souls of the simple, but even of the great, who covered them with their mantles, not being able for the most part to persuade themselves that these poor people were not right, since, at the price of life, they maintained their faith with so much firmness and resolution. Others had compassion on them : sorry to see them thus persecuted, and beholding those blackened carcasses, suspended by chains in the air, in the public squares, the remains of the

* Crespin. *Histoire des Martyrs*, p. 105.

† Westphal, *contra Lascium*.

executions, they could not restrain their tears: their very hearts wept through their eyes."

This page is from the pen of Florimond de Remond,* who wrote it a short time after the punishment of Servetus, at which Calvin assisted.

* Chap. vi. 1. vii.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTES.*

The reception given to this work by the Reformation.—It is a manifesto against Protestantism.—Antagonism of Calvin and the German reformers.—Some doctrines of the Institutes.—Variations of Calvin's Symbol.—Servetus.—Idea of the polemics of the Institutes.—Appeal to Catholic authority.—Preface of the Institutes.—Style of the work.

In the month of March, 1536, Thomas Platter and Balthasar Lasius concluded at Bale the printing of "The Christian Institutes," undoubtedly the finest book which has come from the hands of Calvin. A poet of that time places it immediately after the Apostolic writings.

* *Christianæ religionis institutio, totam fere pietatis summam et quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognitu necessarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus, ac latine recens editum.*—Præfatio ad christianissimum regem Franciæ qua hic ei liber confessione fidei offertur.

JOANNE CALVINO
Noviodunensi autore,
BASILEÆ.
MDXXXVI.

At the end of the work was read: Basileæ, per Thomam Platterum et Balthasarem Lasium, mense Martio, anno 1536. Small 8vo. of 514 pages, with six pages of index: After the index was seen the figure of Minerva, with this inscription: Tu nihil invita facies dicesve Minerva. The sword of flame is not upon the title page of the work.

Page 2. Heads of the subjects treated of in this book.

1. Of the Law, containing an explanation of the Decalogue. (p. 42.)
2. Of Faith, where the symbol (called the Apostolic,) is explained. (p. 102.)
3. Of Prayer, where the Lord's Prayer is expounded. (p. 157.)
4. Of the Sacraments, where Baptism and the Lord's Supper are treated. (p. 200.)
5. In which it is shown that the five others, commonly esteemed sacraments, are no sacraments. (p. 205.)
6. Concerning Christian Liberty, Ecclesiastical Power, and Political Government. (from p. 400 to the end.)

According to Beza, the first edition of the Christian Institutes, appeared in 1535, at Bale, where Calvin was residing. Gerdes (*Scrinium antiquarium sive miscellanea Grœningana*, t. 11. p. 453.) also speaks of an edition in 1535, of which no copy can be found. He remarks that printers had a custom to ante-date the title of their works. It is pretended that the edition of 1536 is not the first, for Calvin in it names himself on the title page, in the commence-

"Præter Apostolicas post Christi tempora chartas
Huic peperere libro sæcula nulla parem."*

It is the work, for which the scholar of Noyon began to collect materials at Bourges and Orleans, and at which he laboured, while traveling hither and thither through France. The reformation waited for its appearance with great expectation. Some fragments, read by the author to his friends, had been retained, transcribed and circulated at the court of Margaret. Desperriers, Marot, Roussel,—all the boon companions of the Queen,—declared that the Institutes were destined to change the face of the Catholic world. It was known that Calvin had

ment of the preface, and at the head of the first chapter. Whereas, from the reformer's own testimony, we know that the work did not appear under Calvin's name. The edition of 1536 is in the Brunswick library and at Geneva. M. Turretin, in a letter of 1700, says, "the most ancient edition to be found at Geneva, is one in 8vo. of 514 pages, printed at Bale, per Thomam Platterum et Balthasarem Latium, m. martio, ann. 1536. At the end of the book is the representation of Minerva, with these words: Tu nihil invita faciesve dicesve Minerva. The beginning is wanting, as far as page 43." Sponde admits a French edition of Bale, August, 1535: Bayle, art. *Calvin*.

Paul Henry thinks there must have been a French edition of 1535, the same that appeared under the Pseudo-name of Alcuin, and a Latin edition of 1536, which bore the name of Calvin. In the French edition of the Institutes of 1566, the preface is dated Bale, August 1st, 1535. It remains to be explained, how no copy of the original edition has reached our times.

In the Royal Library at Paris there exists a very rare edition of this work, (1565,) of which this is the title:

Institution de la religion Chrestienne nouvellement mise en quatre livres; augmentée aussi de tel accroissement qu'on la peut presque estimer un livre nouveau; par Jean Calvin.

A LYON

Par Jean Martin.

On the reverse of the frontispiece is a "portrait of the true religion," with these verses:

Mais qui es tu (di moy) qui vas si mal vestue,
N'ayant pour tout habit qu'une robe roinpue?
Je suis religion (et ne sois plus en peine),
Du père souverain la fille souveraine.
Pourquoy t'habilles-tu de si poure vesture?
Je méprise les biens et la riche parure.
Quel est ce livre là que tu tiens en la main?
La souveraine loy du père souverain.
Pourquoy aucunement n'es couverte au dehors
La poitrine aussi bien que le reste du corps?
Cela me sied fort bien a moy qui ay le cœur
Ennemi de finesse et ami de rondeur.
Sur le bout d'une croix pourquoy t'appuyes-tu?
C'est la croix qui me donne et repos et vertu.
Pour quelle cause as-tu deux ailes au costé?
Je fay voler les gens jusques au ciel vouté.
Pourquoy tant de rayons environnent ta face?
Hors de l'esprit humain les ténèbres Je chasse.
Que veut dire ce frein? que J'enseigne a dompter
Les passions du cœur, et a se surmonter.
Pourquoy dessous tes pieds foulles-tu la mort blesme?
Pour autant que Je suis la mort de la mort mesme.

* Paulus Thurlus.

undertaken this work in order to prove that the reformation had found a theologian and an author. The book first appeared in Latin. In front, Calvin had placed a dedication to Francis the First, which he translated into French, as many years later he did the book itself. The dedication is one of the first monuments of the French language, it wants neither boldness nor eloquence. When it appeared, the literati declared that "it was a discourse worthy of a great king, a portico worthy of a superb edifice, a composition which might be ranked by the side of De Thou's introduction to his Universal History, or with that of Cassaubon, to his Polybius."*

In the works of Protestant writers, we know of no more eloquent manifesto, against the principle of the reformation, than the Christian Institutes. Bossuet, with all his genius, has not, in one sense, done better than Calvin. Behold here a book of patient study, destined to destroy Catholicism, to change in France the religion of the State, and to seduce Francis I. They hope that it will ruin that ancient faith of our fathers, which has wearied the iron of so many executioners; which has surmounted the wicked instincts of so many innovators; and it is found, in the designs of Providence, that this very book, is the most terrible weapon, which the reformation could have forged against its own existence. If Calvin, in this exomologesis, have told the truth, it is necessary to burn the books of the other reformers; if he be the Apostle sent by God, the Protestants of Germany are no more than teachers of falsehood; if the Institutes were written under the inspiration of eternal wisdom, Luther's Captivity of Babylon, Melancthon's Augsburg Confession, the book of Zwingli *De vera et falsa religione*, and the *De Cæna* of Œcolampadius, should be cast into the fire. For the doctrines taught by Calvin in his Institutes are not those taught by the German innovators. The word of the one no more resembles the word of the others, than shade resembles the sun. If God robed with his cloud the Israelite of Noyon, he must have left the doctors of Germany in darkness. Let the reformation itself inform us.

"We say," and it is Calvin who speaks, "we say that the Roman church is not the daughter of Christ, that her popes have profaned her by their impieties; have poisoned her and put her to death."†

"And I," says Luther, "I reply, that the church is with the papists, because they have baptism, absolution and the gospel!"‡

"And," he adds in another place, "they have the Eucharistic sacrament, the keys of conscience, preaching, the catechism, the Holy Ghost, &c."§

* Man hat in der gelehrten Welt gesagt, desz es nur drei treffliche Vorreden gäbe: die des Präsidenten Thuanus vor seiner Geschichte, die des Casaubonus ad Polybium, die dritte Calvin's morus, panegyrique, p. 101, Inst. Ed. Icard, et Melanges critiques de M. Ancillon, Balc, 1698, p. 65.—Taneguy Lefevre, in Scaligerina, p. 40.—To these three fine prefaces Bayle adds that of M. Pellisson to the works of Sarrazin, p. 715. † Inst. Chret. p. 774.

‡ Etsi fatemur apud eos esse ecclesiam quia habent baptismum, absolutionem, textum evangelii. Luth. in. cap. 28. Gen. fol. 696.

§ Recht Sacrament des Altars, rechte Schlüssel zu Vergebung der Sünden, recht Predig-Ampt, rechter Catechismus, als das Vater unser, Zehen Gebott, die

The University of Helmstadt, consulted in the eighteenth century, concerning the marriage of Elizabeth, princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, with the Archduke of Austria, adds—that the Catholics have the foundation and principle of faith; that the Roman Catholic Church is a true Church, which hears the word of God, and receives the sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ.*

Calvin continues—"I maintain that the Pope of Rome is the head and prince of the cursed kingdom of Anti-Christ."

And the Augsburg Reformers rise up to defend Anti-Christ, and say: "Such is the summary of our doctrine, in which it may be seen that there is nothing contrary to the Catholic Church, and to the Roman Church."

So that, when Calvin so grossly insults the See of Rome, behold, the churches of Germany, and its cenacle of doctors come forward to defend her boldly against the scholar of Noyon.

"I maintain, says Calvin, that whenever they represent God by means of images, his glory is tarnished and degraded by the impiety of falsehood; † that all the statues which they carve for him, that all the pictures which they paint for him, give him infinite displeasure, as so many outrages and opprobriums."‡

This same language was, at Wittenberg, addressed by Carlstadt to the image-breakers, when Luther, if you remember, mounts the pulpit, vindicates Catholicity against the foolish rapsodies of the Arch-deacon, and causes the statues of the saints to be replaced, amid the applauses of all the intelligent of Germany. Calvin invented nothing: he derived all his arguments against the use of images from the books of Carlstadt, which the Saxon monk visited with unsparing ridicule.

Calvin goes on:—"Christian, when they present you bread as a sign of the body of Jesus Christ, do you make this comparison: as bread sustains the material life of our body, so the body of Christ should be the nourishment of our spiritual life. When they bring you wine, the symbol of blood, think that the blood of Christ should revivify you spiritually, as wine does your material body.§ Ignorant persons! who add to the text their own conceits, and to show their subtilty of mind, imagine I know not what reality, and what substantiality, and that prodigious transubstantiation, a folly of the brain, if there ever was one."||

The church of Wittenberg cries out blasphemy! the voice of her apostle is full of wrath.

"Imbecile! that thou art, who hast never understood the scriptures: didst thou understand the Greek, the text would blind thee, it would

Artickel des Glaubens, christliche Kirch, Christus, Heil. Geist, rechter Kern und Ausbund der Christenheit; wer das hat, hat alles. Op. Lutheri, t. iv. Jen. Germ. fol. 408-409.—Nuremb. fol. 320, t. 11. Witt. Germ. fol. 279, t. iv. Alt. fol. 275.

*Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire Ecclesiastique pendant le 18e. sie. cle t. l.

† Inst. Chret. p. 51. ‡ ib. † Christ. Relig. Insti. p. 238. || Ib. 240.

leap into thy eyes: read, then, simpleton; in virtue of my title of Doctor, I say to thee, that thou art an ass.*

We have beheld Luther at Marbourg, at the colloquy imagined by Philip of Hesse, refuse to give the kiss of peace to the sacramentarians, whom Calvin represents, and in leaving for Wittenberg, devote them to the wrath of God and men.

Let the Hungarian Poet then sing the Institutes, as the most splendid gift which heaven has bestowed upon the christian world since the Apostolic times!

Has not Luther just torn out the page,—where Calvin, speaks of the bread and wine of the Eucharist as mere emblems,—as a page inspired by the evil spirit.

Let Professor Samaritanus then envy Bale this christian treasure which France will never be able to rival.†

Has not this Christianity been convicted of novelty and folly by Melancthon, Luther, and Osiander?

If Francis I. embraces the symbol of Calvin, Luther threatens him with reprobation.

If he listens to Luther, Calvin damns him irremediably, for allowing himself to be seduced by “the detestable error of the Real Presence.” Apostles of the Lord agree then among yourselves! You both tell me, take and read, here is the book of life, the bread of truth, the manna of the desert. I listen to you, and your word throws my soul into an abyss of doubts.—Who then will cause to shine “that first star of day,” as Calvin calls his gospel.‡

“I will” says Osiander, “but accept my essential justice.”

“I will,” says Calvin, “but reject the justice of the heretic Osiander, and accept my gratuitous justice.”

“I will,” says Melancthon, “but remain in the papacy, for the church must have a visible head.”

“I will,” says Calvin, “but reject the pope, the prince of darkness, the anti-christ of flesh and bone.”

“I will,” says Luther, “but believe that with your lips you receive the body and blood of Christ.”

“I will,” says Calvin, “but believe that your mouth only touches the symbols of the flesh and blood, and that faith alone has the power to transform them into reality.”

Where then did the first star of day, announced by John of Noyon, stop in its course?

“At Zurich,” says Zwingle.

“At Bale,” says Œcolampadius.

“At Strasbourg,” says Bucer.

“At Wittenberg,” says Luther.

“At Neuchatel,” says Farel.

*Luther's Tisch-Reden, or Table-Talk.

† Hoc doleo tantum quod abreptus nobis sis, quodque alter loquens Calvinus, nempe Institutio Christiana ad nos non perveniat. Invideo Germaniæ, quia quod illa assequi non possumus.—Manuscripts de Gotha.

‡ Aux fidèles de Geneve durant la dissipation de l'église.

But in what Bible shall I read the word of God?

“In Luther’s Bible,” says Hans Lufft, his printer.

“In the Geneva Bible,” say Calvin and Theodore Beza.

“In the Bible of Zurich,” exclaims Leo Judæ.

“In the Bible of Bale,” answers Œcolampadius.

“In truth,” says Beza, “the translation of Bale is pitiful, and in many passages offensive to the Holy Spirit.”*

“Cursed be the Geneva translation,” says the colloquy of Hamptoncourt, “it is the worst that exists.”†

“Be on your guard,” says Calvin, “against the Bible of Zwingle, it is poison; for Zwingle has written ‘that Paul did not recognize his epistles as holy, infallible scripture, and that immediately after they had been written, they had no authority among the Apostles.’”‡

What will Francis I. do? If he accept the Christian Institutes as a book of truth, behold what he must henceforward believe, and with him his court, his children, and his very christian kingdom, in order to obtain eternal life:

“That just as the will of God is the sole reason for the election of men, so the same will is the cause of their reprobation.§”

“That the fall of the children of Adam comes from God: a horrible decree! But no one can call into doubt that God, from all eternity foresaw and sealed beforehand the end which man is to have.||”

“That for certain reasons, to us unknown, God wills that man should fall.”

* . . . Dasz sie in vielen Sachen gottlos, und der Meinung des heiligen Giestes gänzlich zuwider seye. R. P. Dez. S. J. in reunione Protest. p. 480.

† Dasz unter allen Dollmetschungen, die bis zu der Zeit heraus gekommen, die Genfische die allerschlimmste und untreueste wäre. R. P. Dez. loc. cit.

‡ Ignorantia vestra est quod putatis cum Paulus hæc scriberet, evangelistarum commentarios, et epistolas apostolorum etiam in manibus apostolorum atque autoritate fuisse, quasi vero Paulus epistolis suis et jam tunc tribuerit ut quidquid in eis contineretur sancto sanctum esset. Zwingl. t. II. op. contra Catabapt. fol. 10. Some of the reformers doubt of the salvation of Zwingle: Ipsum in peccatis mortuum et prohibende gehennæ filium esse pronunciare non verentur.—Gualt. in Apol. pro Zwinglio et operibus ejus, initio primi tomi op. Zwingl., fol. 13.

§ Inst. lib. 3. ch. 22. § 11.

|| Ib. § 7. Let us listen to a Protestant: “There is scarcely a dogma which Protestants reformed with consent more unanimous, than that concerning grace and predestination. But this concord did not endure, whether because it was a state a little too violent for the littleness of our minds, which, not being able to elevate themselves to God, were pleased to bring God down to man; or because it was thought more proper to expound the dogmatic expressions of the sacred writers by their popular expressions, than to explain the popular by the dogmatic; or finally, because they had other views and other motives. Discord therefore introduced itself among Protestants, for there are some who attribute the salvation of man, not to the eternal decree of predestination, but to the good use which he makes of the grace which God gives him.”

De l’etat de l’homme après le péché, et de sa prédestination au salut: où l’on examine les sentimens communs et où l’on explique ce que l’Ecriture Sainte nous en dit. A Amsterdam chez Henri Desbordes dans le Kalver-Straat, 1684. in 12mo.

“That the incest, by which Absalom defiled his father’s bed, was the work of God.”*

“That God sends the devil with command to be a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets.”†

Desolating doctrines! which the reformation has not entirely abandoned, ‡ and which would take away from man his liberty, chain him irremediably to evil, and make the crimes of the creature proceed from the Creator! What judge, with Calvin’s gospel in his hand, could condemn the criminal who should say to him “it is written in these lines by our apostle, that the incest of Absalom is the work of God. I have not defiled his image, he has himself profaned it; I am innocent!”

“Now let Beza place this work upon the brow of the reformation, as a crown of glory, and exclaim: “To thee particularly, and to thy doctrine and zeal, are France and Scotland indebted for the re-establishment of Christ in their midst; the other churches, numerously dispersed through the whole world, confess that they owe thee much on this account. Let thy books be the first witnesses of this, and especially the present work of the *Christian Institutes*, and which all learned and God fearing men admit to be of an understanding so excellent, an erudition so solid, a style so elegant, that they should not know where to point out a man, who, up to this time has more dexterously expounded the holy scriptures; and for another band of witnesses, behold the furious mataëlogues, or vain babblers, sworn enemies of the truth of God, who have frothed with all their rage against thee, before and after thy death. Do thou with Jesus Christ, thy master, enjoy in the meantime, the rewards with which he recompenses his faithful servants. And do you, churches of the Son of God, continue to learn from the books of this great doctor, who, although his mouth be closed, nevertheless, in spite of envy, continues to teach us to the present day?”§

Had the court embraced the doctrines of *The Institutes*, the church of *Notre Dame*, converted into a Protestant meeting-house, could not have contained a single specimen of each variety of the sects, which have had their birth beneath the sun of this new gospel. Bossuet, had he then lived, would never have dared undertake his admirable history of the Variations.

Servetus had read, in the *Institutes*, Calvin’s explanation of the dogma of the Trinity; he had been but little satisfied with it, inasmuch as he still continued to write concerning this mystery. His eyes had fallen upon the lines where Calvin teaches that the christian soul, if forbidden by the church to live in intimacy with sinners, ought, in order to reclaim them from error, to try exhortations, mildness, prayers, tears,

* Absalon incesto coitu patris torum polluens detestabile scelus perpetrat; Deus tamen hoc opus suum esse pronunciat. Inst. Christ. 18. † 1.

† Inst. Chr. ch. 13. † 1.

‡ It is manifest, says Jurieu, that God is the first author of all evils, and if we speak sincerely, we shall admit that nothing can be replied for God, which will impose silence on the human mind. Examen de la theologie de M. Jurieu, par Elie Saurin, pasteur de l’Eglise Wallonne d’Utrecht. 2 vol., La Haye 1694, in 8vo.

§ Beza. in the proface of his edition of Calvin’s opuscles.

even though they should be Turks or Saracens, and Servetus had been tenderly affected, and had blessed the writer.* At a later period, shut up in the prison of Geneva, lying upon straw, devoured by vermin, he recalled these beautiful words of the Institutes, and felt a hope that the lips which had let them fall, would never pronounce, against a christian, a sentence of death. . . . Unhappy wretch, who knew not the heart of his judge! The Spaniard died, and the edition which followed the punishment of the heretic, came forth, revised, corrected, and purged of those passages, which might have arrayed themselves as a condemnation of the prosecutor, judge, and executioner.†

The Christian Institutes shared the fate of the Augsburg Confession. Both, it is known, were, on their first appearance, regarded as the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. At each edition, the Holy Spirit of the reformation, corrected, revised, and remodeled his theme with the docility of a school-boy; he listened to the sage or foolish criticisms of the learned world, and with his wing now effaced a passage, which gave displeasure to some co-religionists, now a phrase or chapter, which needed more illumination; substituted for a badly understood text, one that had been more profoundly studied; adroitly removed a chapter; flashed out a few rays of anger, that there might be no doubt of his having passed that way; and left untroubled all the insults with which he had inspired the copyist against the Pope and the papacy. The Catholics amused themselves at the expense of these revolutions in doctrine, for example, on the subject of the Eucharist, of Grace, and Free-will. But the disciples had an air not to understand criticism, and continued to affirm, with virginal candor, that their father had never changed any thing in the doctrines which he delivered.‡ Calvin is himself more worthy of belief; he has recognized the labour of the file and stylus. “. . . As to the first edition of this work, I did not expect that it was to be so well received, as God, in his inestimable goodness, has willed: consulting brevity, I had acquitted myself too lightly. But having known, with time, that it has been received with such favour, as I should not have presumed to desire, (far less to expect,) I have felt myself compelled to acquit myself better and more fully, towards those who receive my doctrine with so great affection, for it would be ingratitude in me not to satisfy their desire, as far as my littleness will allow.— Wherefore, I have tried to do my duty in this, not only when said book was printed the second time, but every time; and whenever it has been

* . . . Familiarius versari aut interiorem consuetudinem habere non licet; debemus tamen contendere sive exhortatione, sive doctrina, sive clementia ac mansuetudine, sive nostris ad Deum precibus, ut ad meliorem frugem conversi in societatem ac unitatem ecclesiæ se recipiant. Neque ii modo sic tractandi sunt, sed Turcæ quoque, ac Sarraceni, cæterique religionis hostes. p. 147.

† Cæterum editio hæc . . . notatu digna est propterea quod loca plurima, quæ de ferendis hæreticis agant, in quibusque Calvinus mitius senserat complectitur: quæ quidem loca in posterioribus, iisque imprimis, quæ post supplicium Serveti exierant, editionibus, quod supprimenda ea Calvinus putavit, frustra investigaris. Liebe, Pseudonymia Calvinii, p. 27.

‡ In doctrina quam initio tradidit ad extremum constans nihil prorsus immutavit, quod paucis nostra memoria theologis contigit. Beza. Vita. Calv.

reprinted, it has been somewhat augmented and enriched. Now, although I had no occasion to be dissatisfied with the labour I had done, yet I confess that I have never been myself contented, until I have brought it into the order in which you now see it, and I can allege, for good approval, that I have not spared myself in serving the church of God in this place the most zealously that for me is possible; in this, that last winter being menaced with death, by the quartan fever, the more my sickness urged, the less I spared myself, in order to perfect the work, that living after my death, it should show how much I desired to satisfy those who had so much profited by it. I would have wished to do this sooner; but it will be soon enough, if well enough. Now, the devil with all his band, is greatly mistaken, if he thinks to cast me down or discourage me by charging me with falsehoods so frivolous."

The devil, with his band, meant no other than the Catholic writers, who had a little too bitterly shown up the variations of Calvin, and dared call in question the theological value of the book of Institutes. The reformed polemics, in traversing the Rhine to come from Wittenberg to Paris, have not changed their forms of language. At Noyon, as at Erfurth, it is a thing decided, that the devil has covered himself with the tiara in the person of Leo X. or Adrian VI., and that his imps have put on violet robes, by taking possession of Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, of Petit, bishop of Paris, and of Nicolai, bishop of Apt.

Not long since, disputing against the Anabaptists, Calvin said: "In fact, I have always avoided insulting and biting words." The Catholics are less fortunate: he likens them to monkeys, and compares their mass to the Grecian Helen.

"The papistical ceremonies," says he, "correspond with the thing. Our Lord, in sending his Apostles to preach the gospel, breathed on them. By which sign he represented the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which he put in them. These good, simple men have retained the breathing, and, as if they vomited the Holy Ghost from their throats, they murmur over their priests, whom they ordain, saying: receive ye the Holy Ghost. They are so given, that they leave nothing which they do not perversely counterfeit: I do not say like mountebanks and farce players,—who have some art and manner in their doings,—but like monkeys, who are frisking about and trying to ape everything, without propriety or discretion. Also, they say: look at the example of our Lord; but our Lord has done many things which he does not wish to be imitated. He said to his disciples: receive ye the Holy Ghost. He also said, on the other hand, to Lazarus: Lazarus, come forth. He said to the paralytic: arise, and walk; why do not they say the same to all the dead and palsied?*"

"Certes, Satan never devised a more powerful machine for combating and prostrating the kingdom of Jesus Christ. This mass is like a Helen, for whom the enemies of truth to-day wage battle with such great

* Inst. l. 4, ch. 19, p. 1221, edit. Lyons, 1565.—"In asking miracles of us, they are unreasonable. For we do not forge our gospel, but we retain that, in favour of which were performed all the miracles operated by Jesus Christ and his Apostles."—Dedication to Francis I.

credulity, with such great fury, and with such great rage. And verily, it is a Helen with whom they thus commit spiritual fornication, which is of all the most execrable. I do not here touch, only with my little finger, the heavy and gross abuses by which it could be proved that the purity of their cursed mass has been profaned and corrupted. We should know how many villainous bargains and trades they make; how many illicit and dishonest gains, such sacrificators acquire by their masses; with what great robbery they gratify their avarice.*

To-day, the Christian Institutes are definitively judged at the bar of criticism. It is a factum of some thousands of pages, in which the author desired to give a body and soul to what was then called the reformation. To demonstrate that Protestantism was not born yesterday, the writer has recourse, first, to the Bible, which he bends to his own caprices; next, to the Catholic fathers: so that if you listen to him, his word should be nothing but an echo of that of the Ireneuses, the Pothiuses, the Augustines, the Cyprians, and even of Jerome, whose soul was, by Luther, valued at so little, that it is well known he would not give six goulden for it.† Is it not strange, to see Calvin seriously maintain, that our fathers of the primitive church professed the same opinions with himself, in regard to the symbolical presence, whilst Luther, with all the Greeks and all the Catholics, avails himself of the same doctors, to prove, against the Sacramentarians, that the dogma of the real presence has always been taught in the church? Where then is the falsification to be found? Calvin also pretends that his ideas, concerning predestination, works, grace, and justification, are those of our great Catholic writers. But why then does he not vindicate their memory, outraged by Luther? Why does he not open the gates of heaven to them, in place of leaving them in those dwellings of fire in which they were buried by the apostle of Germany, his father in Jesus Christ, as he calls him? This church, then, was not so miserable as he pretended, inasmuch as in it were taught the dogmas which he resuscitates, in order to reproduce them by the sound of his voice? Thanks, then, Calvin! thanks to thy book, we may acknowledge all the glories of our religion, given up, as they had been, to the ridicule of the drinkers of Thorgau beer. Cyprian, Augustine, Lactantius, and thou, too, Jerome,—ye all enjoy the sight of God! It is Calvin himself who honors you with the name of Saints.

There is nothing new in this much vaunted book of the *Institutes*. All the disputes excited by Eck, Prierias, Miltitz, and Cajetan, are here again agitated, but without life, without impulse, without éclat. Calvin resumes the discussion concerning the Pope's supremacy, at the point where Luther left it in his duel with Eck, and without rejuvenating it by the power of his word. It is perceptible that he has only studied it under one of its phases, in the very terms laid down by Luther, without concerning himself with the logic of his adversary. It was not thus he should have proceeded; the learned world expected something else from the pupil of Alciati. Sometimes he excites the curiosity of the

* Inst. page 1196. ed. de Lyons, 1565.

† Luther's Table-Talk.

reader, by setting forth, in magnificent terms, an objection which he is about to resolve and pulverize: for example, when there is question concerning the double will in God; the one, in virtue of which He orders, by secret counsel, what, by the other, the public law, He has forbidden.* The reader rouses himself and is interested; then suddenly, this master of christian doctrines lets fall words of impotence, and candidly confesses that the mind could not be able to conceive this phenomenal dualism.†

However, as a literary production, the *Christian Institutes* merit some praise. If the theologian looses himself amid the obscurities of his argumentation, the writer gives out some beautiful coruscations. We must go back even to Calvin to understand the transformations of our idiom. Though separated from the Catholic church, one may still belong to the republic of letters, and the heterodoxy of Calvin should not prevent us from lauding in him the writer's skill, and the rhetorician's phraseological facility. One is, at times, in admiration, while reading the dedication to Francis I., and some of the chapters of this treatise, to behold with what docility the material sign obeys the caprices of the writer. Never does the proper word fail him. He calls it, and it comes. It is Job's horse, which runs and stands in obedience to the least impulse of the rider; only the scholar's caparison never frisks or emits flames. Antiquity is reflected in the *Institutes*. From Seneca, Calvin has stolen a numerous period; from Tacitus, certain rudenesses of style; from Virgil, frequently a honey quite poetic. The study of the Roman law has furnished him with the severe forms of language, a clear and precise expression, but, unfortunately, it is one also too often dry and barren. It is a defect, which he candidly acknowledges, when speaking of Saint Augustine, whose prolixity displeased him, and, as he said, obscured the streams of light which the doctor spread over his writings.‡

We shall, farther on, have occasion to estimate the author of the *Christian Institutes*, as a writer.

* Inst. lib. 1. cap. 18. † 8. † Methode de card. Richelieu, p. 311.

‡ Scis quam reverenter de Augustino sentiam. Quin tamen ejus prolixitas mihi displiceat, non dissimulo. Interea forte brevitatis mea nimis conscisa est; sed ego in presentia non disputo quid sit optimum. Nam ideo fidem ipse mihi non habeo, quod dum naturam meam sequor mihi veniam dari malo quam alios improbare. Tantum vereor ne et stylus aliquantum perplexus et longior tractatio obscurant ea lumina quæ ego illic conspicio. Ep. Mss. Gen. Calv. Sept., 1549. Farello.

CHAPTER IX.

CALVIN AT FERRARA.—1536.

Italy is faithful to the forms of religion.—Calvin at Ferrara.—Ariosto—Cagnini.—Marot.—The Duchess of Ferrara.—Calvin is compelled to leave Ferrara.—Epistolary correspondence with the Duchess.

THE reformation has, at all times, misunderstood the genius of nations. When Luther, for the first time, entered Rome, his soul thoroughly German, saw nothing in its wonderful spectacle of festivals, churches and museums, but the revival of the follies of paganism. He thought himself transported into the Rome of the Cæsars. Child of the north, in his fancy he contrasted the splendours of the Italian ritual with the ceremonies of his own church of All-Saints, and he believed that truth should be clad in coarse cloth, and not vested with stuffs, glittering with rubies. He was not far enough initiated in the science of *Æsthetics*, and did not sufficiently comprehend the mysterious and antique harmonies of the Latin liturgy, with the bright skies which served as a pavilion for Rome. A land, whose suns are so ardent, whose auroras are so brilliant, whose perspectives are so transparent, and whose atmosphere is so luminous, must have temples of marble, altars of porphyry, chalices of gold, and sacerdotal robes sparkling with precious stones. A people marching upon the Appian way, amid mausoleums, temples, trophies of sea-fights, baths, aqueducts, works of the Greek and the Roman chisel, will never consent to place their God beneath a roof of straw. To compel them to renounce their gorgeous ritual, you must first do two things; you must give them another nature and other skies. The seductions of the Saxon word would have succumbed before these obstacles. At a later period, Luther was at last able to understand, that truth could not exact the sacrifice of the material inclinations of a people, and he pleaded very eloquently in behalf of images, against Carlstadt,—that undisciplined soldier of the reformation,—who desired their banishment from the christian temple. It is true, that the voice of Erasmus, in tones of wrath, had denounced to Germany this assault on matter, idealized by the hand of man.*

Calvin had not yet heard him, when he composed his *Institutes*, in which he devoted images to the indignation of the christian soul. He

* *Erasmi epistolæ passim*. Erasmus called the books of Carlstadt, *insulsissimos libros*. Ep. adv. minist. Arg.

was under the dominion of Carlstadian ideas, at the epoch of his departure from Bale for Ferrara, towards the end of March, 1536.*

Ferrara was a city of monks and literati, from the midst of which arose a marble palace, which had received the title of the palace of diamonds. It was enveloped in an enclosure of gardens, embellished or created by Hercules d'Est. It was the habitation of the muses, the asylum of the learned, the rendezvous of artists, attracted from all quarters, by the reputation of Ariosto. Happy land! which the chanter of Roland could never summon up sufficient resolution to abandon!

"Let him, who wishes, over-run the world," did he say, "let him go to France, Hungary, England, Spain; as to myself, I have seen Tuscany, Lombardy, and Romagna; I have seen the Apennines, the Alps, and the two seas, is not this sufficient? I remain at Ferrara."†

Chi vuol andare a torno, a torno vada,
Vegga Inghilterra, Ungheria, Francia e Spagna.
A me piace habitar la mia contrada. . . .

Ariosto's abode was small, neat, resplendent. The poet had purchased it with means furnished by the generosity of his patrons. It might be seen from afar, perched upon a hill, whence the eye could command the city, wrapped up in the ample folds of its churches and monasteries. On the door were read these two Latin verses, the improvisation of Ariosto:

Parva sed apta mihi, sed nulli obnoxia, sed non
Sordida, parta meo, sed tamen ære domus.

Almost beside it arose the habitation of Calcagnini, whose rent was paid by the prince, and where the occupant,—poet, theologian, antiquary and archæologist,—passed his time in decyphering hieroglyphics, in making Latin verses, and writing dissertations on the Bible.

Near the church of the Benedictines stood the abode of that painter, who was such a lover of form, that he depicted the devil with the visage of Antinous, the eyes of an archangel, and the tresses of a young maiden:

———Gia un pittor, non mi ricordo il nome,
Che dipingere il diavolo solea
Con bel viso, begli occhi e belle chiome.

Ar. Sat 5.

But the finest ornament of Ferrara, at that epoch, was the duchess, the daughter of Louis XII., still young, and acquainted with history, the languages, the mathematics, astrology, and a sufficiency of theology for a disputation with a licentiate. Like Margaret of Navarre, she leaned towards the new doctrines,—less because of any attractions of heart, than because of her hatred of the tiara;—"resenting," says Brantome, "the wrongs in so many respects done to the king, her father, by the Popes, Julius II. and Leo X., whose power she denied, refusing

* Paul Henry, t. 1. p. 153.

† Ariosto, satire 4.

obedience, not being able to do worse, inasmuch as she was but a woman.*

Now, to visit the duchess, and not to inflame his genius by the sun of Italy, Calvin undertook this long pilgrimage, alone, and a part of the way, on foot. He has left us no account of this journey; we know not if, like Luther, he still remained cold while gazing upon that city so richly embellished by the arts. He came there to disseminate his doctrines, under the name of Charles Despeville,† forgetting that the Saxon monk did not change his name, when he set out from Wittenberg for Worms. At the court of Ferrara, Calvin found madame de Soubisse, her daughter, Anne de Partenay, and her son John, who afterwards become one of the leaders of the Protestant party.‡

There also lived Marot, secretary of the duchess, who must needs, with all his force, deal in theology. He was then engaged in translating the Psalms into French verse, although he understood nothing of the language of the sacred writers; a fact which, in his Gascon vanity, he thought would be forgotten.

The duchess, in despite of her dislike for the papacy, had, in the beginning of this year, made peace with the court of Rome. There was promise of good friendship, on the part of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Duchess of Ferrara. One of the articles of the treaty required that the French, whose turbulent disposition was dreaded, should be banished from the states of Ferrara. Marot, therefore, retired to Venice, where, in a little dwelling, he forgot the quarrels of this world, on beholding the sun of the east come each morning to rouse him from his slumbers. Calvin was also obliged to leave. He carried with him the memory of the welcome he had received from the duchess, and the hope of a better futurity for Italy, which was not willing to embrace his doctrines. Ferrara remained faithful to her skies, to her muses, and to her creed. Rome had just been making her presents of some of the finest pictures from the easel of Raphael, Andrew del Sarto, and Perugino. Whilst Calvin was waging war against images, the Italian soil was every where opening to present to view the statues of the gods, which had been there sleeping for so many centuries. The Catholic muse assisted at this waking up of matter, and chanted it in every language. Fortunate it was, that the triumphant reformation was not there to close the tomb again, and seal it forever!

We have under our eye, a life of Calvin, by a minister of the Evangelical Church of Berlin. We are precisely at that page, where the author of the *Institutes* is leaving Italy, to return to Noyon, whose cemetery encloses all that he should have held most dear in the world. For, his father is no more; his mother too, is dead, and the ashes of the good abbé Hangest have long since been cold. We were waiting for Calvin at the hour, when he is about to set foot on that dear soil, which ever makes the exile's bosom leap with emotion. We called to

* Moreri. art. *Renee de France*.

† One of the pseudo-names of Calvin.

‡ "He received the most distinguished attentions from the duchess, who was confirmed in the Protestant faith by his instructions." Th. M'Crie.

mind that humble cemetery where Luther, the evening before his entry into Worms, goes to kneel on the stone which covers the body of a poor brother whom he had loved tenderly. The monk, at that time, forgets the Pope and emperors, and thinks only of weeping the loss of his friend. At Noyon reposed remains far more precious for Calvin. Two wooden crosses stood erect: on one, might be read the name of his father, on the other, that of his mother; he did not visit this holy place. He said nothing of it, at least, in a letter addressed to one of his friends. He did not weep, therefore; or if he wept, he concealed his tears, as he would have done a bad action. He was right, perhaps, in the eyes of the reformation: for, in his Christian Institutes, he condemns the commemoration of All-Souls,—the festival on which the church sings their glorious combats upon this earth,—the material sign of the cross, purgatory, and even the prayer which the soul breathes for the dead. He has done more: for has he not irremediably damned all those who have gone to sleep in the arms of Catholicism? It is known that he exhibits the Pope under the features of anti-christ, and that of our church he makes a harlot, and the impure lady of Babylon. Now, the mother who nursed him, the father who supported him, the abbé who educated him, persevered in the faith, and had their eyes closed by a Catholic priest. Calvin, therefore, ought neither to pray nor to weep.

During his stay at Noyon, where he could not have remained unknown, in spite of all his precautions, we do not perceive that the authorities even thought of molesting him. He is allowed in quiet to arrange his affairs, to sell what belonged to him, and with his brother Anthony and his sister Maria, to make preparations for his departure for Switzerland. The historians of the reformation party, declare that his word was not sterile at Noyon; they say that he succeeded in seducing a gentleman of Normandy, a judge in that city, and others besides, who consented to share his exile, and depart for another land.* This apathy of the authorities, represented by the reformation as so cruel, must fill us with astonishment. What was lieutenant Morin about at Paris?

The itinerary of the little colony had been traced by Calvin: they were to pass through Strasbourg and Bale, in order to reach Geneva; but, while Francis I. was traversing the Alps, with a view to conquer Milan, Charles V. was invading our provinces: Lorraine was filled with soldiers. Calvin thought it prudent to change his direction,† and took the route of Savoy.‡

Muratori was mistaken, as remarked by Senebier,§ in causing Calvin to traverse Aoste, after leaving Noyon. He had visited this city on his way from Ferrara, and remained there for some days, for the dissemination of his doctrines. It appears that a few souls allowed themselves

* Drelinecourt, p. 47. Paul Henry, p. 156. t. 1.

† Paul Henry, t. 1. p. 156.

‡ Ex Italia in Galliam regressus, rebus suis omnibus ibi compositis, abductoque quem unicum superstitem habebat Ant. Calvino fratre, Basileam, vel Argentinam reverti cogitantem, interclusis aliis itineribus per Allobrogum fines, iter institutum proseguere bella coegerunt. Ita factum est ut Geneviam veniret.—Beza, vita Calvinii, p. 368.

§ Hist. Litt. de Geneva, in 8vo. t. 1. p. 32.

to be seduced. At Aoste is shown a stone pillar, on which may be read the following inscription in Latin: "Hanc Calvini fuga erexit anno 1541, religionis constantia reparavit anno 1771." Calvin was watched, "and the wolf was obliged to quit the valley, and fly to Geneva."* They might have inflicted on him the punishment of the scourge or the galleys, according to the laws of the country. Peter Gazino, bishop of Aoste, was labouring effectively to repress heresy throughout the states of Savoy.†

Henceforth, exile, in place of breaking, served to strengthen the ties which united Calvin and the duchess of Ferrara. From that moment, there existed an epistolary correspondence between the princess and the reformer. The daughter of Louis XII. was compelled to seek a refuge in France. She took up her abode in the Castle de Montargis, whose ruins, even in our days, so powerfully affect the soul of the artist, and which, by its massive grandeur, recalled to the mind of the duchess the diamond palace of Ferrara. At intervals, the gates of the castle might be seen to open for the entrance of a courier, who brought to the exiled lady news from Calvin. The whole aim of the theologian was, to preserve this royal conquest to the cause of the reformation. He endeavoured to strengthen the princess against the assaults of her husband, and of Orits, the controvertist.‡ Once, Geneva must have thought that the heart of the noble lady had rebelled, and that she had returned to Catholicism. Calvin, in a little note, allowed some words of sadness and fear to escape from his pen. "They give me very sad news: they say that the duchess of Ferrara has yielded to menaces and reproaches. How rare is constancy among the great!"§ Calvin was mistaken; the duchess, in that other Patmos, continued Calvin's work, read the Bible in French, cursed anti-christ, and openly favoured the reformation party.

One day, the duke of Guise, who had espoused Anne d'Est, the daughter of Renée, intimated to his mother-in-law; that if she continued her movements against the tranquillity of the state, he would come and besiege her in her castle of Montargis. The duchess then remembered that she was daughter of Louis XII., and responded to the duke's envoy:

"Be well advised as to what you are about to do, and if you come here, I will be the first in the breach, where I will try whether you have the audacity to kill the daughter of a king, whose death heaven and earth would be obliged to avenge, upon yourself and all your line, to the very babes in the cradle."||

Renée would have done what she said: "for, although she had no very grand exterior, because of the deformity of her body, she had,

*Ma nel presente anno veggendo si scoperto questo lupo, se ne fuggi a Ginevra.—Guicciardini.

†De Costa. memoires. Hist. sur la Maison royale de Savoie, etc. t. 1. note 70, p. 358.

‡De Costa. memoires, hist. t. 1. p. 358.

§De Ducissa Ferrariensi tristis nuncius ac certior quam vellem, minis ac probris victam cecidisse. Quid dicam, nisi rarum in proceribus esse constantiam exemplum?—Mss. Goth. Farello, Nov., 1554.

||Bayle, article, Ferrara.

however, a great deal of majesty.”* The duke of Guise left her unmolested in her castle, where death soon came to deliver her from a more unmanageable enemy,—her husband.

Renée was unwilling to die in the faith of the paladin Roger, whose fame was chanted by Ariosto, and from whom the house of Est claims descent; she lived and died semi-Lutheran, semi-Calvinist, but to the last attached to the veneration of the Saints.

Calvin wrote to her from Geneva :

“ I am aware, madam, how God has fortified you, under the most rude assaults ; how, by his grace, you have virtuously resisted all temptations, not being ashamed to bear the opprobrium of Jesus Christ, though the pride of his enemies swelled higher than the billows of the sea : that, besides, you have been a nursing mother to the poor faithful, expelled, and ignorant where to seek an asylum. I am aware that a princess, regarding the world only, would not only have been ashamed, but have regarded it as an insult, to have her castle called a *Hotel-Dieu*; but I could not do you greater honor than to speak thus, to eulogize and acknowledge the humanity which you have displayed towards the children of God, who found refuge with you. I have often thought, madam, that God reserved these trials for your old age, to compensate for the arrears you owed him, because of your timidity in times past. I speak after the ordinary manner of men : for, had you done a hundred times, nay, a thousand times as much, you would not compensate for all you owe him for the infinite benefits which he continues to bestow upon you. But I conceive that he has done you singular honor, in employing you in such a duty, making you bear his standard to be glorified in you, entertain his word—the inestimable treasure of salvation,—and become a refuge to the members of his Son. The greater care should you take, madam, in future, to preserve your house for him pure and entire, that it may be consecrated to him.”†

Before pursuing the development of Calvin’s life, we must consider: the condition of Switzerland in the sixteenth century, the domination of the episcopacy at Geneva, and the religious and political physiognomy of that city, at the moment the exile of Noyon made his appearance there.

*Brantome.

†Manuscrits fr. de Geneve. 10 Mai, 1563.

CHAPTER X.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

Commencement of the reformation in Switzerland.—Ulrich Zwingle.—Causes of the success of the reformation.—The nobles.—The people.—The Councils.—The Senate.—Violent proceedings against Catholicism.—Portrait of Farel.—His theses.—Geneva before the reformation.—Political condition.—The house of Savoy.—The Eidgenoss.—Religious monuments of Geneva.

In 1516, a Franciscan friar, by name, Bernardin Samson, came to Zurich, to preach indulgences.* Among his auditors was a young priest of Toggenbourg, whose name was Zwingle, and who found the word of the missionary rather unseemly. Born in a canton, the wealth of which consisted of mountains of snow, glaciers, and precipices, Zwingle could not forgive Samson for causing the Swiss to discover some alms, amid the slight revenues which they gathered from their fields.† When, in justification of the zeal of the brother who made the collection, it was said to Zwingle that these voluntary alms were destined for the completion of that Basilica, on which Bramante was labouring, Zwingle shrugged his shoulders, and pointed to the summits of the Alps, bathed in sunlight, and presenting a thousand artistic caprices, more beautiful far, than anything which could either be conceived or produced by human imagination. The name of Bramante awakened in him no emotion; by his instincts, he resembled the vulgar reformers of Germany, and Carlstadt especially; with this difference, that his cold soul would never have consented to employ brute force for the suppression of images in the churches. A man of thought, he had made some study of the biblical books; seeking, in this commerce with the inspired word, to satisfy the curiosity of his pride rather than the religious cravings of his soul. He knew nothing of the created world, but the horizons of his canton, and he thought that Catholicism, with its images made by human hands, did not suit the contemplative soul, which, to

* D. Franz Volkmar Reinhard's *sämmtliche Reformationspredigten*, Sulzbach, 1823, t. I., p. 144.

† Schröckh's *Refor. Gesch.* t. II. J. L. Hess, *vie de Zwingle*.—While blaming the perhaps inconsiderate zeal of Bernadin Samson, we must be cautious not to credit all the fables circulated against the Franciscan. A modern writer, the author of *Calvin and the Swiss Reformation*, John Scott, (London, 1838,) exhibits to us, Samson at Baden, after the service for the dead, exclaiming to the assistants, *Ecce volant! Behold they soar on high!*—an old Huguenot legend, which he found in Mycomius, and which should be classed with those absurd stories circulated about Tetzels. Quite recently, the memory of the Dominican has been vindicated in a work, in German, published at Mayence.

meditate upon the works of God, has a sufficiency of natural wonders in the physical world. He had blamed pilgrimages to holy places, to which at this epoch, the Swiss were accustomed to resort for prayer; he discovered that the christian who wished to journey with advantage, should descend into his own heart, to study himself there first, and from this contemplation to rise to the adoration of the Divinity. This was the most beautiful sanctuary: the others were material works. Having once entered upon this mystic way, he soon made for himself a world,—wherein God was to be adored according to his spirit, as contracted as the valley where he dwelt, and of whom every emblem must be banished,—a world, where the priest's voice should have no more authority than it could derive from the divine word, that is from the naked letter of the text.

The declivity was perilous, and led directly to the abyss. What would he have said of the traveler, who, wishing to visit the mountains of Albis, should be content to read the Latin description of some old writer, and have refused the assistance of a guide?

Thus after having expunged from his symbol, pilgrimages, indulgences, images, purgatory, celibacy, the curate of Einsiedeln,—causing ruin after ruin,—came to deny the efficacy of the sacraments, and even the real presence. Enlightened by a dream, and some sort of apparition of a being without color, he had abandoned the secular teaching of his church, for a fantastic interpretation which destroyed the very letter, whose power he desired to re-establish. Universal authority was by him contemned, and sacrificed to a narrow and gross individualism. In place of that beautiful Catholic heaven,—peopled with our martyrs, ascetics, doctors, fathers, virgins,—he dreamed of an Olympus, in which amid the same glory he placed Samuel, Elias, Moses, Paul, Socrates, Aristides, Hercules, Theseus;* and even Cato, who tore out his own bowels. We comprehend why Luther has damned Zwingle.†

The reformation has some strange boasts. If we listen to it, the exposition of faith by Zwingle is the song of a *melodious swan*; it is Bullinger who affirms this. Because a mountaineer population, whose gross inclinations are flattered, allows itself to be hurried away, almost without resistance, by the voice of its priest, the reformation triumphs, cries out “a miracle!” and imagines to see the luminous light of the desert enveloping the pulpit where Zwingle preaches, and the tongues of fire of Jerusalem descending upon the lips of the orator.

Those who are acquainted with the condition of Helvetic society during the middle ages, have no great difficulty in responding to Bullinger. During that period, feudal Switzerland was at the same time governed by her bishops and her barons. To the first she paid tythes,

* Exposition de la foi Chretienne, dediée á Francois, 1er.

† Ich will disz Gezeugnus und diesen Ruhm mit mir für meines lieben Herrn und Heylands Jesu Christi Richterstuhl bringen, dasz ich die Schwärmer und Sacraments Feinde! Carlstadt und Zwingli, etc., von ganzem Herzen verdammt und gemiden habe. . . . Op Lutheri, t. viii. Jen. fol. 192. b. 198. a voir: Johann Eisenius: de fugiendo Zwinglio—Calvinismo, t. I., p. 123, 124 et alias.—Philippus Nicolai in seinem kurzen Bericht von dem Calvinisten Gott. p. 99.

to the last annual rents. Her grain, her fruits did not belong to her: she could only dispose of them according to the good pleasure of her lords. When her sons came forth from her fields, they had to take up the lance and sword, and assume place among the retainers of the Suzerains. Switzerland has, at the price of her blood, achieved her freedom, but it was only to fall back under the yoke of sovereigns, more unmanageable than the Austrian. Those iron hands revenge themselves, by wringing from the mountaineer population the pretended exactions of the Roman Chancery. Delivered by the arms of their vassals from foreign despotism, they would be glad to be rescued from the yoke of the Roman court. Who will free them? It will not be the people, who have so many reasons to hate their new masters. Nor would the sword be of much use to them, even should the people be willing to unsheathe it in their defence. The word, is then the new Arminius whom the lord waits for in his castle.

Let the word then resound, and we shall behold them rally around him who announces it, although indeed attracted by mere worldly interests. Luther declared, that "the golden suns of the tabernacles have operated more than one conversion."* Now, the churches of Switzerland had suns, chalices, soutans, reliquaries, copes, and dalmatics of gold and silver. Nowhere in all christendom, could be found more splendid abbeys. Around these convents were spread pasture grounds, in which the seigniors would have been delighted to graze their horses. Therefore, the immediate effect of a reformation should be to secularize the monasteries, and to deliver up the riches of the church to the covetousness of the great and powerful. Protestantism proceeded thus in Saxony: far different from the princes of this world, who break to pieces the instruments which they have used, it showed itself generous, and did not even forget the cellars of its protectors, which it caused to be filled up with wines stolen from the monks. In Switzerland the example could not be lost. That the people, after all their disappointments in the war of independence against the house of Austria, consented, to lend to their lord the plebeian lances which were stored away in the arsenal, should not awaken our astonishment: the people were once more the dupes of the promises of their masters; they expected, when the hour should arrive, to obtain part of the booty of the monasteries, deemed sufficiently rich to satisfy the avarice of nobles and villeins; but this time they were well determined to stipulate for a larger share of the administration of the country.

In general, the councils were filled with the nobles or their creatures, and in some of the cantons, the powers of the senate were really exorbitant. It ruled over the magistracy and the clergy. In case of need it could prohibit fractious theologians from grinding their grain at the city mills, or buying provisions at the markets. It had famine in its service: the priest could only make use of excommunication, which kills the soul but leaves the body living. The weapons were not equal.

* Viele sind noch gut evangelisch, weil es noch katholische Monstranzen und Klostergüter gibt. xii., Pred., p. 137.

What could the clergy answer to this order of the Senate of Bale?

“We make known to pastors, theologians and students, that they must be present at the discussion set on foot by master Farel, in default of which, they shall not have permission to grind their grain at the mills, to cook their bread at the ovens, or to buy their meat and vegetables at the markets of the city.”* They were forced to obey, for the palace of the bishop was not provisioned. Therefore, on the day indicated by the senate, all the streets of Bale were thronged by priests of every rank,—bishops, grand vicars, pastors, chaplains, vicars, monks of all orders, Franciscans, Benedictines, Dominicans, clerks, tonsurates; Counts, Barons, who scarcely knew how to read; professors of the University, masters of colleges, students, merchants, peasants;—who came, compelled by brute force, to assist at the tournament. The theologians of the two religions were undoubtedly the natural judges of the field of combat; but most commonly, the senate remained sovereign master. If, yielding to party influences, governed by ideas of locality, and domestic hatred, urged on by the noise of steel gauntlets, and the shouts of students, it decided that the new word had triumphed over the old, then the question was adjudicated, and forthwith the hand of some mason attached a cord to the neck of a statue, and made it leap from its pedestal, amid the acclamations of the laughing crowd. And in the evening, it was publicly announced that the image was vanquished, and that Moses was right in forbidding the worship of idols, which, against the text of the decalogue, had been invented by the papacy. But if, quite fresh from the school benches, some seminarian took it into his head to draw a distinction between an image and an idol, they pointed out to him the glory which covered the Saint’s head with its halo of massive gold, and the argument was irrefutable. At Liestal, the people, excited by the magistrates, cried out to the monks: “Discourses, and not masses!” The monks resisted; “and they cut off their supply of provisions.”† The historian has not even one souvenir of pity for these poor religious, and yet they had cleared out the rubbish from the whole country of Hauenstein.

More than once, the episcopacy was desirous to forbid these passionate contests of human speech, in which Catholic faith could acquire no recompense but blessings; whilst error, if triumphant, marched away with hands full of gold. But they would not even hearken to its voice. If the prelates insisted, if they appealed to the weapons of St. Paul, anathemas, they were driven from their sees. Then Capito (Kœpflein) and Œcolampadius, (Hausschein) usurped their places and enacted the office of judge, theologian, priest, and bishop. Zwingle, who divined the hostility of the spiritual power, had organized a religion in which, according to his gospel,‡ the priesthood was devolved upon every chris-

*Secus factoris, usu molendinorum, furnorum et mercatus interdicat . . . Melch. Adam in vitis theol. extern., p. 114.

† Hottinger, p. 191. Ruchat. Hist. Reform. t. I, p. 230.

‡ Zwingle war entschieden republikanisch, wie Calvin; darum wollten beide die apostolische Gleichheit unter allen Geistlichen ohne Aufseher. Paul Henry, t. I, p. 138.

tian: so that senators, who yesterday performed the part of theologian, would waken up to-morrow, priests according to the order of the pastor of Einsiedeln.

The religious form of the country was soon changed in Switzerland: Bale, Neuchatel, Zurich, and Coire embraced the reformation. But Luther's work had been spoiled; he no longer recognized it, so profound was the transformation! At each theorem, from some new evangelist, the Saxon monk roused himself, in order to condemn the indocile soul. When Ecolampadius died, he caused the devil to intervene, to account for the sudden death of the theologian. When Zwingle fell at Cappel, in his struggle with the lesser cantons, the doctor returned thanks to God, for having removed from this earth that enemy of the holy name of Jesus;* whilst Besa sang:

Zwingle, homme de bien, sentant son ame esprise
De l'amour du grand Dieu, de l'amour du pays,
A Dieu premierement voua sa vie, et puis
De mourir pour Zurich en son cœur fit emprise,
Qu'il s'en acquitta bien, tué, reduit en cendre,
Il voulut le pays et verité defendre.†

Ecolampadius and Zwingle, having abandoned the doctrines of the Saxon reformer, were desirous to constitute a distinct apostolate for themselves. In fact, Ecolampadius did not believe in the *enslaved* will of Luther, and Zwingle rejected the impanation of Wittenberg. Both, then, had reason to expect, if they died impenitent, that they would fall into Luther's Hell, and suffer in those lakes of fire, in which he had already cast Prierias, Eck, Miltitz, and Leo X. Had he known the theses which Farel had just affixed to the door of the Cathedral of Bale, he would have banished him from his paradise.

These were thirteen in number: the tenth, quite revolutionary in its character, was thus conceived:

"Persons who are in good health, and not entirely occupied in preaching the word of God, are obliged to labor with their hands."‡

Now, at Bale, the persons, who were not occupied in preaching the word of God, were in part, the monks, the bishop, the prebendaries, the great, the rich, the magistrates. Judge, if such a thesis was not

* Pistorius may be consulted, im zweyten bösen Geist Luther Azoara vi. p. 163, and the following, where are found numerous passages extracted from the works of Luther against Zwingle and the Swiss.—Lavather, in hist. Sacram. p. 32.—Surius, in comm. ad annum 1543, fol. 350.—Ulenberg, in vita Lutheri, cap. xxxii, n. 1.

† Zwingle, a good man, feeling his soul absorbed with love for the great God, and love for the country, vowed his life to God first, and then in his heart resolved to die for Zurich, of which he well acquitted himself, being killed, reduced to ashes, he was desirous to defend the country and truth.

‡ Hist. de la Ref. de la Suisse, par Ruchat. t. I, p. 234.

A modern historian thinks it extraordinary that the Catholic clergy used their influence to have Farel banished from Bale, and with great simplicity says: "Leaving Strasbourg he visited Bale; but as the hostility of the Roman Catholic clergy did not permit him to continue in that city, he removed, by the recommendation of Ecolampadius and other friends, to the neighboring principality of Montbelliard."—John Scott's *Calvin, and the Swiss Reformation*. p. 184.

calculated to inflame the whole city, and if Schnaw, the episcopal vicar, was right in making opposition to its discussion in full assembly?

The reformation can boast no more ardent soul than that of Farel. Under the kings of Israel, Farel would have acted the part of priest of Baal; in Franconia, that of Munzer or Bockold; in England, in case of need, he could have taken the place of Cromwell or of Knox.

He was born for the popular drama, with his eye of fire, his complexion scorched by the sun, and his red and badly combed beard. Were you to hoist this half dwarf upon a post, concealed amid his thick tufts of hair, he would attract the people as they passed along the street. Carry him down into the mines of Mansfeld, and the workmen would quit their anvils to hear and follow him. If you were to transport him into a pulpit surrounded by images, he would seize a knife or hammer, to deface and break what he calls idols. One day a procession was moving through the streets of the little town of Aigle; the priest was carrying the holy sacrament: Farel pierces through the crowd, marches up to the canopy, seizes the sun of gold, casts it upon the ground, and saves himself by flight. Falsehoods, violence, seditions, all things seemed to him proper for the destruction of "the papism."* He imagined that he heard a voice from heaven crying to him, march! and he marched, like death, without disquieting himself about robes, red or blue, about mantles of ermine or silk, crowns of dukes or kings, sacred vessels, pictures or statues, which he considered mere dust and rubbish. He insolently scoffed at history, christian art, traditions, and forms. Had not Froment, Saunier, or some other moderated this hot southern head, of our holy edifices, there would not remain a stone upon a stone. To chastise the world, God would not in his wrath, want more than two or three fallen angels, kneaded out of the slime of which Farel was composed, and society would relapse into darkness.

He was in Switzerland, at the time that Calvin was vainly trying to reform Italy. Montbelliard, Aigle, and Bienne, agitated by his preaching, had expelled their monks, and instituted a new religion. He did not pass through a city or town, without causing the inhabitants to measure arms. "Heaven suffers violence," he said on these occasions: and he accomplished his mission of noise and destruction without misgiving or remorse. The magistrates themselves, frightened by the stranger's attempts, did not dare keep him but a moment: the revolt accomplished, they opened the city gates for him, and Farel, satisfied, took his pilgrim-staff, and set forth on foot across the mountains, in quest of another city where his voice might excite another tempest. The horse of Attila cut the grass under his feet: Farel's staff laid low, on the highway, the crosses of Christ and the images of the Virgin.

He was at Geneva, in 1536, where, like a skillful workman, he had profited by the intestine divisions which agitated the city, in order to spread his gospel, which, moreover, in nothing resembled the gospel of Luther.

To estimate and understand the success of Farel's preaching, we need not, after the manner of the historians of the reformation, call in

* *Erasmii Epistolæ. Ep. xxx, lib. 18, p. 798.*

the intervention of the Deity. It is sufficient merely to glance at the social condition of the city, and the unceasing contests of parties, which, for so long a time, had tormented it. We are then convinced that a great prospect of success awaited the man, whose soul was of a temper sufficiently stern, to enable him to control with his voice the dissensions, the hates, and the rage, to which the city was a prey.

On the banks of Lake Lemán,—which by Voltaire was preferred to all the other lakes of Switzerland,—set in the midst of a basket of verdure, illumined by the rays of light which glanced from the summits of the surrounding mountains, and from Mount Blanc, covered with its snows and ices, and, in the distance, lifting high its gigantic crest, arose Geneva, a Celtic city, as is indicated by the name it bears, and for which, in the ninth century, it exchanged that of Gabennum.* This was the capital of the Allobrogi, which Cæsar called the strong city.† It preserves its republican organization under the Romans, who are found frequently descending the Alps, traversing it, and there leaving traces of their passage. Under Marcus Aurelius it perishes by a conflagration. Aurelian rebuilds it, and there establishes fairs, which, at a later period, become for the nation an abundant source of riches; and, through gratitude, it assumes the name of the emperor. In the fourth century, it is a christian city, and has its saints, its doctors, and its bishops. Republicanism there facilitates the establishment of christianity. Dionysius, driven out of Venice, comes there to preach the gospel. When that German tribe, the Burg-Huns, organize a monarchy, Geneva becomes the capital of the new state. Gontram, in 585, lays the first foundation of a Catholic temple; the erection is prosecuted by Otho, and under Choldwig it is completed, and dedicated to the prince of the Apostles.‡ This is the church of St. Peter, destined to be profaned and despoiled by the reformation.

It is Gondebaud who causes the Gombette law to be digested; an ancient code, presenting a view of the manners and customs of the German people, and of the Roman Allobrogi. Gondebaud makes vain efforts to introduce Arianism into Geneva; Catholicism was destined to triumph; Clovis, king of the Franks, had just embraced it. The Burgundian kingdom,—torn to pieces, dismembered, dissolved,—soon passed under the dominion of the Franks, but still preserved its laws and its franchises. To the Burgundian city, Charlemagne accorded new franchises, for it had welcomed him with lively sympathy, when he was waging war in Lombardy. The office of count of the Genevese must have been an institution of this prince. It seemed, however, to have been limited to the territory which enclosed the city. Geneva, under the Franks, had neither lord nor prince.§ The form of the government was, at this epoch, entirely republican; the people named their bishops, who were confirmed by the Pope. At the death

*Geneva, which signifies 'outlet of the river.' Some of the names of the mountains, rivers, and towns, seem to be derived from the Celtic.

†Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Geneva.—Cæsar, de bello Gallico, lib. i. cap. 6 et 7.

‡Spon. t. i. p. 28.

§Fazy, Essai du precis de l'histoire de la Republique de Geneve, t. 1er.

of Charlemagne, the destinies of the Genevan country are changed; it becomes, for a time, part of the kingdom of Lorraine, and then part of the kingdom of Arles; afterwards, for more than half a century, part of transjuran Burgundy,—an epoch of glory, in which the historian delights to point out the generous efforts of its princes, Rodolph and Conrad, to embellish the city. With Rodolph III. terminates that fine line of kings of little Burgundy, whose names have remained popular.

It was at the death of Rodolph, the last king of Burgundy, in 1032, that Geneva came under the Empire, and was made capital of the Genevese: a governor, in the name of the emperor, administered justice; the bishop, as well as the governor, was dependent on the house of Austria. Then arose the contests between the priesthood and the empire. Germany and Italy became vast battle-fields, on which the tiara and the German eagle contended for the sceptre of the world. The eagle, triumphant, would have strangled christian civilization with its talons. During these afflicting contests, the two powers, at that time distinct at Geneva,—the one represented by the governor, the other by the bishop,—conceived the thought to throw off the yoke of the Empire. The moment seemed propitious. The Council of Lateran had just excommunicated Henry V. Then, says Chorier, the prelates, and after their example, the counts and seigniors, ceased to render to the Teutonic monarch the devoirs due to the lord paramount, and proclaimed themselves independent: revolution became an act of religion.*

At this moment,—thanks to this usurped emancipation,—were seen to spring up a host of counts and barons, of grand and noble personages, the possessors of a few acres of land, which they erected into principalities. The historian of those distant times, at each step he makes in this enclosure of a few leagues, encounters a man mailed in steel, who calls himself prince, and places the arms of the Genevese upon his escutcheon. These noble barons are at war with Savoy, which disputes the corner of land that they have appropriated to themselves; they are at war with the German empire, which contests the title they have usurped; with the common people, who demand a restoration of their curtailed franchises; with the bishop, who desires to be temporal prince, and carry the sword as well as the mitre. This struggle is long. It is terminated in the commencement of the fifteenth century, by a treaty, in which Villars, count of Geneva, cedes his rights to Amedee, duke of Savoy: from this epoch, the dukes of Savoy, vicars of the Roman empire, stamp money at Geneva, there convoke the assembly of the States General of Savoy, remit capital punishment, and exercise all the prerogatives of sovereigns.†

In the midst of all these contests, the common people were not idle; they laboured for their emancipation, organized themselves, and daily conquered new liberties; the bourgeoisie, or citizenship, was in progress of formation.

Soon, Geneva had a tricephalous power. The bishop's head, the

*Histoire du Dauphiné, t. 11. liv. 1. ch. 21, 22.—Spon. t. 1. p. 57.—Chron. manusc. citée par Ruchat.

† De Costa. Memoires, p. 315, t. I.

duke's head, and the head *bourgeois*, or citizen's head;—a fantastic being, whose acts cannot be more easily traced, than its rights can be determined; manifold elements, resulting from the same thought, the need of independence.

An ancient historian, whose work was never published, has shed great light upon the political constitution of the country: it is a work of which Ruchat made use, and which we will reproduce in an abridged form.

The bishop of Geneva, was, in right of *regale*, at once prince, spiritual and temporal. He was designated by the people, and elected by the canons. The temporal prince had lay-assessors; first, a count, "who was not, as it is thought, above the bishop, but under him, as his officer," to execute what had been resolved upon, by the the secular counselors, regarding temporal affairs.—The people, that is, "the heads of families", assembled twice a year;—on the Sunday after St. Martin's festival,—to regulate the sale and price of wine; on the Sunday after the Purification, to elect the syndics and council. The members of the council were four syndics, whose powers were for one year; a treasurer and twenty counselors, who had the administration of the municipal police.—The bishop, the count, his lieutenant, who was called the *Vidomne*, (*vice domini*,) swore, on entering into office, to maintain the liberties and franchises of the commune. The council caused watchmen to patrol the city by day and night, and kept the keys of the city gates, which, at its pleasure, it caused to be opened and closed: If an evil-doer was found at night, he was seized, and, on the next morning, shut up in the prisons of the bishop.*

The counselors directed the process, and sat in judgment upon all crimes; after the sentence, the count or the vidomne was charged with its execution. The bishop had the pardoning power. None but gentlemen, or the graduates in some science, "or wholesale merchants who sold nothing by retail," could be elected members of the council.

There was another council, elected by the people, and consisting of fifty members, who were assembled, when any affair of importance presented itself, and who were trade-wardens during the continuance of the fairs.—Finally, the grand, or general council, in which the canons represented the clergy, and whose statutes and regulations the bishop was obliged to confirm. Each new ordinance was proclaimed, at the sound of trumpets, through the streets and crossways of the city, in these terms:

"You are informed, on the part of the very reverend and our much respected lord, the lord bishop, and prince of Geneva, of his vidomne and syndics, the council and honest men of the city, that," &c.

Behold the pre-eminence enjoyed by the duke of Savoy, at Geneva. He had an office called the *Vidomnat*, which he discharged by means of a lieutenant, called the vidomne; this "vidomne, who had a lieutenant called the governor or castellan, swore fidelity to the bishop and the syndics, and promised to protect the liberties and franchises of the city. Cases of appeal were carried from the vidomne to the episcopal

*François Bonnivard, prieur de St. Victor de Geneve. Chronique manuscrite.

council, and not to the duke;—from the bishop to his spiritual superiors in ecclesiastical matters, viz: to the archbishop of Vienna, and to the Pope.

At a quarter of a league from Geneva,—towards the south,—the dukes of Savoy possessed a small fortified place, named Gaillard, where ducal justice executed those criminals, who were condemned by the syndics to capital punishment. The syndics transmitted their sentence to the vidonne, in these terms: “Sir vidonne, we send to you, and command that you cause our sentence to be executed.” . . . The vidonne caused the culprit to be conducted to the gate de l’Isle, where stood a castle which had retained the same name, and there an archer cried out, three times: “Is there any one here on the part of the duke of Savoy, lord of castle Gaillard?” At the third demand, the castellan of Gaillard advanced, and then the vidomme read the sentence passed against the criminal, and commanded the castellan to have it executed. The castellan summoned the executioner, and the sentence was executed, and not on the lands of the duke, but at the place Champel, which was under the bishop’s jurisdiction.

The duke of Savoy held the castle de l’Isle at Geneva, of which the vidomme was governor, and in it were the prisons.*

“Now, the dukes,” says Bonnivard, “only held this castle and other rights of pre-eminence, as a pledge for the payment of certain sums of money, which, in the wars, they had advanced to the bishop and syndics of the city. The city often wished to return their money, but the dukes refused to receive it, because they did not wish to resign the pledge.” Well, one day, the money was expedited to Rome, and placed in the hands of justice, and a decree of excommunication was fulminated against those who should pretend to hold the castle de l’Isle for the duke of Savoy. “When this was done, and by what counts and bishops, I have not discovered, because many rights of the church and city have been lost. But I have heard it said, by persons worthy of belief, who saw the process at Rome.”

The account of prior Bonnivard is sufficiently probable; also, when the procession passed before the castle, the clergy ceased singing, and the cross was reversed, to indicate that this castle was under interdict. They would never have administered the sacraments there, to any one who might have fallen sick.†

“Charles, the third of this name, duke of Savoy, who lives at this day, still possessed the above named rights of pre-eminence, and that too without any contradiction; he should have been satisfied with right, and with having more than Geneva owed him, for both he and his predecessors were better served by Geneva, not subject to him, than by any city on this side the mountains in subjection to him, whether in regard

*“The governors of castle de l’Isle depended only on the duke of Savoy, and, in the name of their master, collected various taxes from clerks, Jews, Lombardians, and from the markets; they granted or sold to foreigners permissions of residence, and placed these tributes in the coffers of the chamber of the counts of Chambery.”—Guichenon.

† Bonnivard, Chron. Mss.—Fazy.

to honor, to magnificence, or profit. For when a duke or duchess made entry into the city, God knows what festivity, what triumph there was, when he came to lodge the court; not a citizen, not an inhabitant of Geneva, who did not exert himself more through courtesy, than his subjects, by constraint. If there was question of war, the companions were ready to serve with their persons: the magistrates to furnish money, even to fortify their city, to aid him against those, whose aid they must themselves demand against him. In brief, the only difference between him and them was of word, not deed; for he wished them to be his subjects, which they did not oppose in fact, but in word only, for they, of good will, rendered him as many services, as his subjects did from restriction; but he wished to make them call themselves such, and they would not do so: wishing to take in Geneva more than his predecessors had, he lost what he had, and even some of his own besides."*

During a space of twenty-five years, from 1610 to 1635, there was a warm struggle between the house of Savoy and the patriots of Geneva. The duke, not daring to employ open force, had recourse to stratagem, and caused an annual tribute to be offered to the citizens, on condition that the Savoyards should be allowed to guard the gates of the city, at least during the fairs. The citizens refused. About this time, John of Savoy, named bishop of Geneva by Leo X., thought that exile and confiscation would shake the courage of the inhabitants. He was mistaken. Geneva had sent some of its citizens to Fribourg, in general poor enough, but of tried patriotism, and who, on beholding the banners conquered on the field of Morat, knelt down devoutly, and kissed the fringes, stained with Burgundian blood. They were feasted, and even allowed the rights of citizenship. When the envoys returned to their own country, they were saluted with acclamations. They were bearers of a treaty which the duke's partizans were unwilling to accept. Then Geneva beheld herself divided into two factions, with their colours and distinctive appellations. Those, who solicited and received the alliance of Fribourg, were called Eidgenoss, or Eidgenots,† that is, "the confederated," a name which directly called to mind the drama of Grutli.

The Eidgenoss, or the confederated, to revenge themselves, designated their adversaries by the name of the *Mammelus*, or slaves. This was a falsehood and an insult, because the Mammelus, loved Geneva like good children. But they were zealous Catholics, and foresaw that the alliance with Berne, sought for by the Eidgenoss, would prove fatal to the national religion, and that, for the sake of the independence of the commune, their adversaries would sacrifice the faith of Arducius; the Mammelus read the future.

They were driven out of the city, as partizans of the duke. The

*We should not blindly confide in the testimony of Bonnivard, who has often calumniated Charles III., a prince, who was the friend of justice and order, of a mild and amiable character, pious, regular in his habits, but destitute of those qualities so essential to sovereigns, courage and firmness of soul.

.. †Eidgenoss, in German, the confederated.

Eidgenoss feared that they would not be strong enough to resist the house of Savoy, and therefore formed an alliance with Berne, which, a long time since, had received the reformation. The ducal nobility then constituted itself into a confraternity, under the title of *The Confraternity of the Spoon*. Berne regarded the moment as propitious; it came to the aid of its ally with a powerful army, bringing along twenty cannon, for the subjugation of the ducal partisans, and William Farel, for the conversion of the Catholics. To show that it had received the new gospel, Berne, upon its way, broke to pieces our holy images, and made its horses drink out of the holy-water pots of our churches.

Undoubtedly, Geneva would never be able to forget the names of Besanzon Hugues, of John Baud, of Ami Girard, of John Philippe, of the Lullins, the Vandels, who nearly all made part of the society of the Eidgenoss. But the historian, while contributing to pay homage to these patriots, should not dissimulate the fact, that they embraced the reformation, not from conviction, but policy, and to preserve the only thing which they esteemed more than faith,—liberty. The field of Morat was not far distant from Fribourg: the Eidgenoss, in traversing it, might there have seen the scattered bones of some of those noble confederates, who died for their God and their country. At Fribourg, the linden tree, planted in commemoration of the victory of the Swiss Catholics, still threw the protection of its shade on some child of a soldier, wounded at this other Marathon; this was a great lesson, but it was utterly lost on the confederates.

While Berne was thus moving on with floods of missionaries and soldiers, to aid the Eidgenoss, Geneva, in her monuments and customs, was still entirely Catholic;—a city of the arts and of charity, open to the learned and to the poor. Three nations seemed to defile through it without intermission, leaving there some germs of their distinctive characters; the Savoyard, his probity; the Italian, his love of forms; the Frenchman, his reckless gaiety.

Its bishops had frequently opened their palace, to give welcome to the painters, of Germany, who, in the middle ages, went in pilgrimage to Rome; or to the Italian artists, who traversed Switzerland, for the purpose of visiting France. Both of these were accustomed to repay episcopal hospitality, by leaving with their hosts some work of art,—a Christ in ivory, a little statue cut from the hard oak, a Madonna painted on canvass,—with which the prelate would enrich some church or convent, with the sole condition of praying for the traveler. These prayers were still recited at the time that the reformation came to drive away the bishops, and to burn the statues and pictures; thus, at once proving itself cruel, sacrilegious, and ignorant. At that period, Geneva possessed a fine museum, not imprisoned within four walls of parget stone, but open to the air and to the Alpine sunlight, or in the vast nave of some basilica. With pride, it could direct the stranger's attention to six statues of saints, which ornamented the grand entrance to the church of the Gray Friars; to the two angels, whose outspread wings overshadowed the cemetery of the Magdalen; to the stained glass of St. Anthony, whose colours were fresh and beautiful as those of Cologne; to the stone arabesques, of the convent of the Jacobins;

the crucifix of the cathedral, a work of some unknown master, and to many other wonders of art, which the fury of the reformers broke into pieces, to prove, without doubt, the truth of that prophecy of Erasmus: "Every where that Lutheranism shall obtain the ascendancy, the cultivation of the arts will be extinguished."*

The city was divided into seven parishes, thus designated: the first, the cathedral of St. Peter,† under the title of the Holy Cross; the second, *Notre Dame la Neuve*, near to St. Peter's; the third, the Magdalen; the fourth, St. Germanus; the fifth, St. Gervaise; the sixth, St. Legier; the seventh, St. Victor.

In the interior of the city, could be counted three monasteries, the Gray Friars, or Cordeliers, at the convent de la Rive; the nuns of St. Clair; the Jacobins, on the street la Corratierie, at the palace where was the clock of Pont du Rhone, which was burnt down in the year 1670.

Outside the city, were the monastery of St. Victor, of the order of Clugny, with a prior and nine monks, the convent of the Augustinians, near Pont de l'Arve, and styled *Notre Dame de Grace*, and another at St. John *des Grottes*, opposite la Batie.

Geneva also boasted seven hospitals, sustained by their own income or by the alms of the charitable.‡ There was one destined for the poor traveler, who might have fallen sick upon his journey. He was cared for and nursed, until he was able to resume his travel; as soon as he could rise and walk, a brother came and warned him to yield his bed to another pilgrim. The restored wayfarer set out, after having received a loaf of bread and a gourd of wine, but he was obliged for three days to recite an *Ave Maria* for the hospital.

After the reformation, nearly all these institutions of prayer and charity fell; only two remained.§

*Ubicumque regnat Lutheranismus, ibi literarum interitus.—Ep. p. 636–637.

†Geneva has retained the church of St. Peter. The interior still exhibits traces of the ancient church, in its stained glass, where the saints and historical scenes are represented: and those who were unwilling to pardon an image of Jesus Christ, have shown favour to that of one of their bishops, which is seen behind Calvin's pulpit, attached to a column. There are also some seats, above which still remain six images of the Apostles, in *alto relievo*, with their names carved upon scrolls. The tombs of Catholics, with the prayer for the dead and the *requiescant in pace*, are also to be seen.—Florimond de Remond.

‡Four of these hospitals had been founded by princes of the house of Savoy. The duchess Yolande founded that for old men; Amedee, that for lunatics; Anne of Cypress, that for pilgrims; John of Savoy, that for foundlings.—De Costa, mem. hist. t. i. p. 357.

§Spon. hist. de Geneve, in 4to. t. ii. p. 212.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BISHOPS AND THE PATRIOTS.

A picture of the services rendered to the material and religious interests of Geneva by the Episcopacy.—Arducius.—Adhemar Fabri.—John de Compois.—Struggle of the Patriots and the Episcopacy.—Berthelier, Besançon Hugues.—Pecolat.—Bonnivard.—Punishment of Berthelier, of Levrier.—Bishop de la Baume is obliged to leave Geneva.—His character.—Berne profits by the intestine divisions of Geneva to spread the reformation.

In the history of the Genevan community, there is one figure which predominates over the rest; it is that of the bishop, the apostle of material interests, of national franchises, and of independence. In that succession of prelates who occupied the See of Geneva, from the end of the fourth century to the epoch of the reformation, there is not one, who does not present claims to the gratitude of the christian world. When Guy committed the error of ceding, to his brother Aimon, several seignioral possessions which were the property of the church, Humbert de Grammont boldly refused to recognize the alienation, and backed by the council, appealed to the Archbishop of Vienna, as umpire of the dispute. The treaty signed at Seyssel in 1124, established the independence of the bishop, who was amenable only to the authority of the Pope and the emperor.* To comprehend the importance of such an act, it is necessary to bear in mind that the rights of the church were confounded with those of the State. The count Aimon dies, his son refuses to recognize the treaty of Seyssel. Arducius, successor of Humbert de Grammont, denounces this infraction of the treaty to the emperor, Frederic Barberoussa, who, by a rescript, dated Spire, Jan. 15th, 1153, maintains the privileges of the episcopacy. The count determined to resort to violence; the bishop had recourse to the Pope, and Adrian IV. promised him his protection. This triumph was only momentary. Amedee addressed himself to the brother de Berchthold, founder of Berne, and one of the members of the family de Zachringen, contested heir of the kings of little Burgundy, of which Geneva was a portion. The duke, who was of good faith, claimed the sovereignty of the city as his property. Barbaroussa accords it to him, and Berchthold also agrees to the alienation. The Genevan liberties were in

* James Fazy. *Essai d'un précis de l'histoire de la République de Geneve* i. 1. Geneve 1838, p. 17.

Picot. *Histoire de Geneve* t. 1, in 8vo.

danger. Arduus flies to St. Jean de Losne, to plead the people's cause before the emperor, who strips the Duke of Zaehringen of the right, which had been acknowledged and confirmed to him by the Bull of Spire.

The struggle continued. Bernard Chabert understood that, to bridle the insolence of counts, some other arms were necessary besides the bull of a Pope, and the decree of an emperor; he fortified the castle de l'Isle. Under his administration, the revenues of the state and the fortunes of the citizens were seen to increase. New roads were marked out and formed, the bridge du Rhone was restored, the foreign merchants, who resorted to the markets of the city, were more efficaciously protected, manufactories were founded, and new trades invited from Italy. Ami de Grandson, Henri de Bottis, the Carthusians; Aimé de Menthonay, during the course of their episcopacy, laboured with success to maintain the privileges of Geneva.

Behold a poor monk who belongs to the order of Jacobins,—so grossly ridiculed by Luther,—Adhemar Fabri, who first conceived the idea of collecting the customs, privileges, laws, ordinances, and usages of the city into a code, which he published in 1237,* a legal monument, the importance of which has been exhibited by James Fazy in his work on the history of the Genevan republic.

All the figures portrayed by Mr. Fazy in his book are magnificent; but the finest, without contradiction, is that of Amedee VIII, who, on the banks of lake Lemman, caused to be constructed, at Ripaille, a convent, to which, at fifty-one years of age, he retired with six gentlemen, in order to lead a tranquil life, remote from the tumult of business. It was there, that one day, in the year 1536, arrived a learned man, by name, Eneas Sylvius; Amedee received him, clad in his robe and cowl of gray coarse cloth, and with his pilgrim staff in hand.† It was from this solitude, that the Council of Bale, in 1439, withdrew Amedee, in order to elect him Pope, in place of Eugene IX. Amedee put off the tiara in the Council of Lousanne, which he convoked, and in which, to restore peace to the church, he recognized Nicholas V.‡

Having come down to the middle of the sixteenth century, it is impossible not to admire the virtues, with which the prelates of Geneva shone during their long apostolate. All have shown themselves wise, prudent, tolerant, enlightened, devoted to the country and its interests.

* Fabri's book is a curious monument of penal legislation at that epoch. Every citizen, striking another, without effusion of blood, was condemned to an amende of three sous; if the blood ran, to sixty sous.

The Franchises are written in Latin, and deserve to be studied as a linguistic labour; Mr. Picot has given some specimens of this Roman language at that time spoken by the legislator.

† *Memoires historiques sur la maison royale de Savoie*, par M. le Marquis de Costa de Beauregard. Turin: 1816, t. I, p. 258.

‡ The Pope then allowed the dukes of Savoy to nominate to the consistorial benefices in their States; that is, to the archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbays, and priories of Savoy and Piedmont. The principal agent in the election of Amedee VIII, to the pontifical throne in 1439, and in his abdication in 1443, was Louis Allemand de St. Joire en Faucigny, Archbishop of Arles. After having been Count of Lyons and President of the Council of Bale, he was beatified in 1527, by a bull of Clement VII. De Costa, *Memoires*, etc. t. I, p. 220.

When a franchise is menaced, it is a bishop who flies to defend it; the bishop is, above all things, a citizen. He has neither fear of kings nor emperors; he defends his people, and if like Allemand, he perishes discharging his duty, he blesses God, and dies contented. All powers find their personification in the bishop, who is edile, judge, secular prince and priest. As edile, he takes care of the city, whose cleanliness is the admiration of strangers; as judge, he administers justice without respect to persons; as secular prince, he endows the city with public institutions, with hospitals, houses of charity, bridges, and public roads; as priest, he visits the sick, opens his palace to the indigent, his purse to poor travelers, and takes care of the widow and the orphan; as magistrate, he attends to the execution of the laws, and causes transgressors to be punished. He is the man of all duties; the crosier which he bears in the church, was given him by the people, and perhaps it was an error in Martin V. to have changed this mode of election: the alliance of the church and state had, till then, been so fortunate and happy! This blow to the constitution of the country, was one of the grounds of complaint used by the patriots in order to sever Catholic unity. But the evil was not irreparable, and at a later period, the patriots themselves were forced to regret this mild sacerdotal yoke, when they contrasted it with the despotism of Calvin.

The chapter, desirous to revive the ancient discipline, elected Urban de Chivron bishop of the see, then vacant, but Sixtus IV. refused the bull of institution, and nominated cardinal de la Rovere to the See of Geneva. The selection was a happy one. La Rovere refused, and John de Compois was named by the Pope.

John de Compois, whose nomination had terrified anticipation, knew how to win hearts, by maintaining the franchises of the republic.* The house of Savoy, which counted on a pliable and docile disposition, was disappointed. It succeeded in removing the prelate. Francis of Savoy was his successor, and Geneva had grounds to applaud the administration of this bishop. At his death the city became a prey to new intrigues. The chapter, sustained by the population, elected Charles de Seyssel, whom Rome refused to recognize. The Pope nominated Campion, Chancellor of Savoy, to govern the church of Geneva. Campion was skillful enough to triumph over popular prejudices. In this prelate the Genevan liberties found a courageous defender. But each day, public sentiment was becoming still more hostile to the papacy, the intentions of which were calumniated. The priest, chosen by the court of Rome, was obliged to combat against the most violent prejudices. The protection, extended to him by the ducal family, was in the eyes of the people a title to reprobation. Geneva accustomed herself to behold, in her bishops, creatures sold to the interests of Savoy. The dukes, greatly incensed, no longer cloaked their designs, and openly marched to the conquest of the canton. What was termed their pomp, irritated the populace. "When in the summer," says Bonnivard, "they went to their country seats, they caused the windows to be thrown open in order to enjoy the fresh air, then they caused their

* James Fazy, p. 63.

rents to be brought, which were for each, a *solde*, and a vessel of Malvoisie; afterwards they retired.”*

Strange tyrants, to whom a patriot, like Bonnivard, seriously makes it a reproach to open the windows in summer, in order to breathe the fresh air of the mountains! When Calvin shall cause blood to flow in Geneva, Bonnivard will, himself, go into the country to find fresh air, but he will not say one word in his chronicles, in favour of the victims of the theocrat.

The republican opinion was represented by men of mind, who had long been meditating a rupture with Rome. These were Berthelier, Besançon Hugues, Bonnivard, the two Levrier. Berthelier was a true Teutonic knight, ready to die for any generous or foolish idea which might chance to traverse his brain; cold and collected amid danger, and when it was passed, plunging with closed eyes, like a brainless youth, into the midst of pleasure, he there took no more care of his life than on the battle-field.

Bonnivard describes him to the life:—

“Berthelier loved liberty, he had the sense to know it, and the regulated hardihood to assert and maintain it, had he the fortune to secure it, which he ever tried to do; and inasmuch as he found the wise less ardent in this, he was often constrained to see himself accompanied by fools, and to accommodate himself to them in many things in order to keep them. For which, he was a little blamed by persons who did not perceive or understand his intention, as when he attended banquets, mummeries, plays, dances, and the like, and even sometimes joined in deriding the more important enemies of the public weal. And he frequently, too, defended the faults of young persons, against that justice which sought to punish them.”

Berthelier had traced out his part, before-hand. This part was to be played upon the public square, in taverns, if necessary, in the van of combatants, and to be concluded on the scaffold. He said to Bonnivard: “My gossip, your hand here!—from love for the liberties of Geneva, you will lose your benefice, and I, my head.”

This gossip was the prior of St. Victor, a spirit like de Rabelais, of caustic temper, a biting writer, and a mirthful babbler.”

Besançon Hugues had made his fortune by commerce; his style was figurative, his language captivating; the college would have made him an orator. The two Levrier had the reputation of distinguished lawyers. These names, and some others besides, such as Pecolat, Ami Perrin, Jean de Soex, Jean Louis Versonnex, were known to the people. They were supposed to entertain noble ideas. The duke distrusted, and the bishop feared them. To resist the danger which menaced them, they had formed an association, of which this was the motto,—“Who touches one, touches the rest.”† This association grew and increased, receiving its members from among the discontented, until it was transformed into a faction.—For a few noble characters to whom it could with pride refer, it numbered a host of members bold enough to dare every thing, and even crime itself, for the sake of triumph.

* Ruchat, Histoire de la reformation en Suisse.

† James Fazy, p. 100.

One day, John Pecolat was dining with Louis de Gorrivod, the bishop of Maurienne, who had grounds of complaint against the bishop of Geneva.—Be not uneasy, said Pecolat, *non videbit dies Petri*.^{*} They laughed much at the prophecy. Some days afterwards, several of the servants of the prelate died amid horrible convulsions, from having eaten of pastry, which had been served at their master's table, who, however, himself took none of it. The poison had been prepared by some Italian hand; it killed like that of the locust.

The saying of Pecolat then ran the course of the taverns, and soon reached the prelate's ears. Pecolat was arrested, put to the torture, and confessed the crime. The process had the appearance of a secret vengeance. The bishop committed a fault: he should have, with bold front, prosecuted the guilty on the very soil of Geneva, and not in a castle out of the city. Berthelier, accused of being *particeps criminis* in the poisoning of the bishop, had left Geneva to implore the protection of Fribourg. Fribourg intervened, and Pecolat was transported to the castle de l'Isle. Brought before his judges, he retracted his former avowals. Transferred to the prison of the bishop, he was about to be put to the torture again, when he seized a knife and cut out his tongue. Judges and executioners had nothing further to do.

Bonnivard then conceived a bold project, which was to rescue Pecolat from the hands of Genevan justice, by having him summoned before the metropolitan tribunal of Vienna. The Archbishop, moved to pity at the sight of the two brothers of Pecolat, who kissed his robe, permits them to cite the bishop of Geneva before the court of Vienna. But who will serve the process? Bonnivard finds a clerk, who, for two crowns, undertakes this mission, for the next morning at St. Peter's, where the duke and the bishop are to hear mass; but when the moment comes, the clerk trembles and tries to escape, when Bonnivard draws a poignard from under his robe, which he brandishes before his eyes, while with his left hand he pushes him before the bishop, exclaiming: clerk do your office. And the clerk, kissing the document, presented it to the bishop, murmuring as he did so: *inhibetur vobis, prout in copia*. We were expecting a different denouement. The bishop had the right to have Bonnivard arrested, but he was allowed to return unmolested to his abbey of St. Victor.

John of Savoy, at different times summoned to appear at Vienna, had refused to obey: he was excommunicated. For Catholicism, it was an occasion of bitter grief, to see the condemnation of a prelate, to whom the patriots could make no other reproach, than his too great attachment to the ducal house of Savoy.

Events were hurrying on. One morning, the citizens, on rising from sleep, beheld fixed upon stakes, in front of the bridge de l'Arve, two human bodies cut into quarters, and suspended over casks, destined to bear them away, when the exposition should have endured the usual time. These were the remains of two young men, Navis and Blanchet, both belonging to the party of Pecolat. Surprised, while on their

* "He will not see the days of Peter."

route for Piedmont, they had confessed a project to make way with the duke, to assassinate the bishop, and to substitute in his place the prior of St. Victor. Berthelier was accused as an accomplice. Sentence of death had been pronounced by the ducal tribunal. The criminals could only be tried at the tribunal of the bishop. The execution took place on foreign soil: so many outrages, which excited the minds of the people. The path of blood was open. By the aid of terror, the princes of Savoy, succeeded in raising a powerful army, and taking possession of Geneva. The city had defended itself feebly. Except for the inhabitants of Fribourg, Geneva would have lost its nationality: thus again did Catholicism, save Helvetic freedom; M. Spazier does not fear to avow and proclaim this truth. "It is," says he, "from the Catholic cantons, that the independence of the country has sprung, whilst the most despotic oligarchy was established in the Calvinistic cantons."*

It was Berthelier who had brought the inhabitants of Fribourg to the aid of his country. The duke caused him to be watched, in order to get clear of him. He fell into the hands of the Savoyards, and was thrown into prison. Berthelier knew the game he was playing. He had written on his dungeon walls, this sentence from the bible: *Non omnis moriar, sed vivam et narrabo opera Domini*. In effect, death was waiting for him. He was offered pardon, if he would sue for it to the duke; he refused. He was condemned, and Dubois, his judge, read to him the sentence of death:

"Inasmuch, Philibert Berthelier, as thou hast, on this occasion, as on many others, revolted against my very dreaded prince and lord, and thine own, rendering thyself culpable of the crime of high treason, and of many other crimes which deserve death, as is contained in thy process; we condemn thee to have thy head cut off, and thy body hung on the gibbet of Champel, thy head to be nailed to a stake near the river Arve, and thy goods to be confiscated."

He was decapitated before the castle de l'Isle, in presence of some soldiers, without any attempt on the part of the people to rescue him. His remains were paraded through the city in a cart. The executioner held the head in his hand, and exhibiting it, cried out, "this is the head of Berthelier, the traitor!"

This blood caused other Bertheliers to spring up, ready to avenge the death of him, whom they regarded as a martyr. In times of revolution the knife confers nobility. The bishop could not afterwards live in such a focus of hatred. He might dread the poison of some fanatic, who would have been disavowed by his own faction. He resigned his bishopric to Peter de la Baume, commendatory of the abbey of Suse and St. Claude. On the 11th of April, 1523, Peter de la Baume made his entry into Geneva, mounted on a mule, magnificently caparisoned. The syndics, the councils waited for him at the bridge de l'Arve, where the keys of the city were placed in his hands. He entered, moving beneath a canopy, ornamented with precious stones. After having, at the church of St. Peter, sworn to protect the city franchises,

* Tableau de l'Allemagne Actuelle. Revue du Nord. p. 436.

he received, as a present, six silver plates and porringers.* But unfortunately duke Charles III, did not arrest his march. The patriots being discouraged, he wished to encroach on the Genevan franchises. Then the extinguished ashes of the Eidgenoss were rekindled, and Amee Levrier, the ancient syndic, came forward to protest against the claim, arrogated by the duke, to be final judge in civil causes. Levrier, on the next morning was seized at the moment he came forth from the church of St. Peter, bound with cords, carried to Bonne, within the limits of Savoy, and decapitated. While proceeding to the place of punishment, he sang:

*Quid mihi mors nocuit! virtus post fata virescit!
Nec cruce, nec sævi gladio perit illa tyranni.*

The party of the Eidgenoss revived amid blood. Two cantons came forward to proffer it their alliance: Fribourg, good Catholic, and without thought of the past; Berne, which had allowed itself to be gained by the reformation, with a view to religious propagandism.

On the 12th of March, 1526, the alliance of the three cantons was sworn to, solemnly, at the foot of the altars in the church of St. Peter, in terms as follows: "We promise to maintain the alliance which we have contracted; may God, the Virgin Mary, and all the Saints of paradise be our aid."

The ducal cause was lost.

De la Baume nobly allied himself with the popular cause; and to furnish a pledge of his patriotism, he conferred upon the syndics and councils the right to take cognizance of civil cases, a right which hitherto belonged to the bishop: a noble act of disinterestedness, for which the Protestant historian has neglected to give credit to this prelate, who, in exchange, had solicited and obtained letters of citizenship, as a private individual.

"He was," says Bonnivard, "a great dissipator of goods, in all things superfluous, esteeming it a sovereign virtue in a prelate, to have his table loaded with large dishes of meat and all sorts of wines; and when there, he gave himself up so completely, as to exceed thirty-one courses."

This shaft would have been much more pointed, had not Bonnivard often seated himself at this table, and drank far otherwise than became the prior of St. Victor. The bishop, in restoring to the monk the priory, of which, in 1519, he had been despoiled, probably thought that charity was a virtue of the cloister: Bonnivard undeceived him. You have just seen, that the prior could find no other reproach against Peter de la Baume except his too splendid table; but he took good care to conceal the fact, that the crumbs which fell from this table belonged to the poor, as the bread and fuel in the kitchen were also at the service of such as were hungry or cold. He has not told us that the prelate, several times each month, visited the prisons, hospitals, and infirmaries; that he loved literature and those who cultivated learning, that he was

* *Histoire de Geneve, par Picot, t, I, p. 234.*

meek of heart and prompt to forget offences. When he returned to Geneva, all faith was not extinct in the members of his flock ; he would have known how to defend his rights as prince, but blood must be shed, and Peter de la Baume preferred rather to yield ; before every thing, he was the apostle and father of the Genevans. He might have fought, however ; the constitution gave him the right, and although the reformed church would have at that time denied this right, she has since recognized it.

“Every church,” Fetzler has said, “which desires to perpetuate itself has need of unity ; this unity can exist only on condition that it is upheld by the civil power. The two churches, the Lutheran and the Calvinistic, have been compelled to confess that the prince has the right of sovereignty, even over the episcopal government.”* Now, we must not forget, that Peter de la Baume was, at the same time, bishop and prince of Geneva.

In his exile, the bishop consoled himself by singing, with Boetius, his favourite poet :

“If the world, amid its incessant metamorphoses, changes so often, a great fool is he, who believes in the stability of fortune, and in the perpetuity of happiness !”

•)) Rara si constat sua forma mundo,
Si tantas variat vices,
Crede fortunis hominum caducis,
Bonis crede fugacibus.†

Berne profited by these intestine divisions, in order to introduce the reformation. In Switzerland, the cannon burned those cities which the preacher could not convert. Berne, in the rear of her armies, had apostles, who had met with the Holy Ghost in a bar-room, and found the titles of their vocation at the bottom of a glass, and these she let loose upon the conquered cities, in order to rescue souls. William Farel and Anthony Saunier chanced to pass through Berne. The senate sent for them, and without having made any inquiry into their mission, gave them letters of credit for Geneva. To this city, already vexed by the spirit of trouble, they brought disorder. Farel and Saunier were obliged to take to flight ; for the people were desirous to throw them into the Rhone. Scarcely had they made their escape, when, at the corners of the streets, was seen affixed a placard, conceived as follows :

“Arrived in this city, a man, who undertakes, in one month, to teach how to read and write in French, all who will come, male and female, little and great, even those who have never been at school. And if, in the said month, they do not know how to read and write, he asks nothing for his trouble. He will be found at the grand hall de Boitet, near Moulard, at the sign of the Golden Cross, where much evil is remedied for nothing.

FROMENT.”

*Fetzler, cited by Hœninghaus. See, also, on this subject, Hengrehngste (Dr. W.) in der Berlin, evang. Kirchen-Zeit, 18-19

†Boetii de consolatione philosophiæ.

This advertisement, which one would suppose to be transcribed from some Paris journal of our own epoch, was truly seductive. The sick and ignorant flocked thither in crowds; but in place of remedies and lessons, Froment distributed to his visitors long tirades against the Pope, who represented anti-christ; against the cardinals, who served as tail-bearers to satan; against the priests and monks, in whom the seven capital sins dwelt, as in their ordinary abode. This was all the theology that he knew, and even this he had stolen out of a wretched pamphlet, written in Germany and translated into French. The city, thanks to these preachers, was soon transformed into a real school, where every one who knew how to read, thought himself as much entitled to dispute as if he had taken degrees. Froment had imagined an expedient to give heart to the ignorant: he taught that whoever read the scriptures for the purpose of searching truth therein, was sure to be illumined by the Holy Ghost; this was another advertisement, calculated to procure him crowds of customers. He said to his hearers: "Prove to me by the scriptures that I am wrong, and I will humbly acknowledge my error!" A thing astonishing! Three centuries after, Pape, a Protestant, in verse responded to the schoolmaster: "In your turn, prove to me by scripture, that what I teach is false, because I do not think as you do."*

This missionary was banished, with the threat of three strokes of the cord, if he should come back; but the city was lost: Luther's theologasters had just made descent upon it.

The bishop believed that his presence at Geneva would appease the dissensions which threatened to disturb the peace of the church; but the reformation had already made great progress. The most influential of the Eidgenoss,—as Ami Perrin, Malbuisson, the Vandels, Claude Roger, Domaine d'Arlod,—had embraced the new doctrine, to which they looked for their political emancipation. To the patriots, the reformation appeared to be a path opened by Providence for breaking to pieces the ducal domination. They thronged round the rostrum of Farel, seeking in the minister's sermons, for texts against the house of Savoy, in place of arguments against the ancient faith of Geneva. Revolution was growing up, and this time it beheld in the bishop an enemy to be driven away, as before it had regarded the dukes of Savoy.

Bishop de la Baume left the city. Nothing made it his duty to expose himself to martyrdom. After the lapse of three centuries, it is easy to accuse a bishop of pusillanimity. But who is not aware, that, in times of revolution, the soul often is not more mistress of its wishes, than is the body of its motions, both, unfortunately, alike belonging to the party of which the individual is the slave? John of Savoy, his

*"Stellt aus der Schrift mir dar die Falschheit meiner Behauptung,
Und ich nehme zurück, was nicht die Prüfung besteht!"

Also Sprachst du und siegtest dadurch, hochherziger Luther!
Dir nur folgen wir nach, hoffend den nämlichen Sieg.
Stellt aus der Schrift uns dar die Falschheit dess' was wir anders
Lehren, als Luther, weil wir anders es sehen, als er!

Pape, Distichen, in der a. R. Z. n. 171.

predecessor, had learned, that, for certain exalted spirits, poison is an infallible remedy. Peter de la Baume, without wanting courage, could fly the peril. He withdrew to Rome, where the Pope presented him a cardinal's hat.* With him was extinguished the last hope of Genevan Catholicism.†

Geneva should have shown herself more grateful to the Catholic episcopacy.

Still a word more about one of its glories. One day, a poor cleric entered into a shoemaker's shop, and asked for a pair of shoes: but when it was time to pay the price, the cleric vainly searched his pockets, he had just given his purse to a beggar whom he met on the bridge de l'Arve. "Brother, be not disquieted," said the merchant, "you will pay me when you shall be a cardinal." The cleric became cardinal and bishop of Geneva. This was de Brogny; who did not forget the shoemaker, whom he appointed his steward, and to whom he gave a chapel, bearing the title, "the chapel of the shoemakers." The reformation prostrated the statue of the prelate. It should have remembered that the holy bishop had been the friend of the poor, whom he searched for even in their garrets; that at eighty years of age, he had still drunk nothing but water; that he wanted to fast, on the very eve of his death; that he had collected together, at his lodgings,—for his house was not a palace,—a library of seven hundred volumes, written in all languages; and that he was the first to conceive the idea of founding an academy, where the pupils should be educated at the expense of the state.‡

And now follow us: you are about to behold these patriots,—whom we have caught ourselves admiring, in their struggle against the ducal house,—oblivious of the faith of their ancestors, demolishing, stone by stone, the Catholic edifice, whither so often they had fled for a refuge from oppression; tearing into shreds the banners, on which the hands of their daughters had embroidered the name of Christ, and which they had borne in their combats against the enemies of Geneva; and driving away those priests, those monks and nuns, whose gold had served for building up or defending the walls of the city. But God will have his turn, and he will send them a man, who will oppress them, who will trample their liberties under foot, who will cause their blood to flow, and laugh alike at their cries and tears.

Despotism, disorders, and misfortunes, says a Protestant, which the reformation must necessarily produce!§

*Memoires historiques, &c. par M. de Costa, p. 239. t. I.

†The Abbé Leonardo, a Piedmontese, charged by Charles I. to write the history of the house of Savoy, had amassed numerous materials regarding the history of the church of Geneva. It is said, that his manuscripts are in the library of Turin.

‡Picot. Histoire de Geneve, t. I. p. 126.

§Die Periode der Reformation war gewisz nicht eine Zeit des Friedens und des Glücks. Lord Fitz-William, Briefe des Atticus. In's Deutsche übersetzt von Philipp Müller. 1834. p. 33.

CHAPTER XII.

SISTER JOANNA DE JUSSIE.—1532-1536.

The Sister's book.—Recital.—Morges pillaged by the Reformers.—The Bernese at Geneva.—Devastation of the church of St. Peter;—Of the Oratory;—Of St. Victors;—Of St. Lawrence.—Combat in the streets of Geneva.—Assassination of Peter Werli.—Punishment of Malbosson.—Farel.—The syndics wish to compel the Sisters of St. Clair to assist at a theological disputation.—The Sisters refuse, and are driven away.

Now, in one of the convents of Geneva, there dwelt a pious woman, whose mission was not limited to praying to God, consoling the afflicted, and clothing prisoners; the Lord reserved for her another part. Sister Jeanne, or Joanna de Jussie, was to be the historian of the reformation at Geneva; an historian candid, faithful, and, above all, dramatic. For, under that garb of coarse cloth, Providence had placed the heart of an artist, which the spectacle of Bernese profanations against the material representations of art, moved even to tears; and, gifted with a woman's imagination, she knew how to transfer all the suffering of her own heart, into the soul of the reader. Let Geneva search through her library, she will never be able to discover there, pages more melting, than those traced by the pen of the nun of *Sainte Claire*: it contains no book which it can oppose to the sister's recital.*

As regards ourselves, when our eyes for the first time fell upon these pages, so fraught with grace and freshness, we were ravished, as if by

*"THE LEAVEN OF CALVINISM, or the commencement of the heresy of Geneva: By the reverend Sister Joanna de Jussie, at that time nun of St. Clair, at Geneva, and after leaving Geneva, Abbess of the convent of Anyssi. Chambéry, by the brothers DU FOUR. 1611.

In front there is a dedication to prince Victor Amé, prince of Savoy and Piedmont, signed, V. E. I. H. D. F., where we read:

"C'est une histoire tragique non encore tant abysmée dans le ventre de l'ancieneté, que les piqueures de ces vicieux ennemis de la CROIX BLANCHE ne soient encore ouvertes à jour, et que le ciel ne demande le poil du dogue et l'eseracement du scorpion pour nostre guarison."

Before historical criticism yet had existence, Sister de Jussie was considered a visionary: But since PLANK, in his fine work, *Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, ADOLPH MENZEL in his *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, and M. GALIFFE in his *Notices genealogiques*, have emancipated themselves from the spirit of party, to seek the truth; the recital of the Sister has necessarily acquired great value.

The book of Sister de Jussie has often been reprinted, but horribly disfigured, or, as the editors say, ornamented.

one of those sweet concerts with which Ariosto holds enchanted the boatman of the Arno, and we are of opinion that we should produce them in all their purity, without changing a syllable, without mingling any thing profane with these words of the ancient time; that we should imitate the bird, be silent and listen :

La novita dal loço e stanta tanta
 Che ho fatto come angel che mutta gabbia,
 Che molti giorni resta che non canta.

. “And on the day of Sir, St. Francis, 1530, a Wednesday, at ten o'clock in the morning, at Morges arrived the purveyors of the Swiss, to take lodgings for the army, and when they had suddenly descended, they withdrew towards the lake, and seized a large ship, which was loaded with goods of the city, to at least the worth of a thousand golden crowns, which were to be transported to Thonon, on the other side of the lake, but which, by the said Swiss, were taken and carried to Lausanne, under their safeguard.

“At the said Morges, arrived on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the two cantons of Berne and Fribourg, and caused great damage; for, after having left their own country, and set foot on that of Monseigneur, they commenced to pillage, rob, and ravage the poor people, and they left neither grain, wine, meat, nor furniture in the houses and castles of the nobles; and then they burned every thing, which was no small loss. When those of Berne had arrived at the said Morges, a part of them were lodged at the convent of the Franciscans, and there caused several serious and unspeakable evils and torments.

“That night, the Bernois, like wicked heretics, found means to open the choir of the church, and, entering therein, kindled a large fire in the middle of the nave; then, like dogs, run mad, and out of their senses, they proceeded to take the ciborium in which reposed the most worthy Sacrament of the precious body of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, and cast the whole in this great fire, thus trampling under foot the price of our redemption. Moreover, they broke to pieces the very rich picture of the grand altar, burned all the wooden images, broke the noble window of stained glass, behind the grand altar, which was most rich and beautiful, and, through all the chapels, where there were carved images of holy men and women, they broke and destroyed every thing.

“Not yet satisfied, these heretics broke into the sacristy, and into all the presses,—newly made, and which were very well executed for the ornament of the house dedicated to God,—they took off all the locks and fastenings, seized upon all the ornaments which they could find, and carried them away, together with the convent clock, the bedclothes and linen of the monks, so that nothing was left behind, except the empty edifice.

“And all the priests whom they met with, vested in their long robe, they stripped it off them, despoiled and beat them. With regard to all the images which they found, whether painted on a plain surface, or presented in relievo, and pictures which they could not have to burn,

they picked out the eyes with the points of their pikes and swords, and spit upon them, in order to deface and disfigure them; and, it was a strange thing to see them. They burned all the books in parchment, as well singing books as others.

“On Monday, about noon, the army entered Geneva; they brought nineteen heavy pieces of artillery, which they placed, partly at St. Gervais, and partly at Plant-palais, near a little church called the Oratory. The canton of Berne was lodged along the streets la Riviere and la Corraterie, as far as the bridge of Arve. At the convent of St. Dominic were lodged six standard-bearers, all Lutherans, and the monks were forced to leave the convent; thirty-six horses were quartered at the convent of St. Clair, where they caused great expense.

“The nuns being admonished, that they were in great peril, found means to call for their landlords at la Treille, and, then, all the sisters surrounding them, with an abundance of tears, demanded mercy, with profound humility, recommending themselves to them. Then all began to weep, saying: “Good ladies, may God deign to comfort and console you, as his handmaids, for we cannot protect you, if they wish to injure you.” Then the poor sisters were half dead from anxiety and fear.

“When the heretics were in the city, all the priests, as well secular as regular, laid aside their robes, and vested themselves in garments of lay-gentlemen, so that they could not be distinguished from married men, and all carried the device of war, which was a white cross worn on the breast and shoulders.

“On the Tuesday following, at about eight o'clock in the morning, the Lutherans caused the cathedral of St. Peter to be opened, and, having entered, they began to ring the episcopal bell, as rung for sermons, for they brought with them their accursed preacher, named master William Faret, (Farel) who went into the pulpit, and preached in the German language. His auditors leaped upon the altars, like goats and brute beasts, in great derision of the representation of our redemption, of the Virgin Mary, and of all the Saints.

“These dogs, who, by night, kept watch, prostrated the altar of the Oratory, and broke to pieces the window of stained glass, on which was painted the picture of St. Anthony, abbot, and of St. Sebastian. They also broke into pieces a beautiful stone cross, and out of the fragments of this, they made seats to sit round the fire. And at the convent of the Augustinians, they destroyed many beautiful images; and, at the convent of the Jacobins, they broke many noble ones of stone. . . .

“They often came to spy round the convent of St. Clair: but our Lord filled them with dread. The poor nuns kept watch during the night, praying to God for the holy faith and for the whole world; and, after matins, all of them took the discipline, asking mercy from God; and then, with candles lighted, they recited, some of them, the beautiful *Benedicatur*, inclining themselves to the very ground, at the name of Jesus Christ: others, kneeling, said the *Ave benigne Jesu*, and others saluted the wounds of our Lord, and the tears of the Virgin Mary, and other excellent vocal prayers. And every day, they made a procession in the garden, and often twice each day, reciting the holy litany. They

did so with bare feet, over the white frost, to obtain mercy for the poor world.

“In the month of April, 1532, nearly in the octave of the Assumption of our Lady, the heretics caused the bells of the priory of St. Victor to be taken down, and then proceeded to throw down the stones, and prostrate the monastery to its very foundations. . . . During this same month, on the feast of the decollation of St. John the Baptist, they pulled down the small and very beautiful church of St. Lawrence, and also the church of St. Margaret.

“In the month of October, M., the vicar general, by name, Amedee de Gingin, abbé of Bonmont, being informed that the preacher, master William Farel, was preaching at his lodgings, sent to him all the canons, in order to dispute against the heretics, who were advised to send for the said preacher.

“And he, being in presence of the official, named master de Vegi, was questioned who had sent him, and for what purpose, and with what authority. The poor, pitiful fellow replied that he had been sent by God, and that he came to announce his word. The official asked him : how is this ? and you show no evident token that you have been sent by God, as Moses did to king Pharaoh : and as to preaching to us, you bring no licence from our very reverend prelate, the bishop of Geneva ; and, besides, you have not the costume usually worn by those who are accustomed to announce to us the word of God, and you wear the garb of a policeman or brigand?

“In the year 1533, on the 20th of March, being Friday of Passion week, there was a marvelous tumult at Geneva, because the heretics, on that day, during the whole morning, were making a crowd and assembly of people of their sect. Whereupon the good christians assembled together on the other side, at the church of St. Peter, with Messieurs, the canons, and entered into consultation, as to what had best be done. The people, of one accord, replied : We will go at once to these Lutherans, who are collected in the street *des Allemands*, and we shall know why they are continually holding us in dread ; we want to see an end of it, and we shall not longer suffer such an infection in this city, for they are worse than the Turks.

“While they were speaking this, two wicked profligates came there to spy the christians, and placed themselves on the steps of the church door, and one of them could not contain himself from saying some villainous words, for which, soon, many others drew their swords to strike him ; but he was protected by the syndics : notwithstanding their protection, he was thrown to the earth, and trampled under foot, and received a stroke from a sword, whereby he was grievously wounded, even to the gross effusion of blood. His companion, seeing him prostrate on the ground, took to flight, and recounted the whole affair. But the good christians were of more courage than before. Some Catholics, to encourage the rest more, went to ring the large bell with great alarm, at the sound of which all the city was up in arms. Some went to St. Peter's, others, to the grand *place du Moulard*. The syndics, perceiving that they could not restrain the people from going out, caused all the doors of the church to be shut, and then ordered a large

bundle of laurel wood to be brought, and gave a branch to each of the Catholics, to the end that they might be distinguished from the evil-doers. Some fixed these on their heads, others held them in their hands. When all had this device of the laurel, the clergy went and knelt down before the main altar, in great devotion, and all the crowd, also recommending themselves to God, with abundance of tears, began to sing the *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*. The people, being arranged in order of battle, the *Messieurs* of the church placed themselves at their head; the doors were then thrown open by the syndics, and the company defiled by the street du Perron, and came to the grand place du Moulard. There, was already assembled a large company of men and women, well armed with clubs, and resolute as the others; in all, there were there two thousand five hundred men, exclusive of the women.

“Messieurs, the clergy, wished to be the foremost in defending their holy spouse, the church. They were seven or eight score; but Messieurs the syndics, seeing such commotion, were quite amazed; and fearing the effusion of blood, they endeavored to make some arrangement; and to do this, two of them went to the heretics who had heavy pieces of artillery, saying to them, that they did not wish to permit the shedding of human blood, nor that brothers, children of the same city, neighbours, should murder each other; for this would be an infamy too reprehensible.

“The heretics, feeling well that they were not sufficiently strong to resist the good christians, were glad of this, and made truce for another time.

“On Holy Thursday, of the same year, these Jews assembled together in a garden, at least eighty in number, with several women, for the purpose of having their Lord’s Supper, and eating the Paschal-Lamb. A wicked homicide and murderer, to represent Jesus Christ, washes the feet of the rest, and then, as an emblem of peace and union, they all, one after the other, eat a morsel of bread and cheese; the christians laughed at them.

“On the fourth of the month of May, which was the Sunday, *Jubilate*, the heretics assembled in the grand *place du Moulard*. Whereupon, on the other side, the christians assembled in the neighbourhood of the markets, and displayed their banners, exclaiming: christians good and true! assemble here, and have the courage to maintain the holy faith. The canons and others belonging to the service of the church, were the first to rally around the banners.

“One of these canons, a worthy champion of the faith, *messire* Peter Verli (Werli,) very skillful, armed himself, and not having patience, could not wait for the other gentlemen of the church, but issued forth the first with ardent courage, and ran towards the place du Moulard, crying in his zeal: courage good christians, do not spare this rabble. But, alas! he was deceived, and found himself in the hands of his enemies, . . . who, to betray him better, lured him aside into a small street, and then attacked him. . . . A wicked traitor ran his sword through his body; so that he fell dead, a blessed martyr sacrificed to God.

“The women on their part collected together, saying, if our husbands chance to get into contest with these infidels, let us enter also into the war and kill their heretical wives. In this assembly, there were at least seven hundred children between the ages of twelve and fifteen years. The women carried stones in their aprons, and the greater part of the children were armed with small swords, others had hatchets, some carried stones in their bosoms, and in their hats and caps.

“At six o'clock in the evening, the body of the canon Peter, was borne to the church for sepulture, vested in his canonical costume. When it was brought forth from his residence, the people uttered a piercing cry, weeping and mourning the death of the innocent. He was borne by priests, very honorably accompanied by the vicar general, by all the canons, by the gentlemen of the colleges, and of the church, with the crosses of the seven parishes; and after the funeral service, he was placed in the earth before the crucifix, for the honor of which he had endured death.

“In the year 1534, on the first day of March, the Lutherans assembled at the convent de Rive, and went to swing themselves on the bell-rope; causing the bell to ring for about an hour; and then, whether the christians were willing or not, they took possession of the church for preaching; and afterwards, they failed not, on any day, not even on festivals and Sundays, to assemble thus twice a day, to the great sorrow of the christians; but these began to grow cowardly, and from day to day, were more perverted, and no christian longer dared say a word, that he was not put to death.

“On the tenth of March, a great young thief and robber, of the Lutheran sect, was executed, and he was exhorted by the Franciscans for his reformation, to the end that he might die repentant in the true faith; but he was taken out of their hands while on the way, and was given up to Faret (Farel) and his companion, to be preached to, and he died in their heresy.

“On Friday, this accursed Faret commenced to baptise an infant, after their accustomed fashion, and a great number of persons assisted thereat, and even some good christians, in order to see their mode.”

“And on *quasimodo* Sunday, this pitiful Faret commenced to marry men and women together, according to their form and tradition; and they have no solemnity nor devotion on such occasions, but only command them to be united, and increase and multiply, and they say some dissolute words, I know not what; for a chaste soul has a horror even to think of them.

“On the feast of the holy cross, which fell on Sunday, a monk of the order of St. Francis, who had lived six years in religion, threw off his habit, in presence of every body, after the sermon, and contemptuously trampled it under his feet, an occurrence which greatly rejoiced the heretics.

“On the eve of Pentecost, at ten o'clock at night, the heretics cut off the heads of six statues, before the entrance to the Franciscan convent, and threw them into the wells of St. Clair.

“That night, they tore away two beautiful angels from the cemetery of the Magdalen, and cast them into the wells of St. Clair.

“On the feast of *Corpus Christi*, the Catholics resumed courage to make the usual procession through the city. Several Lutheran women, wearing velvet hoods, placed themselves at the windows, to the end that they might be seen spinning with their distaffs, and working with their needles. . . . It is said, that, on the morning after Easter, many of them washed and ironed, and some even went to put their fine linens in the Rhone.

“Also, while the procession was moving on, some persons snatched the distaff from a fat Lutheran lady, and with it gave her a smart blow on the head, then threw it into the mud.

“After St. Anne’s day, which was Sunday, a prohibition was made to ring the bell for mass, lest it should disturb the pitiful preacher. And, after listening to this cursed sermon, his hearers broke to pieces several beautiful images, and laid utterly prostrate the altar of the chapel of *La Roynne de Cypre*; they broke the statue of our Lady, which was large and exceedingly rich and beautiful, cut from alabaster stone.

“During the first week of the following August, the monastery of St. Victor was thoroughly pillaged, and fifty florins were given to some poor labourers to take off the roof of the church, for the purpose of destroying it entirely, together with the priory. I do not know, candidly, where it was said, that when persons passed by there, they heard the poor dead complaining, and lamenting audibly, day and night; for many persons were there buried.

“On the 17th of July, 1535, at Molard, within the city, the sieur James Malbosson was decapitated, a great well-doer, and a truly good Catholic. When he was at the place of his martyrdom, he asked license to speak, and went on to say: ‘Gentlemen, behold me here about to die, purely for love of my God, for I have never committed any offence to deserve death, and had I wished to be an evangelist, I would not have died yet, but I protest that I die in the faith of my worthy predecessors. . . . I confess that I have exerted all my influence and power to bring back my prince, Monsieur de Geneve, into the city, that by his means, all heresies might be expelled from the city. . . . I entreat my christian brethren to have regard for my wife, and to tell her that I recommend my children to her, and that she should give my confessor a tesson,* and that she should satisfy my servants and all to whom I am in any wise indebted.’

“Then a rank heretic advanced, and said to him: ‘You owe me a sum.’ He replied: ‘I do not remember that I owe you a single sous; but that my soul may be embarrassed by nothing, I recommend that the said sum be given you;’ and then commending his soul to God, he had his head struck off.

“After the lapse of a short time, on the head which was elevated at Molard, a beautiful dove, white as snow, was seen descending suddenly from heaven, at the beautiful day-break, and coming, it flew round the head, then perching on it, and fluttering its wings in a joyful manner, it afterwards returned to heaven suddenly. . . .

“On the feast of St. Denys, the parochial church of St. Legier, out-

*An old coin.

side of the city, was unroofed, and afterwards entirely razed and destroyed, and all the altars were broken into pieces : some of them brought pieces thereof to make baths in their houses.

“ On Christmas day, the Lutherans had no solemnity, but clad themselves in their worst garb, as for work-days, and caused no white bread to be baked, because the christians did so ; and, in mockery, they said : ‘ The papists are keeping festival ; they will eat so much white bread, that they will burst.’ ”

“ In the month of April, 1535, the pitiful preacher, William Faret, and Peter Verret d’Orbe, took possession and residence at the convent of St. Francis : and inasmuch as they were near to the convent of the poor nuns of St. Clair, they caused to these a great deal of annoyance, by means of their adherents, recommending them to their hearers in their sermons, saying that they were poor ignorant women, erring in faith, and that in order to save them, they ought to let them out of their prison, and that every one ought to stone them ; since it was all corruption and hypocrisy, for they cause it to be believed that they preserve virginity, which God has not commanded, inasmuch as it would not be possible to do so, and they are feeding those hypocrites, the Franciscans, with good partridges and fine capons.

“ On Friday, within the octave of *Corpus Christi*, at five o’clock at night, the sisters being all assembled in the refectory, for their collation, the syndics came and said to their portress, that they had come to announce to the ladies, that on the next Sunday they must all be present at the disputation upon different articles, which Peter James Bernard, the guardian *des cordeliers*, would maintain on his life. The mother abbess and the assistant made their appearance immediately, and replied to the syndics : ‘ Gentlemen, you must excuse us, for we cannot obey this summons, having vowed perpetual enclosure, and this vow we wish to keep.’ ”

“ The syndics replied : ‘ We have nothing to do with your ceremonies, you must obey the commands of these gentlemen ; good people all are summoned to this disputation, in order to prove the truth of the gospel, for we must arrive at union in faith.’ ”

“ ‘ And how is this ! ’ said the mother abbess and the assistant, ‘ it is not the office of women to dispute, for this is not enjoined on women, and never was woman called upon for disputation and testimony ; and for this we are not willing to commence.’ ”

“ Then the syndics replied to them : ‘ All these reasons are worth nothing, you shall come there with your fathers, willing or not.’ ”

“ The mother assistant said to them : ‘ Gentlemen, we beseech you in the name of God, to give up the idea of forcing us to this thing. . . . We do not believe that you are the syndics.’ ”

“ The syndics said to the lady assistant : ‘ Do not think to sport with us ; open your doors ; we will enter within, and then you will see who we are.’ ”

“ ‘ Very well,’ answered the assistant, ‘ but at this hour you cannot enter within, because our sisters are at complins of the divine office, and we also wish to go there, wishing you good evening.’ ”

“ The syndics responded to the lady assistant : ‘ These sisters are not

all of your sentiments, for some of them you keep within by force, and these will soon yield to the truth of the gospel.'

"Gentlemen,' said the sisters, 'we have come here, not from constraint, but to do penance, and to pray for the world; and we are not hypocrites, as you say, but pure virgins.'

"Then,' responded one of the syndics: 'you are sadly fallen from the truth, for God has not commanded so many rules, which men have devised, to deceive the world; and under the titles of religion, they are the ministers of the devil.'

"How now,' said the mother assistant, 'do you, who call yourselves evangelists, find in the gospel that you are to speak evil of others?'

The syndic said: 'I have been a robber, a brigand, a lover of luxury, ignorant of the truth of the gospel, until now.'

The mother assistant replied: 'All these works are wicked, and contrary to the divine commands; you do very well to amend.'

'Lady assistant,' said the syndic, 'you are very arrogant; but if you make us angry, you will repent it.'

'Gentlemen,' said the mother assistant, 'you can only torture my body; it is this which, for the love of God, I most desire.'

On Sunday, within the octave of the Visitation, the syndics came, with their pitiful preacher, whose name is Farel, and Peter Verret, and a Franciscan friar, who more resembled a devil than a man, and it was ten o'clock in the morning, when the nuns were about to take their breakfast; and they called themselves our fathers and good friends.

The syndic said: 'We are the lords of justice, we desire to enter.'

The mother assistant replied: 'Gentlemen, my heart tells me that you bring with you your diabolical preachers, whom, in no wise, we wish to hear.'

The syndic answered: 'We are good people, and we are not resorting to any tricks, and we come for your consolation; and therefore open your doors.'

'Gentlemen,' rejoined the mother assistant, 'now, declare, if you please, the motive for which you desire to get inside.'

The syndic replied: 'By the Lord, we will enter, and if you will not open, we will break down your doors.'

On seeing this, the mother abbess, and the other sisters said: 'It is better for us to open the doors, for fear they do us other harm.'

Afterwards, they went straight to the chapter, and the syndic said: 'Mother abbess, cause all your sisters to be assembled here.'

All the sisters being collected, the younger ones were placed before this accursed Farel. Silence was commanded, and Farel began his discourse: '*Maria abiit in montana*, saying that Mary had not led a solitary life, but was diligent in assisting and doing service to her cousin, and on this passage, he degraded the holy cloister and religion, the state of holiness, of chastity and virginity, in a vituperative manner that pierced the hearts of the poor nuns. Then the mother assistant, perceiving that the seducers were chatting with and flattering the younger sisters, arose amidst the more ancient, saying: 'Sir syndic, since your people

do not keep silence, I shall not keep it either, but I shall know what they are there saying to my sisters;’ and she went and placed herself between the young sisters and these gallants; on this they were indignant, saying, what devil of a woman is this: lady assistant, have you a devil, or are you crazy? Return to your place. No, I will not do so, she said, except these gentry be removed from near my sisters.

“The syndics being troubled, furiously commanded that the lady assistant should be turned out.

“Then, a preacher resumed his deceitful discourse about the tie of marriage and liberty, and when he spoke of eternal corruption, the sisters commenced to exclaim; ‘it is a falsehood,’ and they spit in contempt against him. . . . The mother abbess, who was outside, could not restrain herself; she came to the preacher, and, striking with her two fists against the partition wall, with great force she exclaimed: ‘Pitiful and accursed man’ you entirely lose your deceitful words; you will gain nothing by them here.’

“Now, the heretics, perceiving that they gained no advantage, but only great reproaches, withdrew, and in descending the steps, the accursed Franciscan, quite covered with scars, was hideous to be seen, and not being able to descend, was lagging behind; and one of the sisters going after him, struck him between the shoulders with both hands, saying: ‘pitiful apostate, hasten, and take thyself from my presence.’ . . .

“On the day of Sir, St. Bartholomew, apostle, there came large companies, well armed, having clubs and all sorts of weapons, and quite deliberately they came to strike at the great door of the convent of St. Clair. The poor brother Convers, with good intentions, opened the door. . . . then the lieutenant proceeded to say: ‘Now, there, good ladies, you are very blind, not to know the truth, and to be so obstinate in your errors, but I enjoin on you, on the part of the authorities of the city, not to say any office, either high or low, and never again to hear mass.’

“The mother assistant, inspired by our LORD, answered: Gentlemen, I am of opinion that we should demand permission and safe conduct from the city authorities, and then abandon the city.’

“‘Well, then,’ said the syndic, ‘my good ladies, fix the day on which you wish to depart, and tell us how you think of doing so.’ ‘Certes,’ responded the mother assistant, ‘let it be to-morrow morning, at break of day, and do you please grant us only our garments and mantles, to protect us from the cold, and to each one a coif, that we may be able to have a change for washing.’ ‘We are agreed,’ replied the syndic.

“After midnight, the sisters all assembled in the infirmary, around the mother abbess, who was very feeble, sick, and old, who blessed them all devoutly, with tears, saying: ‘My children, be of firm courage and obedient to the mother assistant, whom I pray and beseech to take charge over you.’ The mother assistant encouraged them, saying: ‘My dear mother and sisters, let us have good hope in God, and think only of saving our souls. Place yourselves in good order and devotion, ready to set out when these people shall come; and place yourselves two and two, holding each other by the hand firmly, and quite near each other, that none may separate you.’

“Behold, the others now arrive : seeing which, the mother assistant threw herself on her knees before the syndic, saying : ‘Gentlemen, we have determined to go forth in silence, without saying a word to any one; please you to give strict orders to all persons that no one be bold enough to speak to us, to touch, or approach us, whatever may be his quality or condition.’”

“‘Certes, lady assistant,’ replied the syndic, ‘you give us very good advice, and it shall be executed, for we will conduct you, with the guard of the city, which consists of about three hundred men, well armed; and I will myself go and make the publication.’ He went and commanded, under penalty of having the head cut off on the instant, and without mercy, that no one should say a word, either good or bad, on the departure of the poor nuns of St. Clair, whereupon the good creatures came near losing strength, from grief and sorrow.

“When the convent door was thrown open, several of the sisters were stricken with fear; but the mother assistant took courage, and said : ‘Onward, my sisters, make the sign of the cross, and have our Lord in your hearts, and do you, sir syndic, keep good faith and loyalty.’”

“The syndic, seeing that several were unable to proceed, caused them to be aided by strong men, to support them. And then before, and by their side, there marched at least three hundred archers, well armed, to guard the syndic, which was well thought of; for, when the wicked persons of the city, who had determined on the night following, to rob the convent and violate the inmates, perceived their departure, they collected together hastily, to the number of five hundred, and placed themselves in the street *St. Antoine*, through which the sisters had to pass, and one of them drew near to a poor simple nun, (whom the mother assistant had placed near herself, that she might not be led off on one side or the other,) and whispering in her ear, he said : ‘Sister Jacquemine, come along with me, I will treat you as my own sister.’ The mother assistant responded : ‘Ha! you wicked boy, you have told a lie;’ then calling out to the syndic : ‘See here, how poorly you are obeyed, make this youth withdraw to the rear, from our path.’ Saying this, she stood firm, and when the syndic beheld this crowd of rabble, by the divine permission, he was greatly stirred with indignation, and with a furious and horrible voice, he swore by the blood of his followers, saying : ‘If a man stirs, he shall have his head struck off on the instant.’ Then he addressed his archers : ‘Gentle companions, be bold, and do your duty, if need be;’ whereupon, by the divine will, the mob recoiled, alarmed, and gnashing their teeth with anger.

“And they arrived at the bridge, and all the company bid farewell to the sisters, saying : ‘Now adieu, good ladies.’ And when all were upon the bridge, the syndic struck his hands together, saying : ‘It is all done; there is now no remedy, and we must speak no more of this affair.’”

CHAPTER XIII.

CALVIN AT GENEVA.—FAREL.—VIRET.—1536.

Calvin's arrival at Geneva.—He is discovered by Viret.—Farel's adjuration.—Calvin consents to remain.—Character of the three reformers: Farel, Viret and Calvin.—Preparations for the conference of Lausanne.—Shifts and tricks of the reformation.—Its outrages against the Papacy.

It was amid these civil disorders, that a carriage of slender pretensions drew up, in the month of August, 1536, before a tavern in Geneva, from which was seen to descend a young man of about twenty-seven years of age, simply clad, with a pale countenance, beard cut *a la Francois premier*, and with an eye black and brilliant;* this was Calvin, who only thought of passing one night in the city. The stranger was to rise early the next morning and take the road to Bale;† but he was discovered: Viret had observed him, and Farel came to seek him at the hotel.

Farel had somewhat indisposed the population by means of his impetuosity. At the least noise, he was seen to appear, and throw himself into the midst of the dispute, seize the monk who was passing, as if he were his prey, and in open day-light, commence a controversy extremely choleric, and replete with abuse. The crowd assembled, struck the monk, and pursued him even to the neighboring tavern, whither the unhappy man had fled for refuge against popular fury. But Farel ran, urging the multitude on like a wild beast, until the syndics had to interfere to appease the mob, and protect the prisoner.

The authorities were disquieted, because of the authority exercised by Farel over the people. They began to perceive that Geneva had given herself a master, more intolerant than the counts and vidomnes, and who had only snatched his crozier from the bishop, and their sword from the canons, in order to gird on the belt, and strike with stock and edge at the Catholics and the reformed.

Farel, under pretext of publishing a religious formulary, had drawn up a confession of faith, in which he had elevated to the power of a dogma, the excommunication at which Luther had laughed so heartily.

"We hold," said he, "the discipline of excommunication to be a holy and salutary thing among the faithful, as for good reason it has been

* Life of Calvin, for the use of Protestant schools, by E. Haag, in 18mo. 1840, p. 80.

† *Hac celeriter transire statueram, ut non longior quam unius noctis mora in urbe mihi foret.*—Præf. ad Psal.

instituted by our Lord. It is to the end that the wicked, by their damnable conversation may not corrupt the good, or dishonor our Lord, and also, that having shame, they may return to penance; and, however, we understand that it is expedient, according to God's ordinance, that all manifest idolators, blasphemers, murderers, robbers, the lecherous, false witnesses, the seditious, the quarrelsome, detractors, strikers, drunkards, spendthrifts, after having been admonished, if they do not amend, should be cut off from the communion of the faithful, until they shall have known repentance."

The Roman church was not so severe. In her holy justice, she did not confound "the drunkard and the murderer, the quarrelsome and the thief."

At this moment Luther had left Wittenberg. Let him come to Geneva, chanting his German stanza of four lines, which the students of Heidelberg love to trill,* and the guard which excites factions at the gate of castle de l'Isle will arrest him, and, on the morrow, Farel will drive him away, as a drunkard or debauchee, from the territory of Geneva. It is Farel, who murmured between his teeth: "it is better to obey God than men," when the lance of a Catholic soldier threatened to punish him for his outrage on the image of the Holy Sacrament in the great street *de l'Aigle*. It is he, who shed tears for the fate of all those marplots, whom the authorities drove out of Paris, because, at the same time, they outraged the divine and human laws which governed the country.

Moreover, this formulary was not the only outrage committed by Farel against the liberties of the city.

He had organized a band of Iconoclasts, who, quite inspired by his spirit, made war upon beads, medals, crucifixes, and images. Say not to these Vandals that this crucifix is a family heritage, that this medal is a *chef d'œuvre*; to preserve this little statue of the Virgin, invoke not the name of the Florentine artist, who had made it a marvelous work of beauty; to save this picture, appeal not to Erasmus, who, with such eloquence has pleaded the cause of matter, inspired with the very breath of life, by the painter's genius; if you would protect them, repeat not the words of Luther, thundered forth in the pulpit of Wittenberg, against Carlstadt, the illuminated: Farel does not understand æsthetics, and cannot comprehend art as an element of civilization. He would not give a single hair of his badly combed beard, for a Virgin of Cimabue.† In Erasmus, he admires nothing but his satirical laugh at the monks; and in Luther, his father, he will imitate nothing but his intol-

*Morgenröth leugt nicht
Dicke Magd treugt nicht
Ists nicht Regen, so ist Wind,
Ist die Magd nicht fett, so ist ein Kind.

Luther, on the sixteenth chapter, second verse of St. Matthew.—At Heidelberg, the students changed *Kind* into *Rind*, the German beefsteak.

† Small, of poor appearance, with complexion pale, and bronzed by the sun, with two or three tufts of red and badly combed beard upon his chin: such was the man who came to take possession of the streets and public squares of Neufchatel.—*The Chronicler*. n. 9, p. 79

erance against rebellious intelligence. On entering Geneva he had read the motto: *Post tenebras spero lucem*,* which was found upon the seals, upon the money of the city, and he has effaced the hope and written: *Post tenebras lucem*. The light, is that brought by himself, which follows and precedes him, which plays upon his lips, inundates his heart and robes, and envelopes his three tufts of red beard.

It is this light which now inspires him, in his interview with Calvin, if we are to credit the historians of the reformation.

Calvin, they say, had no intention to stop at Geneva. He did not wish to ally himself with any church, but to visit all in succession, and colport the new gospel, to spread it every where in proportion as should be required by the spirit of the people. Farel had not been able to overcome the obstinacy of his compatriot. His prayers and exhortations had been in vain; Calvin resisted. It was then that Farel became impassioned, worked himself up to anger, and cried out in the language of the prophet: "If thou dost not yield, I denounce thee to the Omnipotent; may God cause his malediction to fall on thy head."† M. Paul Henry here compares the voice of Farel to that which issued from the clouds over the road to Damascus, and struck to the earth Saul the sinner.‡

Calvin believed that he was listening to the voice of God, as he says in his preface to the psalms. "Master William Farel retains me at Geneva, not so much by counsel and exhortation as by a frightful adjuration, as if God from on high had extended his hand to arrest me. When he perceived that he gained nothing by entreaties, he resorted even to imprecations, that it might please God to disturb my repose, and the tranquillity of study which I sought, if, in such great necessity, I should retire and refuse my aid and assistance. Which word so frightened and terrified me, that I desisted from the journey which I had undertaken, in such sort, however, that feeling my bashfulness and timidity, I was unwilling to oblige myself to exercise any definite office."§

Perhaps, Calvin had not divined Farel.

*The device of the republic of Geneva: *Post tenebras spero lucem*, existed before the reformation: the letter written to Calvin to induce his return, dated October 22nd, 1540; coin struck in 1561, still exhibit it; so that the modern device: *Post Tenebras Lux*, was introduced after this event. Senebier. Catal. rais. des Mss. p. 289.—Picot is not of this opinion. "The device, *Post Tenebras Lux*, already belonged, says he, to the city in the time of its bishops, as can be ascertained by the examination of various coins, seals &c. of a period anterior to the reformation; this contradicts the opinion of certain authors, who think that it had been adopted because of the reformation, and that previously was used the motto: *Post tenebras spero lucem*, or *Post tenebras lucem* through a sort of presentiment or desire of the reformation."—Hist. de Geneve, t. III. p. 415.

† *Studia tua prætextenti denuntio omnipotentis Dei nomine futurum, ut nisi in opus Dei incumbas nobiscum, tibi non tam christum quam te ipsum querenti Dominus maledicat.*—Beza.

‡ Wie die Stimmen vor Damascus die Seele Pauli durchdonnerten, so trafen diese Worte Calvin's Gewissen.—Paul Henry, p. 162, §. I.

§ Calvin's preface to the psalms.

On the Monday after the feast of St. George, in the year 1527, Zwingli wrote to Fr. Kolb of Berne:

“My dear, proceed gently in the work, and without too much precipitation. At first, throw to the bear a single sour pear amongst the sweet ones, then throw two, then three; if he eats them, cast him hands full, sweet and sour. This done, empty your sack, and spread around hard pears, soft pears, sound pears, and rotten pears. You will see him devour and swallow them.”*

Now, Farel had thrown to the bear of Geneva too many sour pears; the bear had perceived this, and growled; when luckily Calvin appeared, in order to feed him on pears sour and sweet.

The pear and the bear perform a great part in the drama of the reformation. The eye of its historians has loved better to contemplate heaven than to plunge into the ditch, in order to explain worldly events, the revolutions of doctrines, and transformations of symbols.

Had Farel remained alone at Geneva, the citizens would have been weary of the fantastic despotism, the feverish intolerance, and furious caprices of their apostle. Calvin came to his aid. Perhaps, he knew how to dissimulate the desire he had to remain at Geneva, says an historian of the reformation; † in that case, was not the adjuration a mere comedy?

It is necessary to understand well these two organizations, produced, both, beneath the sun of France, but so very different: Farel, the southerner, ardent, irascible, exalted, but whose wrath was calmed by one night's sleep; who kept nothing on his heart, but who was forgetful, as generally is the case with violent temperaments:—Calvin, child of the north, who is rarely moved, studies his hates, calculates his anger; is impenetrable to every other eye but that of God, and who, after having said to the Lord in his evening prayers: forgive us our offences as we forgive others; seats himself tranquilly to write some pages of his pamphlet, (*de puniendis hæreticis*) concerning the punishment of heretics:—Farel, who, in the streets and public places is sure to reign unrivaled, by his voice resembling thunder, his epileptic gestures and his mimicry of the tripod:—Calvin, never so powerful as when he is shut up in his cabinet of study, there to prepare sentences, which “by their brevity immediately engrave themselves in the mind of the reader:”—Farel, capable by a word or gesture, to create a revolt, but unable to direct the storm which he has produced:—Calvin who has not received from heaven the gift of moving masses, but the power to mould them into obedience, and to lead them in the leash:—Farel, good to knead the clay:—Calvin to animate it with the breath of life. ‡

* Tschudi Mss. quoted by M. Roisselet de Sauclieres. History of Protestantism in France.

† Gregorio Leti. Historia Ginevrina. t. III, p. 40.

‡ Gallica mirata est Calvinum Ecclesia nuper
Quo nemo docuit doctius.
Est quoque te nuper mirata, Farelle, tonantem
Quo nemo tonuit fortius.

Viret resembled neither of these. An orator, with words of honey, he charms without ever moving, and lets fall from his lips a dew of sweet words, which intoxicate his reformed audience. When Farel, with eye inflamed, contemplates heaven while pouring forth imprecations against Rome and its priests, the people, transported with wrath, are ready, on leaving the temple, to arm themselves and march against the modern Babylon. But as soon as Viret mounts the pulpit all these great storms, raised by the voice of him, who is styled the St. Bernard of the reformation, are appeased, and the souls which he holds under the spell of his looks, think no longer of this world, but belong to another land. Without Calvin, the triumphs of these two orators would have been transitory. On the route to Rome, to which Farel would have marched, the modern crusaders would have soon been arrested; for their leader would not have passed by the first church, without entering, in order to break to pieces the tabernacle. Viret, would have made out of the people, whom he indoctrinated, a host of false mystics, who would have ended by plunging into the abyss of ridiculous extacies after the fashion of the Gnostics and the Albigenses. To aid, and give fertility to their preaching, there was need of Calvin to seize the thunders of Farel, and the perfumes of Viret, in order to form out of them, by the aid of fatalism, one of the most seductive errors of any which had ever existed.

As no revolution can live or be perpetuated, except by the influence of some grand idea; Farel might, at Geneva, have well represented Munzer, and, like the miner, called forth labourers armed with hammers and torches; but never by means of discussion formed a doctrine; still less could he have elevated this doctrine into a creed and a sect. Farel always felt a fever, and fever is an *anormal*, or disordered state. Viret, with his temperance of thought, could not gather what the ardent breath of Farel sowed upon the way of the gospel. To them both, there was need of a logician: Calvin was the reasoning serpent, who envelopes his enemy in his folds, and floods him with his poison, when he cannot strangle him.

Farel and Viret had therefore felt all the importance of such an auxiliary; and to the fugitive of Noyon, only a glance at Geneva was necessary to enable him to understand that the work of the reformation was there in great peril, if its existence and success depended upon such workmen.

Hence, Calvin consented to renounce his wandering life, and to remain at Geneva. From that day, he belongs to the Allobrogian church, in quality of preacher, and to the commune, in that of reader in theology.

Et miratur adhuc fundenten mella Viretum

Quo nemo fatur dulcius.

Scilicet aut tribus his servabere testibus olim,

Aut interibis Gallia.—*Beza, Icon.*

Excelebat quadam animi magnitudine Farellus, cujus vel audire absque timore tonitrua, vel ardentissime preces percipere nemo posset, quin in ipsum pene cælum subveheretur. Viretus facundiæ suavitate sic excellebat ut auditores ab ipsius ore necessario penderent. *Beza, Vita Calvinii. An. 1541.—An-cillon, Melanges erit. t. I. p. 404.*

To discharge these duties, he received six *crowns au soleil d'or*.* His name is for the first time found in the archives of the republic, on the fifth of September, 1536, thus designated:—Calvin, or Cauvin, the Frenchman, *iste Gallus*.†

From this period, an unalterable friendship united Farel, Calvin and Viret. Calvin was unable to forget that Farel, who might for some time longer have played the first part at Geneva, had yielded the place to him; it was an act of devotedness, however interested it may have been. Also, to reward him, he dedicated to him, his commentary on the epistle to Titus, which he prefaced by some words of eulogy. “I do not think that ever there have been two friends, who have lived together in such great intimacy, in the ordinary intercourse of the world, as we have done in our ministry. I have here discharged the office of pastor with you two, and so far from there having been the slightest appearance of envy, it seemed to me that you and I were but one. We have been afterwards separated as to places. And as to you, Master Wm. Farel, the church of Neufchatel, which you have delivered from the tyranny of the papacy and conquered to Christ, has called you; and as to you, M. Peter Viret, the church of Lausanne holds you on like condition. But, however, each of you so well guards the place intrusted to him, that by our union, the children of God, drawing together in the fold of Jesus Christ, are even united in his body.”

Farel had divined that Geneva could not have two masters; that on the least dispute of flesh or spirit, Calvin would have broken him into pieces, as Luther had done with Carlstadt, and that he must not sport with a theologian who had neither tear in his eye, nor pity in his heart, and who would pass by his enemy mortally wounded, without pouring a drop of oil into the wounds of the dying man. Calvin, in revenge, pardoned Master William Farel, for those writings in which he threw doubt upon the resurrection of bodies.‡

A theological disputation was in progress of preparation at Lausanne, and Farel, as formerly was done by Carlstadt at Leipsic, desired that a personage of high worth should assist as judge of the lists. The clergy of Lausanne opposed this religious tournament, which, like all those celebrated in Germany, could but little advance the reign of truth. This was the opinion of Melancthon, who thought that God should be sought only in a sweet and peaceful silence. It was not that Catholicism dreaded the arena and the sun-light; its word had been sufficiently splendid at Leipsic; but it had learned to know its enemies. How was it possible to dispute with an adversary, who only studied upon the school benches, in order to learn from the students their angry vocabulary? At each dis-

* Registers, Feb. 13, 1537.

† Senebier.—Life of Calvin, by Haag.

‡ We have of Farel: 1st. Theses published at Bale: 2dly. Summary of the Christian Religion: 3dly. *De oratione Dominica*: 4thly. Conference with Guy Furbity: 5thly. Epistle to the Duke of Lorraine: 6thly. Reply to Caroli: 7thly. Treatise on Purgatory: 8thly. The Sword: 9thly. Treatise on the Lord's Supper: 10thly. The true use of the Cross.

Viret is known by his commentary on the gospel of our Lord, according to St. John. Fol. Gen. 1553, published under the name of Firm. Chlorus. Senb. Gen. lit. t. I, p. 156.

In the sixteenth century it was said: the learning of Calvin, the vehemence of Farel, the eloquence of Viret.

putation, the reformation opened the scriptures, and used the inspired book as a tripod, from which to pour forth denunciations against the 'prostitute of Babylon.' It rebuilt, stone by stone, the unchaste city, in order to exhibit the Antichrist, foretold by the prophets, seated amidst golden flames. If you convicted it of falsehood, and proved to it that it had not an understanding of the divine books, it grew irritated and summoned to its aid all the saints of paradise; so that on that day, the world, to its great astonishment learned, that Cyprian, Lactantius, Bernard, Jerome, Augustine, were Lutherans, Zwinglians, Bucerians, Œcolampadians, Carlostadians. Then, should you take, one by one, the texts of our writers, and should you demonstrate that their words have been curtailed, mutilated, falsified, do you think that the reformation will shut its mouth; not at all. It begins to proclaim the magnificent nothingness of human authority, and returns again to scripture. To what purpose then, shall we open our heavens and cause thence to descend our Catholic glories, under the Pope's tiara, the doctor's robe, the bishop's pallium, or the monk's coarse garb? Should you seek to confine it in its circle of Popilius, it knows how to find issue and escape you. Instead of heaven, it is hell that it opens, in order, like Luther, to hurl into it pell-mell, all those great shades which just now it had invoked, and to burn therein, amid eternal flames, all our fathers, who had the misfortune not to believe the things which they only commenced to teach yesterday. Our bishop of Lausanne was therefore right: the announced conference would, at most, serve only to expose the Catholic faith and its representatives to the gross insults of Farel.

The reformation of the nineteenth century has undergone no change in this. At the present moment, when too strongly urged, it replies like M. Cunningham, Esq., of Lainslaw, by a volume in which the author demonstrates:

"That the church of Rome is the apostate, and, the Pope the man of sin, and the son of perdition, spoken of by St. Paul, in his prophecies, second epistle to the Thessalonians."*

What then, is demanded of Sir W. Cunningham, is Gregory the sixteenth, the Antichrist foretold by St. Paul?

And the honorable Esquire of Lainslaw, answers:

"Yes, Gregory XVI, is the Antichrist of Daniel."

And then M. Cunningham does, what was done by his ancestors of the reformation; he foretells the speedy downfall of the papacy.†

* One vol. 12mo. of 141 pages. London, Cadell, Hatchard & Nisbett, 1840.

† Napier, in his *discovery of all the secrets of the Apocalypse*, wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century: "Moreover, the recommendable commencement of this jubilee seems to prognosticate that Rome will be destroyed with all its dominion before the end of said jubilee; terminating 1639."

Some years later, in *The accomplishment of the prophecies*, Dumoulin assigns a more remote epoch for the fall of Antichrist. "The persecution of the church under the Popes," he says, "is to finish in the year 1639. This term expired, oppressed virtue will suddenly revive. At that time all nations will be greatly moved. During this commotion, fright and dissention of nations, a tenth part of the men of the Roman church will be killed."—See chapter xxv. concerning Antichrist.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DISPUTATION OF LAUSANNE.—1536.

Means employed by the reformation for the conversion of Catholic Switzerland.—Pillage of the churches.—Exile of the priests.—Sale of the property of the proscribed.—Conduct of Berne.—Disputation of Lausanne.—Theses of Farel.—The Catholic Doctors.—Invectives of Viret and Farel against the Papacy.—Misery of our priests.—Calvin speaks.—Idea of his reasoning.

To those populations, which, for centuries, had found repose in their faith, the reformation came to bring a new gospel, the only one, the only true one to be followed, if men would be saved.

This gospel was written in a language unintelligible to the greater number of intellects, and the meaning of which the reformation only was able to comprehend.

It was unwilling that men should believe in a gospel expounded by the same signs visible for ages.

It was necessary, under pain of death, to believe the reformation, although it was born but yesterday.

Behold how it proceeded in Germany, to convince incredulous souls.

It drove the Catholic ministers from the churches, and, mounting the pulpit, taught the people in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; then it installed itself in the presbytery to eat the priest's bread; and, when drunk with wine and meats, it came forth to violate the sanctuary, and steal the sacred vessels, which it sold to the highest bidder—to him who offered most.

This accomplished, it said: On such a day, divine justice passed through such a village, and the hearts were converted to the Lord; blessed be God, for ever and ever!

The preachers joined their hands, and said: *Amen.*

The princes, who had received in holocaust, the *spolia opima* of the clergy, sold them in order to distribute the proceeds among their courtesans, as was done by the Landgrave of Hesse.

Afterwards, days and ages rolled on, and reformation historians appeared, to repeat: Glory to God! the Antichrist has been vanquished, and nations have seen the light.

If the despoiled bishop, the exiled priest, and the banished monk, made their plaints resound, then arose the voices of these ministers, princes, courtesans, nobles, and in one concert cried: *Cursed!*

We here appeal to all persons of good faith! Let them tell us

whether the conversion of Switzerland was effected in a different manner!

Yverdon, when on the point of being taken by assault, asked to capitulate. Behold on what condition the capitulation was accorded:

“That the soldiers should surrender at discretion; that strangers should be searched and pillaged, in such sort that they might be even stripped of their pantaloons and shirts; that the city should be deprived of its rights and titles, its artillery, its cuirasses, and other arms; that the inhabitants should pay a high ransom, and give up to the Bernese all the arms and effects which they had saved, so that none should keep any thing but a knife for cutting bread.”*

The city being taken, the Bernese convoked the clergy, and commanded them, under pain of exile, to give up saying mass. The clergy refused: all the Catholic images were thrown into the fire; and John Le Comte, assisted by two professors, went to the tavern, to search for certain debauchee monks, imposed hands on them, and said: ‘You have the Holy Ghost; go, and teach the nations.’ And on that day, the new church counted three new priests.†

Afterwards, on the 7th of June, 1536,‡ the holy synod assembled, and forbade going to mass and to confession, under a fine of ten silver florins for a man, and five for a woman: a distinction which we cannot comprehend, unless the soul of one has not been redeemed by the blood of Christ, like the soul of the other.

“The confederates,” observes a contemporary writer, “advanced, pillaging, sacking, making war, as was then done. The Bernese, who but a brief time since had given up the mass for the sermon, insulted the cross and pictures, and carried desolation into the convents. At Morges, they were lodged in great numbers in the house of the *Freres Mineurs*, and having caused the church to be opened, they lighted a large fire in it, into which they threw the ciborium, the pictures and statues. Afterwards came the turn of the castles. That of M. De Vufflens, that of Allamand, that of Perroy, that of Beguins, a house of the castellan of Noyon, were all burned; they also put fire to the castle at Rolle, which was of remarkable beauty. Arrived at Geneva, on the 7th of October, the Bernese went every where, breaking the crosses, abusing the monks and priests, who no longer dared go to the church offices, except with their soutans under their arms.”§

When the word, the sword, or the cannon, were useless for the reduction of a canton, Zurich and Berne tried to famish it, by taking possession of all the roads and passes, rolling large blocks of stone into the main routes, and even burning the grass which nourished the cattle.

The smaller cantons, taking counsel only from desperation, armed themselves to combat their enemy, after having hurled at them this magnificent defiance: ||

“Inasmuch as, for a long time, each of us has been ready for what

*Chronicle of Settler, p. 87.

†Memoirs of Le Comte.

‡Ruchat, t. VI.

§The *Chronicle*, Journal of Romand Helvetia. No. 2..

||Simon Fontaine. Catholic History.

is just and reasonable, and given more than sufficient proof of this; and you, contrary to the alliances and agreements, confirmed by your faith and oath; contrary to the public peace, contrary to discipline and christian concord, contrary to faith, to charity, and to the amity of the confederated; contrary even to natural right, and to all equity; excite our own subjects to rebel against us: so that already, they falsify faith, and are perjured, in refusing our jurisdiction in the captainry of St. Gal, and in the provosty of the valley of the Rhine, and in several other places, whom you defend, and make them disagree with us, by your frauds and cunning; that, in this peril, you may remove and drive us from our ancient and certain Catholic faith, because you say that we are not willing to hear the word of God, nor permit that in our territory the Old and New Testament should be read, and accuse us, as if we are people without religion, malignant persons, traitors and disturbers. Inasmuch as we, not willing to unite and adhere to your disguised and counterfeited faith, are denied by you the necessaries of life, and access to the public markets, that by this means you may cause us to perish by famine, not only ruining and destroying ourselves, but even the poor innocent children, who are still in the wombs of their mothers. Finally, inasmuch as every thing is denied, and we are aided by no person to cause right and justice to be done in our regard, and as now, for so long a time, we have endured this your violent oppression, your pride and iniquity, without seeing any prospect of an end of these things; we are constrained to complain of you to God, to his Holy Mother, to the whole heavenly court, and to all those who have respect for right and justice; we consult together and determine, if it pleases God to grant us grace, power, and strength, to avenge this wrong, which you have done to us, by the strong arm. And this we make known, by these presents, to you, to your allies and adherents, wishing thus to guarantee our own honor and that of our allies, towards you; in faith and testimony of which we have caused to be affixed to these presents, the seal of our confederates, the Tigurians, in the name of all. Done, Wednesday, fourth of October, 1531."

While reading the history of the establishment of the reformation in Switzerland, a person believes himself transported into Sicily, under the proconsulship of Verres. Be felon or apostate, and you shall obtain, as did M. Senarchans, the priory of Perroy, for two thousand five hundred florins,—the price of the lead only in the edifice.

For six thousand five hundred Bernese livres, you shall, like John de Watteville, the advocate, secure the lands of Villars-le-Moine and Clavelayre,—the price of the trees.

For three thousand Swiss livres, like John Tribolet of Berne, bailiff of Grandson, you shall have the convent *de la Lance*, with all its dependencies,—the value of the roofs only.*

Two poor villages of the principality of Neufchatel, Landeron and Cressier, show to the preachers who come to try their faith, the cemetery where their fathers sleep, and protest that, at the day of judg-

*See Charles L. de Haller's history of the Protestant reformation in Western Switzerland, 1839, in 12mo.

ment, they desire to rise with their ancestors, confessing the same God : then Jensch, governor of Haut Cret, prostrates all the visible signs of Catholic worship,* and in order to establish the reign of the gospel in these rebellious mountains, the seigniors of Berne command the council to drive away the pastor, or at least to deprive him of his benefice; in other words, to make him perish by starvation.

One day, during the siege of Yverdon, Viret comes to Lausanne, and asks permission to preach the word of God. They reply to him. "There is the convent of the Cordeliers, and that of St. Francis, choose for yourself." Viret mounts the pulpit of the Cordeliers, and, during two hours, declaims against the Roman clergy, and the monastic orders. The fathers have recourse to the council, and made their complaint in these terms : "This church is ours; it was founded by means of the alms collected by our brethren, whose bones repose in the neighbouring cloister; by the liberality of pious souls we have been able to erect this pulpit : why, then, have you opened the church and pulpit to the pretended reformed preacher?"

This council had, that very year, proclaimed liberty of conscience,† and what could it answer to this plaint of the Cordelier fathers?

The seigniors of Berne protected Viret : had they repelled him, he would have revenged himself against the franchises of Lausanne. So that the Catholic *bourgeoisie* sacrificed its faith to save its liberties.

The reformation reigned at Geneva, but reigned over ruins; once mistress of our churches, from which it had expelled the priests, it said to the inhabitants : "Embrace : the peace of God has come to visit you." Some vestiges of Catholicity still remained, but it was only in the surrounding villages. The stranger easily recognised them by the cross which surmounted the spire, or by the little wooden statue of the Virgin Mary, placed at the corner of some hedge. The priests continued to break the word of God to their flocks, and to some pious souls from Geneva, whom Farel had been unable to seduce. On Sunday, at early dawn, they left their dwellings, looking round them, like the highway robber, double bolting the doors of their houses, concealing themselves in large robes, and murmuring some prayers to their guardian angels. The village altar was prepared : it arose, ornamented with flowers, gathered by pious hands. The priest commenced mass. The mass finished, each one again sought his habitation.

One day, a band of archers, armed with lances, invaded the cabins of the Catholics, seized the pastors and their assistants, and drove before them this whole flock of the children of Christ. The council was assembled, the ministers being present : Bonnivard, the unfrocked

*Ruchat, t. VI.

†Council General of Lutry, April 9th, Palm Sunday: 1st. That no one should take measures to procure the coming of a minister to preach, under penalty of ten livres.

2d. That if one came by chance, they should not go to hear him, and should let him pass without committing any outrage against him.

3d. That no one should procure the destruction of images, or the mutilation of statues, either in the church or in other places, or do any injury to the church, under penalty of the same fine.—Mss. de Lutry, fol. 37. B.

monk, Farel, the renegade, and Coraud, the protégée of Margaret of Navarre. They asked the Catholics if they were willing to renounce "the papism, their idolatrous mass, in which they eat their God in flour," and to serve the Lord in spirit and truth; that is, after the Genevan fashion? Then an old priest spoke: "Very honorable seigniors," said he, "how do you wish that we should abandon our faith of fifteen centuries? You are masters, but you ought not to forget that we have been redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ; ten years ago, you were Catholics yourselves, and you did not pass over to the reformation in a single day, therefore allow us time for reflection."

The first syndic caused them to enter an adjoining room, and the council commenced its deliberations: Bonnivard was of opinion, that some days should be allowed "the papists;" but Farel cried out: "Do you wish to oppose the work of God?" They accorded the priests one month's respite; "and at the end of that time," says the historian, "these good ecclesiastics having nothing to oppose to the arguments of the reformation doctors, submitted, and ceased to say mass."*

He was mistaken. Pious ladies came to bring bread to these priests, who were despairing of Providence, and fearing to die of famine; and almost all of them began again to celebrate the holy sacrifice.

Then the archers reappear, the council is assembled, and the delinquents are condemned either to exile or to prison. The recital finishes there. Perhaps God sent his angel to console these faithful souls amid their chains, or in the land of their exile.

Farel was not satisfied. The peasants, after their priests had been banished, and their churches closed, had erected in their interior domestic sanctuary, little chapels, where was seen the picture of Christ, of the Virgin, or of the patron saint. Farel, the Iconoclast, sends armed men, who seize the culprits, drag them to the presbytery, where they are condemned to prison, or, as Ruchat, in his reformation style, says: "only to banishment."

"For," he adds, "war was declared and waged against images; if menaces, if exhortations were useless, they employed the prison or exile, but never more rigorous chastisements."† We well said, that we were in Sicily, under the reign of Verres. Farel no longer dared show himself in the country, unless accompanied by numerous archers.‡

Berne had desired that Catholicism should be extinguished like a lamp, noiselessly. It relied on the word of its ministers, who were exercised in disputation, and to every complaint uttered by a priest's voice, it replied: let us dispute. The priests said: We do not shun the combat; see if Catholicity feared to measure arms at Leipsic, at Augsburg, at Worms, even with your stoutest champions. Your own judges of the lists, for instance Melancthon, have borne witness to the light of our doctors. The disciple of your great Luther has done more still. After all these contests, he has modified his opinions in regard to different points agitated in our discussions. To-day, he inclines to recognize the authority of our bishops, whom Viret treats as falsifica-

*Ruchat, t. V. p. 605: MMS. Chouet, p. 39-40. Spon. t. II. p. 9-10.

†Ruchat, t. V. p. 603.

‡Id. p. 709.

ters of the scriptures; and the primacy of the Pope, whom you continue to call the Antichrist. By the voice of your masters, you have appealed to a general council, where you would be heard freely; the papacy is quite ready; the council is about to be assembled: your doctors shall there speak with entire liberty. In the mean time, the wishes of the people are not doubtful. Lausanne has twice explained herself in her resolution of June the sixth, 1536, which, in formal terms, declares, that nothing shall be changed in the form of worship; and even the voice of the emperor, has made itself heard, in his letter of the fifth of July, 1536, addressed to the inhabitants of the canton.*

But neither the protest of the canons of Lausanne, the formal wish of the people, nor the order of the emperor was heeded. Berne was hurried. It did not wish that the emblems of Catholicity, standing in the towns subject to it, should remain as a reproach for its felonies. It was necessary to prevent the very stones from crying out against it for its apostacy.

On the first of October, 1536, the large bell of the cathedral announced the opening of the discussion.† Scaffolding had been erected in the church. The Bernese deputation did not arrive. Farel, impatient, wished to harangue the people, and made a discourse to prepare the assistants "for hearing the word of God." He was under the spell of Calvin's eye. His language was sufficiently calm. He asked prayers for the afflicted poor. "And do you, my brethren," said he, "visit them, console them, for you must make your pilgrimages: it is God's images whom you must visit, bearing bread and candles; giving them nourishment, light, and encouragement.‡

These poor afflicted persons were the Genevan priests, whom he drove off, whom he cast into dungeons, whom he exiled, and doomed to starvation.

On the next morning came the Bernese deputation; J. J. de Watteville, ancient *Avocat*, Jost de Diesbach, Hans Schlufft, George Hubelmann, Sebastien Nøgeli; afterwards, the judges of the discussion; Peter Giron, secretary of the council of Berne, Nicholas de Watteville, Messire Peter Fabri, doctor of law, canon of the cathedral of Lausanne, Messire Girard Grand, doctor of law, and counselor of the city.

Berne had been careful to cause the order to be affixed to the doors of all the Catholic churches of the canton, commanding all ecclesiastics to assist at the dispute, under penalty of fine and interdict.§

Every where, those churches, within the influence of the Bernese government, hastened to conceal their statues, to put in security their chalices, sacred vessels and ornaments of the altar; so much did they fear those reformers who were running to assist at the conference.||

Farel had composed ten theses in Latin and French, which he proposed sustaining, with the aid of Viret, Calvin, and Caroli, a doctor in theology, and formerly prior of the Sorbonne.

The Catholic doctors, who had voluntarily taken upon themselves

*Caroli V. imperatoris, epistola ad Lausannenses ne disputationem de religione in sua urbe institutam, fieri sinant.

†Charles de Haller.—Ruchat.

‡Ruchat, t. V.

§Ruchat, t. V.

||Mss. de Lausanne, p. 515.

the charge of responding to the ministers, were men of but little theological worth; Michod, dean of Vevey, Ferdinand Loys, captain of the youth of Lausanne, Drogy, vicar of Morges, Mimard, a practised scholastic, and the physician, Blancherose, who supported nearly the whole weight of the discussion.*

The canons, having been summoned, either preserved silence or appealed to the general council.

"We believe well," Viret, exclaimed, "if they ordered a delay for you to receive money and to feed your bellies, until the council shall come, that you would be but little satisfied."

It is impossible to imagine the vulgarity of the arguments employed by the reformation: a scholar would not demean himself to collect them.

The Catholic doctor who defended the primacy of the Pope, had let drop the words, Holy See: this expression, consecrated in the world itself, was a good fortune for Viret.

"The Pope," said he, "cannot have the authority or power of St. Peter, without discharging the office which he discharged. To do as St. Peter did, it would be necessary to run hither and thither for the salvation of souls; to preach the gospel, as was done by Jesus Christ and his Apostles. In this sense, we do not destroy the Apostolic See, for the Apostles were never seated, they had no See when they were wandering and running incessantly hither and thither."

The reformed cenacle received with flattering murmurs, this silly tirade.

Another time, Mimard contrasted the reformation with itself, and brought Luther and Farel, Viret and Erasmus, into contradiction; Farel interrupts the orator:

"When have you seen us battling for Erasmus? We do not carry these bucklers against such adversaries; we must have one more certain, and one who speaks frankly, and without variation. Have we brought Luther for our defence? It is Jesus Christ who is our Master. But have you read Luther's book *de Missa abroganda* (concerning the abrogation of the mass,) and how he treats the canon, and what he has since said, showing how all you priests are guilty of making the people commit the sin of idolatry, in causing them to adore bread for God, and as the body of Jesus Christ?"

A singular work, that treatise *de Missa abroganda*, which Farel here brings into the discussion, and of which, according to Luther's avowal, all the arguments belong to the devil!†

Not one of those poor peasants, grouped around the speakers, whose words they most assuredly could not comprehend, imagined that they wished here to make the demon, in flesh and bone, play the part which already he had performed in Saxony. Behold Farel, in his turn, after the fashion of Luther, investing with the cap of a doctor in theology, the head of the prince of darkness, whom since he has so often lodged

* Actes, p. 25,

† See, in the author's Life of Luther, the chapter with this title: *Conferencie with the Devil.*

in the bodies of the Popes. And, moreover, it cannot be denied, that it is here the father of lies, who speaks by Farel's mouth: for never did Luther reproach the "papists" with "causing bread to be adored for God," since he believed in the real presence himself.

On that same day, the canons again protested against the violence exercised against them, in forcing them to assist at the discussion, and Blancherose declared, that "the priests were full one hundred in number, and that, if the discussion continue, they would have to sell their garments and hats to pay their expenses."*

Until then, Farel had used his word as a buckler to parry the thrusts of his adversaries; whether it was, that he dreaded the eye of Calvin, which was kept constantly fixed on the orator, or that the moderation of the Catholic theologians repressed in him the temptations of the flesh, we know not; but the flesh conquered.

They were disputing on the Eucharist, and the Catholic disputant was showing his hearers, that golden chain of patriarchs, of doctors, fathers, bishops, and popes, of which the first link was riveted to the very chair of Peter, and the last to the see of Paul III.

Farel becomes furious: "Who are you, then," demands he of the orator and his splendid figures? "Who are you? The adorer of others than God; poor idolators, bending yourselves before dead images, which have no life nor feeling; and you are content with the law and ordinance of the ribald of Rome, of the Pope, who has seduced the earth, and made princes drunk with the wine of his debaucheries.

"Your oblation, for which you declaim so much, if it be not consecrated by a priest, and in a dedicated place, and on a holy altar, with linen coif and shirt over the robe, and a robe with two sleeves, perforated and accoutered, with a sacred goblet also, corporals and other things requisite, all is lost and spoiled."†

Now, previously to mounting the pulpit, the very eve before the commencement of the discussion, Farel had raised his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed: "Holy Spirit, descend upon our lips, and there place words of moderation and wisdom."

Do you find that the Holy Ghost left his celestial abode?

We do not think so; for he would have told Farel not to repeat this foolish argument against the worship of images, of which Andreas Carlstadt, who sold pastry in Germany, had ceased to make use, from the moment they quoted against him these verses, written before the reformation:

Effigiem Christi cum transis prorsus honora;
Non tamen effigiem sed quem designat adora;
Nec Deus est, nec homo, præsens quam cerno, figura,
Sed Deus est et homo quem sacra figurat imago.‡

The insolent words of Farel, which had a singular odour of the

*Ruchat, t. VI. †Ruchat, p. 70.

‡Jod. Cocceii Thesaur. Catholic. t. I. lib. 5. art. xv. fol. 564.—Cretserus, de cruce.

street, his disdain for the doctors of our church, which he seemed never to have studied, moved Calvin, who asked permission to speak :

“No,” exclaimed he, “I do not despise the ancients; those who make pretence to respect them, do not hold them in such reverence as we do; and deign not to spend the time in perusing them which we willingly employ therein.”

Taking up again the question about the Lord’s Supper, he commenced quoting, but mutilating and disfiguring them:—Tertullian, who gives to Jesus Christ only an imaginary body;*

—St. Augustine, in his twenty-third epistle, and in his homilies on St. John, and in his letter to Dardanus, who teaches the dogma of the appearance.

A strange argument in the mouth of a man, who proceeded from the Holy Ghost only, and whose Eucharistic doctrine resembled neither that of Zwingle nor that of Luther!†

He speaks of a substance which nourishes and vivifies us; of a mystery, which surpasses the elevation of our senses and the whole order of nature. Nobody comprehends him. An age later, a Protestant avows that Calvin, in his definition of the Lord’s Supper, is incomprehensible.‡

The uncoloured words of Calvin produced no effect upon the multitude. No one present felt himself moved. Viret reappeared once more, and this time he threw aside the doctor’s cap, and stood forth the bar-room orator. The people, who listened to him, gathered together round the pillars of the church, still bore on their faces the traces of the double scourge which had just desolated Switzerland, viz: pestilence and famine. The priests, who also had suffered from famine, had been obliged to sell their garments and hats to pay their inn-keepers. To Viret images were necessary. There were some miserable things, which were paraded in every book, against the papacy. He took these by handfuls, and cast them before his auditory. Viret had changed his nature. Listen to him :

*In our days, the youngest student of theology could have cited this text of Tertullian, *de resurrectione*: “Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur ut et anima Deo saginetur.”

And this text of St. Augustine, in his sermon to the neophytes: “Hoc accipite in pane quod pendit in cruce, hoc accipite in calice quod manavit de latere Christi.”

Texts, moreover, which Luther considers less clear than the texts from the scriptures, which, said he, leap into the eyes.

Consult on this subject, *The Antiquity of the orthodox doctrine*, where our faith is seen declared by the scriptures, by councils, and by a chronological style in epochs of ten years, from the times of the apostles to our own, by master *Jean Febvre*, priest, theologian. Rouen. in 8vo. 1634.

And the conversion of *Sieur Martin*, former minister, containing three treatises: 1st. The faith of the primitive church opposed to that of the pretended reformation; 2d. Treatise concerning the disorders of the pretended reformed churches; 3d. Method of controversy. Paris: 1650; in 8vo.

†Pelisson, treatise of the Eucharist: in 12mo. Paris: John Anisson. 1694.

‡Confession of Faith, art. 36. *Journal des savans*, August, 1694, p. 520; Rotterdam: 1698.

“The priests, instead of teaching the people the word of God, place before them preachers of wood and stone, that is to say, images; in the meantime, they sleep, make good cheer, are very careless, and the images are their vicars and labourers, who do the business of their masters, and they cost nothing to feed: the people are rendered stupid, and kiss the wood and stone, . . . and the goods which should be distributed to the poor, who are the true images of God, are lost and badly expended, in clothing the wood and stone.”*

But how happened it that Calvin did not rise to impose silence on Viret? Viret had before him that scholar of Noyon, whom the priests had fed, reared, supported, and instructed in letters. And, perhaps, in searching well in his valise, Calvin might have found some fine garments, which the good abbé Hangest had presented to him.

Farel was unable to leave with Viret the palm of falsehood and insult. Viret had attacked the clergy; Farel only waited for a propitious moment, to blaspheme against the papacy. Images for images; his, falling on a more elevated head, were to produce still more effect. The question regarded fasting. “And you can all be witnesses, if you are more urged by incontinence, after having eaten a little meat in the vineyard, or well spiced fish in the tavern? Avoiding to speak of fat, large bellies, and double chins, how are they continent, when they are well stuffed with fish? To which it is necessary to add, that this law has been made by the popes, to hide their gluttony; for the city of Rome, full of gormandizing, singularly seeks its delicacies in fish.

“It suffices not that a poor labourer has carried his hens to St. Loup; having deprived his children of the eggs, in order to go to confess, he must give the cheese to the beggars, linen and wool to the Holy Ghost, ham to St. Anthony, as the beggars and bearers of scraps give to be understood: he gives, moreover, grain, wine, and all things to these eaters of the Pope, who have devoured you. When a little milk shall remain to you, the cruelty of the Pope and his emissaries, who have taken and carried away every thing, and given you nothing, does not permit you to put it into your pot with your peas, that you may cook them without oil, but you must eat your peas with salt and water, and nothing else.”†

At that time, the exterior world was a thing unknown to the poor labourer, as well as to the vine-dresser of the *pays de Vaud*, to whom Farel addressed himself: if one of them had been acquainted with the recent writings of Luther, he could have mounted the rostrum, and, addressing the orator, have said:

“Master William, do not take such pity on the sickly fellows, who have not asked thee either for bread or hen, but weep rather over those rustics of Thuringia, touching whom thy master has written: to the peasant give straw; if he murmurs, give him a switching; if he cries too loud, make a ball whistle: dost thou understand, master William?”‡

*Ruchat, t. VI. p. 67.

†Ruchat, t. VI. p. 226. acts of the discussion.

‡An. Joh. Rühl: de Wette, p. 669; Menzel, Neure Geschichte der Deutschen, t. I. p. 216-217.

Is it not astonishing, that, after such an appeal to revolt, the peasants of Lausanne did not rush on their priests and their seigniors? We were expecting some scene of bloodshed. Behold the response of the peasants to the provocation of the reformation :

Lutry, Villette, St. Saphorin, league* together to preserve their religion, their priests, their churches, and their images. Then, the council of Berne consults how it may find means to make an end of "the papism."† The bailiff of Lausanne, followed by footmen and archers, overruns the country, destroying chapels, overturning altars, and prostrating crosses. On the second of November, 1536, he enters Lutry with cries, *a bas les papistes! down with the papists!* His soldiers had passed a cord round the neck of a wooden image of Christ, an image venerated for centuries, when the council of the commune beseeches the bailiff to spare the sign of our redemption, which the inhabitants promised to take away. "And the bailiff," says Ruchat, "had the goodness to accord to them what they demanded."‡

We were mistaken. We thought we were in Sicily under the consulship of Verres, in a pagan country; we were in France, in the year of grace 1793, under the reign of Chaumette or of Hebert.

When, in all Lausanne, there did not remain one altar, one holy-water pot, one image of wood, of stone, or of bronze, the reformation proclaimed that the country was converted; there were still indeed some priests, some monks, some nuns; but, to reduce these, they had at their service, famine, the lash, the prison, the cord, and Farel, the spy.

To Nægeli, bailiff of Thonon, he wrote :

"Grace, and peace, and the mercy of God, our good Father. If you wish to escape great troubles, you must have an eye on the priests, for all evil comes from them. It is necessary that the priests should not mingle with the people, nor teach them, nor administer the sacraments. You must watch them, and especially the large wolves, who have most seduced the poor people."§

Now, these large wolves, in the style of the reformer, were Ardutius, Adhemar Fabri, La Baume, who gave bread to those who were hungry, drink to those who were thirsty, a garment to those who were naked; also, John of Savoy, who, at Geneva, had established the hospital for foundlings, the abbé Hangest, who, out of his own purse, had paid for the first Latin grammar used by Calvin.

In the middle ages, at Caen, they were wont to raise a hue and cry over every malefactor, living or dead. One day, a poor workman came to cry over the tomb of William the Conqueror; the prince, sleep-

*Mss. de Lutry, p. 67. †Ruchat, t. VI. p. 334.

‡The intolerance of the Bernese is acknowledged by all reformers of good faith. If, says M. Druet, member of Canton de Vaud, you open the ecclesiastical ordinances of 1758, which are a collection of all the writings of the government of Berne, since 1536, on the points regarding religion, you perceive that every thing respecting religion was decreed, regulated, ordained, by the government.—*Account rendered* of the debates of the grand council, in 1839. p. 7.

†Epist. Farelli, ined. No. xxxiii.

ing in the earth, did not hear the workman's voice, but his son heard it, who caused to be restored a few feet of wood-land, at Asselin, which the monarch had taken from the poor man. Behold what happened to a descendant of this physician, Blancherose, who had sustained the cause of his God, in the disputation of Lausanne. He was at Caen, towards the close of the sixteenth century, when a book of the reformation fell into his hands; he opened and read: "There is not one character of divinity in the scriptures which may not be eluded by the profane; there is not one which can furnish a proof; and considered altogether, they could not all amount to a demonstration.*"

He closed the book, and asked: "Whose book is this?"

"It is Jurieu's, a Protestant minister's," responded a voice.

"My ancestor was right, then," said Blancherose, "when, in 1536, he maintained,—that it is impossible for the simple to convince themselves of the divinity of the scriptures, by the scriptures themselves; and that the principle of faith reposes on the evidence of testimony."

*Saurin, examen of the Theology of M. Jurieu. For the discussion of Lausanne, consult, first, Ruchat's History of the Reformation, in 12mo. t. VI. secondly, De Haller's History of the religious revolution in Western Switzerland, in 12mo.; 1839.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ANABAPTISTS. 1537—1538.

Hermann and Benoit, Anabaptists, come to Geneva, in order to dispute with the ministers.—Conferences with the Syndics.—Dispute with Calvin.—The Anabaptists cannot defend their doctrines.—They are driven away.—Persecutions against the Catholics.—Calvin's catechism.—The people swear to the new formulary.—Caroli attacks the Genevan ministers.—He is cited before the synod of Berne,—and condemned.—Violence of Calvin against Caroli.—Luther outraged.

WHILST Farel and Calvin, supported by the council of Berne, were forcing the clergy of Lausanne to take part in a religious disputation, two men, exiled from Germany, were traveling on foot, with a bible under their arm. These were Hermann of Liege and Andrew Benoit of Flanders, who had directed their steps to Geneva in order to confer with the doctors of the new church. They had never studied theology, any more than Farel; but they had read the old and new testament, of which, in case of need, they could tell the number of letters.

And one day their eyes had chanced to fall on this verse:

“Go, whoever shall believe and be baptised, shall be saved;” and their eyes, they said, were opened, and the Holy Ghost had illumined them, and they had understood the sense of this commandment, and caused themselves to be re-baptised.

Our two Anabaptists saluted the city of Geneva, and its sacred motto: *post tenebras lux*; it was the light which they now brought to their new hosts. They presented themselves, vested in black, with their bibles under their arms, at the council hall of the city, demanding to speak with the syndic. The syndic came, who asked them this question:

“What do you want?”

Brother, said one of them, we want to dispute with your ministers, to correct them, for they are teaching error.

The syndic answered:—What doctrine do you bring us? we are the children of God; God has enlightened us: you must have perceived on entering Geneva, that the city has broken to pieces all the emblems of the papism.

“It is true,” said brother Hermann, “and we have returned thanks to God; but the old man still subsists in you; the original stain still remains impressed on your foreheads; it must be washed off in a second baptism; the first which you have received was not efficacious, for you did not believe in Christ, dead and resuscitated for our sins. We wish to dispute with your masters.”

“But,” said the syndic, “master William Farel and master John Calvin are at this time at Lausanne, where their word is spreading the fruits of life; on their return you shall dispute with them.”

“We will wait,” said the Anabaptists, who by prayer, made preparation to combat the Genevan doctors.

“Now,” says Michael Roset, “the city began to be infected with Anabaptism;” some of the members of the council inclined towards the doctrine of Munzer and the error of Arius.*

The conference of Lausanne having been concluded, Farel and Calvin returned to Geneva, and found the city quite in agitation, because of the arrival of the new apostles. The council was assembled, and caused the two ministers to be called, to be made acquainted with the proposals of Hermann and Benoit. The council asked advice of the doctors. Farel answered:—we will dispute.

They fixed the day. The convent de Rive was designated as the place of the tournament. The duel lasted almost an entire week.—What occurred there? We are ignorant of this; for protestantism has not, as at Lausanne, drawn up the proceedings of the dispute; only we know that the council summoned Farel and Calvin into its presence, and enjoined on them to renounce these “contests for the future, as more fit to shake the faith than to confirm it.”† This was not the doctrine maintained by Farel at Lausanne. The ministers had to submit.

In their turn, Hermann and Benoit were summoned before the magistrates, who ordered them to retract, if they desired to continue residing in Geneva.

“Show us in what we have sinned,” said Hermann to the syndic.

“We have come from distant countries to bring the light to this city. They told us that you would listen to us, that you would treat us as you have been treated by the papists who allowed you to speak at Lausanne, at Moudon, at Gruyere, at Berne.”

“But,” resumed the syndic, “have you not disputed with Farel and Calvin?”

“Yes, brother, and we have convicted them of teaching the doctrine of falsehood.—When we quoted the gospel to them, Messire William and Master John appealed from it to the church. They did like *Æcolampadius*, who, in full senate, alleged to us *St. Cyprian* in his epistle to *Fidus*; *Origen* in his epistle to the Romans; *St. Augustine* against the *Donatists*, concerning baptism.‡ We do not recognise any authority but that of scripture; this is our rock, our fort, whence we defy satan and all his sons. Now, you know that *Luther* has declared that the scriptures contain no text to convict us of error.§ Hear, while there is still time, the voice of God *who speaks by our lips.*”

* We must not be astonished, says *Jacques André*, minister and chancellor of the university of *Thuringia*, if many Calvinists in *Poland*, *Transylvania* and *Hungary* have become *Arians*, and others *Mahometans*, by pursuing the road opened to them by the doctrines of their master Calvin. *Hist. de Cœna*, Aug. fol. 455.

† *Spon. t. I*, p. 275. ‡ *Gastius*, lib. i. p. 134.

§ *Luth. Serm. contra Anabapt.*

They were about trying a new discussion, when the syndic drew out of a little drawer, a paper sealed with the city seal, probably prepared by Farel and Calvin, and which enclosed against the Anabaptists an order of perpetual banishment, with a menace of extreme punishment if they attempted to re-enter the states of the republic.

The Anabaptists yielded to force, and left Geneva, where their doctrines had already gained many of the inhabitants. In passing by the hotel de ville, one of them lifted up his eyes and read this Latin inscription:

“Quum anno domini M. D. xxxv, profligata Romani antichristi tyrannide, abrogatisque ejus superstitionibus, sacro-sancta christi religio hic in suam puritatem, ecclesia in meliorem ordinem singulari Dei beneficio apposita, et simul pulsus, fugatis hostibus, urbs ipsa in suam libertatem non sine insigni miraculo restituta fuerit; senatus populusque genevensis monumentum hoc perpetuæ memoriæ causa fieri atque hoc loco erigi curavit, quoniam erga Deum gratitudinem ad posteros testantam faceret.”

“As in the year of our Lord, 1535,—the tyranny of the Roman Anti-christ having been dissolved, its superstitions abrogated,—the most holy religion of Christ was here restored to its purity; the church, by a singular blessing of God, placed in a better condition; and the enemies having been beaten and put to flight, the city itself, not without a signal miracle, was restored to its liberties; the Genevan senate and people have taken care that this monument should be made for a perpetual memorial, and erected in this place, by which their gratitude to God should be witnessed to posterity.”

Thus did Farel and Calvin, who had come to Geneva to cause free examination to triumph, stifle it on the first manifestation of dissent. The people did not imitate the intolerance of their ministers. They did not insult the Anabaptists, on beholding them depart. Some Eidgenoss, collected together according to custom in a tavern around their cans of Strasbourg beer, laughed loudly at the city authorities, whom they represented as a church council, and at the cowardice of their two popes, Farel and Calvin, who had appeared to resuscitate the letter of scripture, but imprisoned it again after the contest of Lausanne. Their conduct was reported to Calvin, by some merchants of the city whose business had suffered by the war of Genevan independence, and who were desirous to revive it at whatever cost, even at the sacrifice of the principle proclaimed by the reformation. These merchants gave to the Eidgenoss the name of *libertines*.

Calvin, in his correspondence with his friends, adopted this injurious appellation. Dating from this day, whoever, seated in a tavern, attempted to discuss some point of the dogma of Farel or Calvin, or to laugh at these doctors, their garments, eloquence or pantomime in the pulpit, was treated as a libertine; an insult destined soon to be made important, and by which they were to blast every individual who should play at dice, who should not have extinguished his lamp after the signal, who should drink during the hours of religious service, who should dance on Sundays, who should criticise the acts of the synod, or keep an image in his habitation.

The reformation at Geneva was desirous to resemble that of Wittenberg. Were not both born from the same principle?

The city council would have been much puzzled to recite its act of faith. It contained in its bosom, Catholics, Anabaptists, Lutherans, and above all Indifferentists, who held to no confession, and were equally ready to adopt that of Augsburg, the work of Melancthon, that of Zurich, the inspiration of Zwingle, or that of the Helvetic church: lying inspirations, ridiculous symbols, which admirably contradicted each other on capital points, and pretended in the name of free examination, to restrain free investigation. Calvin had comprehended the importance of unity in faith, and the necessity of a symbol common to all those who rejected Catholicism. In concert with Farel, he had just finished a formulary,* which he was to propose to the church of Geneva, and which, in 1536, appeared under this title:

“The Confession of Faith, which all the citizens and inhabitants of Geneva, and subjects, ought to swear to keep and hold.”

This exomologesis possessed a great merit, viz: brevity; it contained only twenty-one articles, which could, in some hours, be committed to memory.

The eighteenth indicated the marks, by which the church of Christ could be known:

“We understand that the right mark for well discerning the church of Jesus Christ, is, when his gospel is there purely and faithfully presented and preserved.”

If M. Cheneviere be a christian, it is necessary to tear the formulary to pieces, and replace on the city gate the ancient motto: *post tenebras spero lucem*; for Calvin has not discovered the light; he left Geneva in its ancient darkness, with its Christ, Son of the living God, “oriental words, according to M. Cheneviere, such as are found in Homer.”†

Calvin’s formulary was an attempt upon liberty of conscience, and at first provoked bitter complaints. Geneva was at that time divided into different religious factions. A portion of the people, that part, whose impassioned struggle has been so admirably described by the *Sister de Jussie*, was still Catholic in heart and soul. These had been

* The first Swiss confession bears date, 1530; the second, 1532; the third, 1536; the fourth was, by common accord, decreed between the Swiss and Genevese; the fifth, drawn up by Bullinger in 1566 was approved by the Protestant churches of Switzerland, France, England, Scotland, Hungary and Poland. They give, as a motive for this Exomologesis “the necessity to enclose in a few pages the doctrine and economy of our churches:” *Brevi hac expositione conamur complecti . . . doctrinam æconomiamque ecclesiarum nostrarum*. However, the two first confessions, of 1532 and 1536, have five printed pages; that of 1554 has from five to six, and that of Bullinger, 1566, at least sixty pages. In the translation of this, published by Berne, the preface of Bullinger was adroitly suppressed.—*De la religion du cœur*, by the Abbé de Baudry, in 12mo. p. 30, and the following pages.

† M. Cheneviere, one of the most learned men of Geneva, published some years since, a little book against the divinity of Jesus Christ, which has been gloriously refuted by one of the leaders of Methodism. M. Cheneviere is the author of different little works, theological essays, causes regarding theology, &c., in which the dogma of the Trinity is boldly denied.

robbed of their symbol, their churches, their altars, but they cherished in the depths of their hearts the ancient doctrines, rendered still more dear, because of the tears and the blood which they had cost. In the council and among the nobles, Anabaptism counted some disciples, whom the brutal exile of Hermann and Benoit had indisposed against the intolerance of Calvin. The Eidgenoss, who had so dearly purchased the liberty of their country, could not comprehend that a city, which had driven away its bishops and its dukes, should have invited strangers to regulate its worship and its faith. The Catholics, as in the time of the persecutions of the primitive church, concealed themselves in their dwellings, devoutly reading the prayer-books which their enemies had been unable to tear from them, and praying to God to enlighten the hearts of the magistrates. The Anabaptists did not dare confess their belief, and to prove themselves reformed, declaimed against "the papism." The Eidgenoss only had courage: for the most part young, they did not, at their tavern suppers, spare either the cowardice of the members of the council, the dogmatic intolerance of the ministers, or the morals of the foreign preachers. Calvin must needs repress these sparks of trouble. To show his zeal, he persecuted the Catholics, and caused search to be made, even in the domestic sanctuary, for some innocent images, the sole remains of the religion of fifteen centuries.

"Behold," he wrote to his friend Daniel, "the images overturned, the altars prostrate; the rest will soon follow, and, God aiding, the idol shall be expelled from every heart. If all these torpid souls, slaves of their bellies, who bray amongst you from the midst of their darkness, had as much heart as knowledge, workmen would not be wanting to us. We have more need of ministers than of temples.*

Calvin pursued books, after having vanquished images. They took away from the Catholics that book of *the hours*, by the aid of which they deceived their persecutors, and could assist at the sacrifice of the mass, follow the priest at the altar, and unite their prayers with his; they took away the canticles in metre which they sang at night on retiring to bed; also the prayers engraved on some loose leaves, where, amid pious emblems, the Virgin Mary appeared. There remained to them, for spiritual consolation and food, that little book for children, under the name of the Catechism, a simple epitome of the faith of the church, from St. Peter down to Paul III. written in the vulgar tongue: this was snatched from them, and Calvin tried to translate it into Latin, and to corrupt it by the introduction of his doctrine. This is a glory, claimed by the admirers of Farel for the pastor of Neufchatel, and which Calvin's disciples desire their master to share with master William, but which Calvin will give up to nobody.† This catechism appeared at Bale, in 1538.‡

*Oct. MSS. de Zurich.

† In Calvin's letters to the church of Frise in 1545, we find:—cum ante annos septem edita a me esset brevis religionis summa sub catechismi nomine.

‡ Catechismus, sive christianæ religionis institutio, communibus renatæ nuper in evangelio Genevensis ecclesiæ suffragiis recepta, et vulgari quidem

It is found, generally, printed after the confession of Farel; *exscripta e catechismo*; its literary form is entirely changed; it is no longer that little book, put by the Catholic church into the hands of childhood, where dogma is defined with an admirable brevity, a candour of terms, which supposes in him who receives or recites it the faith of a centenary; but the proud achievement of a theologian, destined for a vain intelligence, and in part extracted from *the Christian Institutes*. The reformed minister could no longer say as did our village priest: "Let little children come to me;" for they would not comprehend a tittle of the language of Calvin.

The Catholics obeyed, delivered up their books, left the city, or attached themselves to the reformation party, when interest spoke in their ears more loudly than conscience. Calvin found the Eidgenoss more formidable enemies; he attacked them from the pulpit, insulted them in their faith, their morals, and their habits; represented them as debauchees, drunkards, blasphemers of the holy name of God, and as thieves who desired the ruin of the gospel. Farel was still more violent: he denounced them to the Lord's wrath, played the part of one inspired, and wrote upon the walls of the temple the sentence of the libertines. The Eidgenoss laughed at all this noise, counting, for their defence before the people, upon the services which they had rendered to the republic; upon their hatred of the house of Savoy; upon the patriotism, of which they had given so many proofs. When persons came to relate to them the insults which Calvin had heaped upon them from the pulpit, they threw off their coats, or unbuttoned their vests, to show the wounds which they had received while defending popular liberty, and they said: "Go, then, and ask *Messire William* and *Master John*, to exhibit as much, and we will believe in them." Although the hour indicated by the regulations had passed, they did not leave the tavern bar-rooms, but continued to drink, to laugh, to make sport of the ministers. Calvin had devoted friends, who gave him an account of these things. It was necessary to put an end to them, by causing the council to accept the confession of faith as a law of the state.

The council for a long time hesitated; but after a lively struggle it yielded to the voice of the minister. In a republic, which had the happiness to receive the light of the gospel, Calvin had to cause the interposition of the divinity, offended by the insolence of the libertines, and by the spectacle of intestine divisions. The council accepted the formulary, which the people, the year following, on July 20th,* swore faithfully to hold and observe. The theocracy was therefore constituted at Geneva; not a Catholic theocracy, with the red robes of cardinals and the tiara of the Pope, but a college theocracy, with a lawyer's cap,

prius idiomate, nunc vero latine, quo de fidei illius sinceritate passim aliis etiam ecclesiis constat, in lucem edita, Joanne Calvino autore, Basileæ, in officina Roberti Winter. an. 1538, mense martio.—See the twenty-seventh chapter of this work.

*Senebier. 29th.

mean and intolerant.* The vanquished knew henceforward what they had to believe.

Then Geneva had its inquisition, as well as Venice; an inquisition of the lower story, formed of apostate monks, married celibates, foreign felons, who, under the triple inspiration of hunger, envy, and iniquity, made persecution a trade, went into the taverns, into the asylums of the discontented, and collected, when they did not invent, seditious propositions. They considered seditious: ralleries against the figure of the two ministers, pleasantries with regard to their garments and toilette, sarcasms against the grand gestures of Farel in the pulpit, and the mummy attitude, habitual to Calvin. The Eidgenoss, for the most part, children of good families, attacked forms especially, and mercilessly amused themselves at the badly combed beard of *Messire* William, and the rasped doublet of *Master* John of Noyon.

The two ministers came before the council of two hundred, to cause the regulations of the municipal police to be put in execution, as introduced into the legislation of the country since the reformation. They exacted, that, at the fall of night, the *Cabarets* should be closed; that the taverns should remain shut during the whole time of divine service; that games of dice and cards should be prohibited; that village dances should be forbidden; that, by penalties of fine and imprisonment, they should repress all kinds of blasphemy, swearing, or gross conversations. Certes, we should applaud this rigour of morals, for which the reformation would claim honor to its apostles, if Calvin, in his disputes with the Catholics, at this very moment, had not shown the example of an intemperance of style, of which our language would be able to furnish but a feeble conception.

Caroli, that minister whom we found at the disputation of Lausanne, frightened, as he says himself, by the danger which menaced the gospel, had, to the churches of Switzerland, denounced the venom of Arianism hidden in the doctrines of the *Christian Institutes*. Calvin was moved, and appealed to the synod of Berne, where both appeared and disputed. Caroli refused to recognize Calvin as a christian, because his adversary did not bear upon his forehead the sign of the Trinity. Calvin was obliged to profess his faith in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but not such as He is defined in the Athanasian Creed, "which," said he, "the church of God had never received."† Caroli pursued his antagonist, and asked him which was the church of God, that had not received the Athanasian Creed, and the ark wherein, during so many centuries, the new formulary had been preserved. The

*Senatui nostro fuimus autores Sacramenti istius exigendi.—Tanta igitur necessitate adacti senatum ea de re nostrum appellavimus, et oblata confessionis formula impense rogavimus, ut ne dare Domino gloriam in profitenda ejus veritate gravaretur. Æquum esse ut in actione tam sancta populo suo prærent, cui se omnis virtutis exemplar esse oportere noverat. Quæ erat postulati nostri æquitas, facile impetravimus, ut plebs decuriam convocata in confessionem istam juraret. Cujus in præstando juramento non minor fuit alacritas quam in dicendo senatus diligentia.—Præf. ad catech.

†Nos, in unius fidem jurasse non Athanasii, cujus symbolum nulla unquam legitima ecclesia approbasset.

argument was pressing, and we are not told that the finger of Calvin pointed out to Caroli a legitimate communion which had rejected the Athanasian Creed. But the dispute being ended, Calvin, who gives an incorrect report of the texts, contents himself with saying, that "the insolent brute made great gesticulations, swelled his voice, and bellowed like an ox."*

Calvin, fearing that his judges, whose creed did not altogether resemble the Genevan formulary, should incline for Caroli, had been obliged to recognize the Helvetic confession of 1536, as christian; "for," he said, "it is not we who shall ever teach that every one, not thinking with us, is to be held a heretic."† Berne, attached to some of the ceremonies of the ancient religion, which it had retained, was ravished by this concession of the church of Geneva. The synod was numerous. In it were counted one hundred ministers of Berne, twenty from Neuchatel, and three from Geneva, almost all, apostate priests, unfrocked monks, or celibates allied to some incestuous nun; a priesthood recruited from the taverns, on the public places, or from the dormitories of convents. With the exception of the Genevan ministers, one would have been puzzled to select in this singular council, three or four fathers who understood the Latin language; such an assembly might easily be seduced. It felt itself much moved with joy, when, at the moment of counting votes, Calvin recited his confession, and exclaimed that Caroli had no more faith than a dog or a hog.‡ Caroli smiled, shrugged his shoulders, and said, in a low tone, in German, to his neighbours: "Happily, Luther gives the kingdom of heaven to the hogs and dogs."§

Caroli was condemned and obliged to leave Switzerland; but the sight of that cenacle of priests, made in a day, lending ear to a discussion of matters, which, without a particular illumination of the Spirit of God, none could comprehend; their smiles at the noise of insults which distilled from the lips of Calvin; their magnificent disdain for the great lights of christianity; their versatile word, which was no longer to-day, what it had been at Lausanne; had saddened him to the very heart. He had arrived at Berne heterodox, he left it Catholic. Then the reformation forgot that Caroli had supported a part of the burden of discussion at Lausanne; that it had applauded the science of the doctor, his luminous word, his knowledge of the holy books; and the world learned, from the mouth of his ancient colleagues, that Caroli

*Hier erkenne die Wuth dieses Thiers, quoted by Paul Henry, and extracted from the manuscripts of Geneva.—Letter of Calvin to Bullinger. A Protestant biographer of Calvin has done Caroli more justice, for he lauds his eloquence and fine manners.—Nicht nur sein schon ziemlich anschnliches Alter, sondern auch sein beredtes, einschmeichelndes Betragen machte auf viele Gemüther Eindruck.—Calvin's Leben. 12. Leipzig. 1798. p. 47.

†Tantum nolebamus hoc tyrannidis exemplum in ecclesiam induci, ut is hæreticus haberetur, qui non ad alterius præscriptum loqueretur.—MSS. Gen. 30 Aug. 1537.

‡"Und beschuldigte Caroli, dasz er nicht mehr Glauben habe, als ein Hund, oder ein Ferkel." Kirchhofer, t. I. p. 226.

§Da D. Martin Luther gefragt wird, ob auch in ienem Leben und Himmelreich würden Hunde und andere Thiere seyn?—antwortet er und sprach: ja freilich. Joh. Aurifer in Luther's Tisch Reden fol. 503, b. 504. a. c.

was a man of darkness, of gross ignorance, a felon priest; and Calvin sang, for it was a real hymn, Calvin sang the fall of Caroli :

“The sycophant has been driven away by the council, and we have been absolved, not only of the crime charged against us, but even of every suspicion of error. Let Caroli, then, deck himself with the name of Athanasius! There is no great harm, that the world should take him for a sacrilegious Athanasius, a debauchee, a homicide, quite covered with the blood of the blessed : and we would be able, if necessary, to prove the truth of what we state.”*

Would not a person say, that these words have been stolen from Luther’s letter to the archbishop of Mayence? Calvin has forgotten only one word, which, at that time, summed up all that hatred could inspire as most offensive—*papist*. When the Latin or German language, squeezed, tormented, tortured, fell powerless, it exhaled the cry of *papist*! which the writer quite joyfully seized upon, to cast in the face of the Catholic, and the combat was over.

But let the shade of Caroli console itself! Calvin, by the bedside of the sick Farel,† suffers piercing pains “at the sight of all the blood which they were about to shed, in order to establish the reign of the gospel which he had brought to Switzerland; the blood, not of revolted peasants, as in Franconia, but of pious souls, of holy intelligences.” He desired the glorification of his Eucharistic dogma, and, when he wrote these melancholy prophecies to his friend Bucer, he had under his eye, the dissident churches of Germany and the grand figure of Luther, their apostle. He well perceived that, to secure the triumph of his symbolism, he would not have to deal only with the German populations, who obeyed the voice of the monk of Wittenberg, but with the Saxon monk himself, who, on the first sign of revolt, would break him to pieces, as he had done all the writers whom revolt had induced to oppose him. Hence, from the first debut of his apostolate, Calvin seeks to ruin Martin in the estimation of his friends, by attacking his character. The reformation, in contest with the reformation, is a curious spectacle presented to the view of Catholicism. Our monks, Tetzl and Hochstræet, for example, speak of Luther in terms less violent; it is true, they attack him boldly, but do not hide themselves, as Calvin did in a confidential letter to his friend Bucer.

“If Luther can, in the same embrace, bind us and our confession, my heart will be overwhelmed with joy; but there is no one but himself in the church of God. . . . What are we to think of Luther? In truth, I know not: I believe that he is a pious man; I would wish only that they are mistaken in representing him as they do, (and the

*Sycophanta ille Senatus consulto in exilium actus est, nos plane absoluti, non a crimine modo sed ab omni quoque suspicione. Quanquam vero se Athanasii titulo nunc venditet qui pœnas luat defensæ fidei: nullam tamen fore periculum videtur ut orbis pro Athanasio, *sacrilegum, scortatorem, homicidam sanctorum multorum sanguine madentem agnoscat*. Qualem dum istum prædicamus, nihil dicimus quam quod solidis testimoniis revincere sumus parati.—Epist. Grynæo.

†Qui majori tædio conficitur quam in pectus illud ferroum cadere posse arbitrabar.—Cal. Vireto. MSS. Gen. 23, Ap. 1537.

testimony is that of his friends,) as foolishly obstinate; and his conduct is well calculated to accredit these suspicions. They inform me that he boasts of having compelled all the churches of Wittenberg to recognize his lying doctrine; strange vanity! If he be tormented by so great a desire of glory, all serious hope of peace in the truth of the Lord must be renounced; with him there are not only pride and wickedness, but ignorance and hallucination the most gross.* How absurd was he at first with his bread, which is the true body! If now he believes that the body of Christ is enveloped in the material substance, it is a monstrous error. Ah! if they wish to inculcate such absurd doctrines to our Swiss, what a beautiful path to concord do they prepare! If, therefore, thou hast over Martin any influence, labour to chain to Christ, rather than to the doctor, all those souls with whom he has so unfortunately contended: let Martin at length give a hand to the truth which he has manifestly betrayed. As to myself, I can well render testimony, that, from the day on which I first tasted the word of truth, I have not been abandoned by God, to the point of not comprehending the nature of the sacraments and the sense of the Eucharistic institution."

Bucer, in his endeavour to reconcile Luther with Calvin, strangely deceived himself! He thought to gain Calvin, by flattering him with sweet words. The Genevan returned him music for music, and wrote to him: *Admoneste, corrige*, do all that thy paternal goodness shall inspire for thy son;† but he was then returning from exile, and had need of protectors. At a later period, his tone is much changed: he writes to Peter Martyr concerning Bucer: "A servile soul, who, to soften the ferocity of Luther, and the like of him, knew not what terms to employ."‡

Do you remember Luther at the Diet of Worms? There, are present before him, crowns of all sorts, of electors, kings, and emperors. Luther, however, does not lower either eye or voice; he looks boldly at his judges, speaks to them as to his peers, and says: "If my doctrine come from God, it will live; if it come not from God, it will die." Now, at this epoch, Catholics called this noise of words, haughtiness; the reformed called it greatness of soul. Behold a judge who will make us agree. It is a writer who has long studied and meditated Luther, and who finds in him only ignorance and hallucination. Had Weh, at Augsburg, said to Luther: "What dost thou teach? thou mistakest the sense of the scriptures; thy pomp cannot impose upon us; thou art the dupe of thy brain;" the reformation would have lifted up its voice and accused us of insolence. But what will it say of Calvin? It is not amid the impulses of disputation, that he has permitted himself to resort to such words, but in cold blood, in the cabinet of his studies, amid the silence and solitude of the passions. We now com-

**Neque enim fastu modo et maledicentia deliquit, sed ignorantia quoque et crassissima hallucinatione.*—Calvinus, Bucero, MSS. Arch. Bern. Eccles. 12 Jan. 1538.

†*Admones, castiges, omnia facias, quæ patri liceat in filium.*—Geneva, Oct. 15, 1541. Ep. MSS. Scrinii, Eccl. Argent.

‡*Ille Lutheri et similium ferociam demulcens adeo serviliter se dimisit, ut in singulis verbis perplexus hæreret.* MSS. Gen.

prehend this sentence of Zacheus Faber : "The God of Calvin is not the true God."*

Faber sustained the honor of Luther. It is the same Faber, who, each evening before going to his couch, recited this prayer of Ægidius Hunnius : "Lord Jesus, break under our feet, as soon as possible, the head of satan, and deliver thy church from the Calvinistic pest."†

*Der Calvinisten Gott ist nicht der wahre. *In seinem kurzen Beweis*; p. 13, Leipzig: 1620.

†Dominus Jesus Sathanam sub pedes nostros conterat cito, et a lue Calvinistica clementer liberet ecclesiam suam. Amen. *Hunnius in Calvino judaisante*, p. 187-193.

CHAPTER XVI.

DESPOTISM—EXILE.—1537—1538.

Troubles excited at Geneva by the formulary.—The Church and the State.—Balard denounced by Calvin.—Various features of religious despotism.—Physiognomy of the city.—Increasing irritation of the Eidgenoss.—The Reformers.—Corault.—The council commands Calvin and Farel to give the Sacrament to the faithful.—Obstinate refusal of the ministers.—The people assemble and call for their banishment.

FAREL had expected Calvin to continue the work begun by Zwingle, or by Luther; he was mistaken. Calvin wished to be the head of a sect, and to give his own name to a confession of faith, of which he had conceived the idea. He was ambitious to raise up a church at Geneva, as Luther had done at Wittenberg, but one in which refined rationalism should take the place of sentiment, which, in his notion, held too great place in the Saxon institution. He had seized on Geneva in its destitution. When he made his appearance there, the city was seeking for a symbol; it hesitated to select between Zwingle and Luther. Farel had no doctrine; he held only that the Pope is the Antichrist, and was ready to embrace, as disciple, any one who recognized this fancy, whether he was Lutheran, Bucerian, Zwinglian. Had you interrogated, as to his faith, at that hour, and even at the very moment when Calvin arrived at Geneva, any citizen who was going to hear the sermon of *Messire* William, he would have been very much embarrassed to reply to you. He was, perhaps, an apostate Franciscan friar, who had taken a wife; a member of the council of two hundred, gangrened with Anabaptism; a merchant of the market halls, who had stolen the ciboriums of the churches; a refugee, driven out of Lyons for fraudulent bankruptcy; perhaps, an apostate priest, who, to obtain pardon for his felony, had caused canon Hugonin to be denounced by his servant, as guilty of having poisoned Farel and Viret;* or it may be our ancient secretary of state, Claude Roset, who, for a pitiful sum, bought the spoils taken from the Catholics.† All, urged on by the evil spirit, went to listen to the minister, without knowing to which of the three reformers their souls should one day belong; and all ready to give them up to any who might want them, in exchange for a little repose, or gold, or sunshine:—beings without faith, of which a certain conquest might be made by those skilled ever so little in the use of the sword or the word. Had the sword of the duke of Savoy been stronger, they

*Galiffe. Notices Genealogiques, t. I. p. 180.

†Id. t. I. p. 347.

would have declared themselves Catholics. Calvin had concocted for them a formulary of the gospel, which they had sworn to keep, but not till the death.

This formulary, conceived according to the ideas of the age, established a dogmatic authority outside of revelation;—a scandal against logic, in this, that in place of the words of scripture, it substituted human words, invested with infallibility, in virtue of the incarnation of this high attribute in Calvin;—a scandal against society, which it upturned, by ravishing away from it the most precious of its boons, the liberty of conscience, which it had purchased at the price and loss of blood. This formulary was the rock on which Calvin built his church. And this church became a school and a tribunal of faith;—a school where, under pain of eternal damnation, every disciple was obliged to listen to the voice of the master, in spite of the cries of conscience;—a tribunal, where the accused had before them an attorney, who condemned them by aid of a text, the lawfulness of which it was forbidden to discuss, and of which it made use to prove its mission, to consecrate its ministry, and to establish its office as judge, and its duty as pastor.

Let Luther, uttering maledictions, drive away Carlstadt, under pretext of heresy, with a mark on his brow like Cain, and send him to beg his bread; let him hurl to the demons all those poor peasants who revolted at the noise of his blasphemies; let him curse the memory of Zwingli, dying at Capel for a God of his own imagining; all this we can conceive. We are prepared to absolve, as less inconsistent, the man who declares himself illumined by the Holy Ghost, and represents himself as the apostle of truth. At most, we could only reproach him, as Calvin did, with his gross and fanatical hallucination. At this epoch, the Saxon monk has not written a confession of faith. He marches forth and debates with a personal logic, and with the holy books in his hand; but at Augsburg Luther has no longer the right to say: We believe to be heretics, and separated from the church of God, all Zwinglians, and all Sacramentarians, who deny that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are received “by the mouth of the body,” in the venerable Eucharist.* For, since giving his Exomologesis, it is with him but a human speech, transfigured into a dogmatic word; a private revelation, usurping the place of the revelation of the Son of God; a particular confession, substituted for the gospel; in a word, it is a Protestant, Tetzeli, transformed into a father of the church; it is violence, persecution, intolerance, proclaimed from Thabor.† In Saxony, the Augsburg confession of faith raised up heresies. The same thing was destined to take place in Switzerland.

Geneva, at the period now under consideration, presents a sad spec-

*From this promulgation of the confession of faith, have arisen several religious controversies, of which some have been treated by M. Naville, (Ernest) with great superiority of logic, in his thesis, published at Geneva in 1839.—chap. 4th. See *La religion du cœur*, by abbé Baudry, Lausanne, 1839, in 12mo.

†M. Drucy, in his Account rendered, (compte rendu) p. 112, year 1833, says: “The Confession of Faith takes the place of the Pope.”—The canton has abolished it.

tacle to the eyes of the historian. The church tends to absorb itself in the state. The state is no longer a duality, but a unity, where power plays the part of apostle, and treats the noblest work of God, as Catharine Bora did the household of Luther, by descending to the most vulgar details. It is the state which regulates doctrine, discipline, and the preaching of the evangelical sheepfold. It writes on the walls of its temple :—on such a day, there will be two sermons ; the first, after the morning service ; the second, at four o'clock ; every one is obliged to be present at these, under penalty of so many florins fine : let all see to it.

It says to the pastors, civil functionaries :—You will carefully watch for the preservation of sound doctrine. Your dogmatic books shall be submitted to the censorship of the council, that is to say, to some of the noble apothecaries, the noble tanners and clock-makers of Geneva.*

It affixes to the doors of taverns :—Whoever shall blaspheme the name of the Lord, or shall take God to witness, and shall insult his holy word, shall be seized, brought before the magistrate, and condemned.

It orders all citizens not to keep in their lodgings any papistical picture or image, under penalty of fine, and in case of repetition of the offence, even of prison and exile.

Now, among the members of the council, this crippled holy see, there was a man of great probity, elected in 1529, as one of the six first auditors or magistrates, substituted to the tribunal of the vidomme. In 1530, he had been made syndic. When Geneva had placed in front of its *hotel de ville*, a table of copper, on which, in beautiful golden letters, was written, LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, he rejoiced, and, on faith of this pledge, he had continued to live in Catholicism, devoutly praying in his book of the hours, which he had retained, and when passing St. Peter's church, he never would enter, while Calvin or Farel was in the pulpit.

Calvin, the theologian, domineered in the council ; he denounced Balard, to whom an order was intimated to assist at the preaching. Balard refuses, and answers, "that it is absurd to restrain conscience, and that men have no right over this ; that it comes from God ; that God alone can direct it ; and that his conscience forbids him to listen to the ministers." These words were noble. The two hundred looked at each other, and did not know what resolution to take. They answered that they would consult.

Calvin insisted, and easily showed, that the civil power was by oath allied to the formulary, and that it was bound to yield it the strong arm.

Balard was recalled.

The council was complete : an Athanasius, a merchant from the *Place du Moulard*, summoned the Catholic to confess his faith. Balard replied :

"If I knew whether your teaching was good or bad, you would not need urge me to make me tell you. To please you, I can only make

*The citizens most distinguished by birth, added to this the title of merchant. M. Gailiffe, *Notices Genealogiques*. t. I. *Introd.* p. 31.

effort to believe the articles of faith, such as the city holds them in keeping, and as a good Genevan, I only desire to make one with my fellow citizens. Now, if you wish to know my confession, I can state it to your lordships: 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, in the Holy Catholic Church, and I have of the mass the idea which every good christian ought to have.'

"Ordered by the council, that Balard leave Geneva in ten days." But Balard was infirm, sick, exhausted by care and grief; his faith failed him; he wrote to the grand and little council: "Since they desire me to declare the mass bad, I say so, asking pardon of God and of men, for the judgment of a fact, with which I am not sufficiently acquainted."

The decree of exile was revoked.*

The people silently endured these essays of despotism, and contented themselves with laughing at the bastard tyranny which the son of the scribe of Noyon had brought them. The prisons were filled with delinquents. The Genevan senate obeyed all the caprices of the ministers, even to fulfilling the office of church sexton. In the registers of the republic, under date of May 20th, 1537, we read:

"A spouse having gone forth, on Sunday last, with her hair more brought down than should be done, which is of bad example, and contrary to what is preached, the mistress was put in prison, and the two ladies who attended her, and she also who arranged her hair."

A strange magistracy, which, in its functions, has charge of the intellectual examination of aspirants to the holy ministry, and of the hair-cutting of its lady parishioners; which pursues a tress, plaited or arranged with too much coquetry, as a blasphemy, and throws into prison two poor servants, who accompanied their mistress to church, as it would two accomplices of a robber! We have searched in Burigini, for information as to where Erasmus was at this epoch. Luckily for Geneva, he was dead.

At another time they seized upon a pack of cards, in the possession of a poor devil. What shall they do with the guilty fellow? Shall they throw him into prison? This punishment was too slight in Calvin's eyes; he is condemned to be exposed at the stake, with his cards on his shoulders.

The city had lost its customary physiognomy, and no longer dared give itself up to the impulses of joy or pleasure. The tavern only, still protested, by its noisy gait, against the puritanism of Calvin. The guests there assembled every evening, and revenged themselves, by their sarcasms, on the insolence of the new priests. They made fun of Farel, and of his apostolic co-labourers, without mercy. In the midst of the bar-room blazed a pitiful light, which aided to fry, I know not

*Senebier, t. I. The registers of the council place this fact in the year 1536, Spon, in 1540, Gauthier, in 1539.—Balard is the author of a manuscript history or journal of what occurred from the month of October, 1525, to the month of December, 1531.—The work concludes thus: "I have drawn up in memoirs the said historical facts, which I have myself witnessed; I, who, though unworthy, was syndic of the city in 1525, controller in 1527, and syndic again in 1530. To God be honor and glory. Amen."

what sort of fish, named *Faret*; when the fish was cooked, it was served round to the merry guests, who thus consumed, quite smoking, *Messire* Farel, in the midst of unextinguishable peals of laughter, concerning the tough flesh of the poor minister. He, among the wine-bibbers, who had the leanest face, represented master John Calvin, who, in his quality of pretended son of a cooper, bespoke wine, and drank large draughts, with eye cast down, and head stiff, as he generally carried it. Certain of the Eidgenoss had assumed the name of knights of the artichoke; their coat of arms consisted of two large leaves of this plant, in form of a fan. Richardet, first syndic of the city, and John Philip, captain general, were enrolled in this company of laughers, which the ministers had the art to transform into a faction. Therefore, in the evening, the merry band emptied a number of glasses of wine, accompanied by *quips* and *quolibets* against their masters.—One asked where the Holy Ghost had specified in the scriptures, the form for the head-dress of women, and pretended that Absalom would have been put under ban at Geneva, if he had not taken care to have his hair cut? Another wanted to know, if red beard, cut like a goat's, and such as was borne by Farel, resembled the beard of Aaron? Another, if Lazarus, on coming forth from the sepulchre, was more wan than Calvin? Some were more serious, and asked what the city had gained by taking to itself for master, a lame man, like Farel, and a consumptive man, like Calvin? Of what use had it been to shed blood, in defence of a liberty which never was invaded by the bishop,* and which two strangers had boldly come to confiscate? They discussed the mission of the ministers who had imposed hands on themselves without assistance from the people, the only legitimate high priest, once the Catholic priesthood was abolished. Amid these noisy, picturesque conversations, quite replete with wine and poesy, one is surprised to find some of the ideas, which, according to M. Naville, conduct straight to Catholicism.† The supper over, a fiddler came with a tamborine, and they danced roundly, in the midst of cries of joy and bachanalian exclamations. If it chanced to be a Sunday, in summer, they played at ninepins, at fives, or at quoits, to see who should pay for the supper.‡

We must not represent these taverns to our imagination as haunts, where reason was lost in wine. When the host came to sum up the expenses, each one was in for six farthings, or two cents. This was the sum which Peter Werli always carried with him; Werli, younger son of a family of Fribourg, a good priest, but who would have been a better soldier, and who died from a sabre wound.§

*M. Senebier has acknowledged the part taken by the bishops against the house of Savoy, t. I.

†Ernest Naville, c. 4, † 3. Dissertation before his theses, 1839.

‡Galiffe, t. III, art. Werli. p. 514.

§When giving the narrative of *Sister Joanna de Jussie*, there was question of Werli's death. Some historians have blamed this canon for having seized the sword to defend his church.—M. Galiffe thus replies to them:—Let Jews or Mahometans come to subvert our religion, to mock our worship, to take possession of our churches; whichever one of us would look on without emo-

These patriots thought themselves in safety, behind their bottles and glasses : but they were mistaken.

The reformation had opened the gates of the city to a host of adventurers, of *chevaliers d'industrie*, of rogues, bankrupts, counterfeiters, who had been forced to fly their country, in order to escape the cord, and who thronged to Geneva, under pretext of religion. To deceive the better, they affected a Pharisaical zeal for the new evangelical law, went sedulously to preaching, and declaimed against the "papism." They paid for Genevan hospitality, by denouncing to the council and to the ministers, the designs which they heard, or which, more frequently, they invented. They thus lived upon credit, and by their informations, or upon the Holy Ghost, as it is said by an old historian.

One day, (it was in 1535,) they came to seize canon Hugonin d'Orsieres, at his lodgings, accusing him with having poisoned Farel and Viret. The accuser of the Catholic priest was a woman poisoner, who traded in charms with the refugees, and whom Claude Bernard, castellan of the chapter, had taken into his service.* Hugonin was solemnly acquitted, on the 15th of August, 1535, and yet in the biographies of Farel and Viret, we continue to read, "how the two servants of God were poisoned by the canon Hugonin d'Orsieres."

It was from the mouth of these strangers that Calvin heard of the railleries of the knights of the artichoke, and of the designs of the libertines. These designs were not equivocal ; they desired to drive him away, together with his companions.

This time, Calvin failed to secure his familiar genius ; cunning. In place of concealing himself, in his serpent's skin, and creeping into the wall or under the brambles, he armed himself with the claws of the lion, and began to tear at the frequenters of the tavern, even to the blood. The lion attacked the magistrate himself.

His enemies had the fortune and address to take up the serpent's skin, which Calvin had too imprudently laid aside ; and behold how they proceeded for the ruin of the theologian.

Of the ancient Catholic religion, Berne had preserved various ceremonies, which were termed indifferent. There, they baptised the infant at the baptismal fonts ; they preserved the custom of communion in *Azymes*, or unleavened bread ; they celebrated the four great festivals, Christmas, Ascension, Pentecost, and Assumption. These practices and solemnities had been recognized and adopted in a recent synod, held at Lausanne.

The synod, before separating, had sent its decision to the other churches of Switzerland, beseeching them to consecrate the adoption thereof, in order to avoid all disputation.

The patriots triumphed, because of this deliberation. They knew that Calvin would not submit to it, and that unless he became faithless to his own pledges, he would repel all exterior form which might bring to

tion would be a coward ; and I am convinced, that more than one of our ministers would try the vigour of his arm, against these marplots. t. III. p. 511.

*Galiffe, t. III., xxiv, xxv. t. I. p. 180.

mind the Catholic liturgy. It was known that they had numerous partisans, in the two councils, in the magistracy, and particularly among the people, who regretted the pomp of their ancient worship, and could not become familiarized with that religion, pale and wan as the visage of him who had brought it to Geneva.

Calvin was determined to resist. He was acquainted with the plans of his enemies. He procured from the council an order of banishment against all those who should not have sworn to the confession. The greater portion of the patriots had refused the oath; but when it became necessary to enforce the sentence, the number of the refractory was so great, that the authorities feared to resort to open force.* The ministers had the pulpit.

Among the apostles of the new gospel, there was one named Coraud, or Corault, an old apostate Augustinian, without learning and without morals, but endowed with energetic lungs; a demoniac, with white hair, who produced eloquence by turning up to heaven, eyes almost deprived of sight, in order to invoke a rebel illumination; an incestuous monk, who cried as if they had taken away his mistress. It was his pleasure to affect a resemblance to Chrysostom, by scolding the great. Unfortunately, to Corault there was wanting not only a golden mouth, but also the orator's figure. Corault was lean, ghastly, and hectic. It was his delight to thunder against the knights of the artichoke, against the magistrates, and against the Catholics. The pulpit had the faculty to infect him with a true intoxication, which exhaled, during an hour, in invectives and in dumb show. He was quite joyful when he succeeded to make his hearers laugh, by comparing Geneva to a frog-pond, the Genevans to rats, and the magistrates to cats.

The council, scandalized, gave orders to the fanatical monk to leave off preaching, and to Farel and Calvin to desist from politics in the pulpit.† None of them took notice of the prohibition. Corault mounted the pulpit at St. Gervais, and began to buffet his judges. An archer waited for him to come forth from the temple, in order to conduct him to prison; the people commenced laughing at the unlucky minister.

On the following morning, Farel and Calvin present themselves at the chamber of the council, and make complaint concerning the violence exercised against Corault. The council speaks loudly, and exhibits to the ministers the decision of the synod of Lausanne, and orders them to conform to it. Farel and Calvin appeal from this to a new synod, to be held at Zurich, where they desire to be heard. The council insists, responds to them, that they must obey, and, in bitter terms, reproaches them with having repelled from the holy table, different citizens, and with having arrogated to themselves the right to judge of the state of the conscience, whose depths God only can fathom.

The council was right. More than once, Calvin had refused the Eucharistic bread to citizens who had frequented the taverns of the street *des Chanoines*, and taken part with the faction of the knights of the

*Haag's life of Calvin, p. 88-89.

†We prohibit preachers, and especially Farel and Calvin, to interfere in politics. Registers, 1528. March 11th and 12th.

artichoke. Strange perversion of reason! Calvin, who, in accord with Luther, rejects good works, and yet refuses communion to him, whom, on the evening before, he has seen making merry in a bar-room; as if the night which followed the evening repast, as if the passage from the church bench to the communion table, was not sufficient to enable the guilty person to repent, and to purge away his fault, by faith in the all-powerful blood of Jesus Christ! But in this life of reformers we are destined, at every instant, to stumble against fanaticism, intolerance, and nonsense. Calvin declares, "that his hand froze, when he presented the bread; a bread of wrath, which the communicant was about to devour."* Had he not taught that grace could not be lost?† And had not Luther, in the pulpit, declared, in his untranslatable language: "When my litte John and my little Magdalen *cacant in angulo*, I perceive nothing; faith resembles them; it renders sin inodorous."‡

On his return home, Calvin drew up a protest to the council. It declared that the ministers would henceforward refuse to give communion to the faithful. Then "the chief chanter proceeds to search for the ministers, in order to enjoin on them to distribute the Lord's Supper with yellow bread, on Easter day, according to the ordinance of Berne."§ They respond that they will do no such thing. The council has recourse to the intervention of a Bernese gentleman, Louis de Diesbach, who chanced to be at Geneva. Louis de Diesbach tries in vain to overcome the obstinacy of the ministers. What shall be done? The chamber of the council assembles, suspends the ministers, and commands Henry La Mare to preach, and to distribute the Lord's Supper on Easter day. La Mare promises obedience, but Farel comes to him, and is very angry, "treats him as an enemy, a presumptuous fellow." La Mare begins to be afraid, hesitates, and ends by yielding.

On Easter day, the people assembled in numbers, at St. Gervais, where Farel was to preach, and at St. Peter's, where Calvin was announced. At the usual hour, Farel mounts the pulpit, and blesses the people. The discourse is not a sermon on the solemnity, but a violent tirade against his enemies, which he ends thus: "To-day, I will not distribute the Lord's Supper." At these words, all the assistants arise together, and apostrophize the minister. The Lord's Supper! the Lord's Supper! they cry. Farel makes a sign that he desires to speak; and the tumult subsides. Then the orator, with his eye fixed on the multitude, exclaims, in a voice of thunder: "No Lord's Supper for drunkards, for debauchees, such as you." At this moment, swords flashed; Farel would have been slain, had not some of his friends made a rampart round him with their bodies.

The same scenes of disorder, but of a less violent nature, occurred at St. Peter's, where Calvin preached. During the evening, the peo-

**Illi quidem iram Dei potius vorabant quam vitæ sacramentum.* Paul Henry, t. I. p. 198.

†Harm. in Math.—Inst. book 3.

‡The German expression is far more energetic: *Als wann mein Hänsichen und Lenicken in den Winkel scheiszt, des lachtet man als sey wohl gethan, also macht auch der Glaub, dasz unser dreck nicht stinckt für Gott.*—Luther's Hausz. Postill. Jen. Pred. am Pfingst-Montag.

§Bolsec's life of Calvin, p. 24, etc.

ple ran through the streets of Geneva, crying : Death to the ministers!*

The city was in great consternation : there was but one voice, which was to demand vengeance] for the insolence of the orators. In the Catholic church, we sometimes see the priest drive from the holy table, some great criminal, covered with innocent blood, but never a whole people, asking to partake of the body and blood of their Saviour. Besides, our bishop has a right, which Calvin could not arrogate ; the bishop can say to the unworthy christian : "withdraw, and do penance." But Calvin could not thus reject from the Eucharistic table, the man who had sinned, because, to such a sinner, there was no need of exterior tears, or of a visible amendment, to show his repentance. Calvin never ceased to teach that works proceed from faith, and that faith does not proceed from works ; he was, therefore, here unfaithful to his own doctrines.

The syndics called the people together, and the exile of the factious ministers was voted, almost unanimously. The sentence imported that Farel and Calvin should retire within three days,† since they had been unwilling to obey the magistrates.

"Very well," says Calvin, "it is better to obey God than men."

This speech is old. When uttered by Luther, at the Diet of Worms, in face of the emperor, archbishops, and other dignitaries of the empire, it produced effect ; but here, in the presence of a senate of merchants, which has in its prerogatives, the government alike of the church and of taverns, we remain cold and unmoved ; the drama, the actors, the tribunal,—every thing is mean and contemptible.

At the commencement of his Institutes, Calvin had written : "I have come to give the sword, and not peace," and he kept his promise. It was truly a sword, which the city broke to pieces in the hands of the preacher ; and a sword, too, which cut away even the curls of a poor woman, and struck the back of a card-player. He has told us that the voice of God, by the mouth of Farel, forced him to remain at Geneva. Two years have glided away, and behold the spectacle presented by this city, as described by a Protestant, M. Galiffe. "Families are divided ; one cannot take a step without meeting with a murderer, a sharper, a pickpocket, a bankrupt ; the national character, so expansive, has become morose, restless, suspicious ; to devote to popular vengeance, citizens who did not believe in the formulary, they invented new terms ; a sect, which is named the sect of libertines, a collection, according to Calvin, of dissolute men, of quarrellers, and blackguards, boldly insults the gospel ; it is forbidden to laugh at the red beard of Farel and the hollow cheeks of Calvin, under penalty of spiritual and corporeal chastisement ; the magistracy has been outraged in the pulpit, by ministers of the gospel, who have combined to preach, in spite of the order of the senate, whose sovereignty they had recognized ; a frightful scandal has been given in the temple, by the refusal to admit the

*Haag, life of Calvin, p. 92-93.

†23d April, "Farel and Calvin are ordered to withdraw in three days." In May, they caused the baptismal stones for baptising to be replaced, according to the synod of Lausanne.—Registers of the city.

faithful to communion." This is history which we write, and not a romance, after the manner of Bonnivard, in his memoirs.*

The religious revolution was accomplished at the epoch of Calvin's arrival. Sister de Jussie has caused us to assist at all the phases of this drama, played at the expense of all that man holds sacred; of his individuality, his moral and physical liberty, and his political creed. The reformation slept upon ruins. Calvin awakened it, and innoculated it with his cunning, his vanity, his wrath, his intolerance, and his hypocrisy. If no longer it overturns images, as it did when guided by Farel, it chants their downfall as a hymn to the Lord; if it does not pour out Catholic blood, it is because there is no longer any Catholicism in Geneva. And then, in default of a religion to make way with, it endeavours to slay liberty.

Whilst Catholicism remained immutable as truth, Protestantism underwent new transformations at each hour of the day, because the first represented God, and the last, what is, of all things, the most inconstant, man. Thus, the reformation, in traversing Thuringia, in order to become incarnate in Zwingle, left at Bale, where it scarcely had a moment's time to pause, two witnesses of its instability, *Æcolampadius* and *Capito*; then, passing round the two *Mythen*, which barred its progress on the road *de Schwytz*, it came to Berne, to teach doctrines which no more resembled those of Luther, than the Saxon country resembles the soil of Oberland. At a later period, dragged along after the arms of Berne, it made use of the pickaxe of the pioneer, to force open the gates of Lausanne, where *Caroli* reproached it with having assumed the robe of Luther, and the large hat of *Munzer*, the Anabaptist. Like those waters of lake Lemman, which change their hues five several times, it was no longer at Geneva, what Farel and Viret had made it at Orbe and Lutry, when Calvin, in his turn, came to subject it to a new transformation.

*Letter on the history of Geneva, by M. Galiffe Pictet.

CHAPTER XVII.

FAMPHLETS OF CALVIN.—SADOLET.—1537—1539.

Examination of two pamphlets against Catholicism, published at Geneva, by Calvin.—The reformer judged by M. Galiffe.—The Catholic priest.—Sadolet at Rome.—At Carpentras.—Conduct of the bishop,—His letter to the Genevese, a monument of charity and eloquence.—Calvin's Reply.—Twofold appreciation of this letter.

CALVIN, on departing from Geneva to go to Berne, left two works, which he had just delivered to the press, and which were destined to introduce trouble into France. When he had returned from Italy, to arrange his affairs, he studiously concealed himself from public view, and no one could have divined that he belonged to the reformation, had he not forgotten to go and pray at his father's tomb. But, at Geneva, he has fear no longer, and would even dare encounter martyrdom itself. In his treatise *de Idolatria fugienda*, dedicated to Nicholas Duchemin, he wishes that every christian, washed in the blood of Jesus Christ, should confess his faith without dread of punishment; that he should not hide himself in catacombs, but announce the truth from the housetops: for, says he, "true piety engenders true confession, and what is said by St. Paul, should not be esteemed as light or vain. As we believe unto justice with the heart, so is confession made unto salvation."

And as if his words were not sufficiently powerful, he opens the heavens, and displays to our gaze amidst eternal glory, our holy doctors inviting France to embrace the reformation.

"It will be greatly useful for us here to recall what St. Augustine, in some passage, recounts of St. Cyprian. After he had been condemned to have his head amputated, they offered him choice and means to redeem his life, provided he would, by word only, renounce the religion for which he was doomed to die; and not only was license allowed him to do so, but after he had arrived at the place of punishment, he was affectionately solicited by the government, to consider if he had not better provide for the safety of his life, than to suffer the penalty of a foolish and vain obstinacy? To which he answered, in one word: "That in an affair so holy, there was no room for deliberation." When torments were paraded before his eyes, and the executioner, with a look awry, cruel and malignant, stood near him; when the edge of the sword already lay on his neck, and horrible imprecations were heard from the infuriated mob; if any one marvels how this holy personage lost not courage, but even joyfully presented himself to the torment,

let him reflect that he sustained, to the end, this constant grandeur of courage, by a single thought : that he had his heart fixed upon the commandment of God, who summoned him to make confession of his religion.”*

It is manifest, that in this appeal to France, Calvin preaches open revolt ; revolt against the prince, revolt against the national religion. And that christians may know by what sign they are to be recognized, he wishes them to renounce images, the veneration of saints, abstinence, celibacy, the exterior forms of worship, extreme unction, baptismal water, and, particularly, the mass, that diabolical invention, as he terms it. In order to blast this last, he sets to work to decry the sacrament, the priest who celebrates, and the faithful who receive it. A person would imagine that he was giving a description of one of those nocturnal suppers of the street *des Chanoines*, at Geneva.

“The people assist,† persuaded that every thing said and done is holy, amid whom, you dissemble and feign to be of the same religion. After this sorcerer and juggler has approached nearer to the altar, he commences to play his part and farce, now moving to one side, now to the other ; again he is without budging : then he lisps out some murmurs, by which he imagines to draw Christ from heaven, and desires others to believe this. . . . After having descended from heaven, he places himself to make the reconciliation of God with men, as if he had substituted himself in place of Christ, dead and immolated.”

Then, behold him outraging history, representing to us that Catholic church as eating the bread of the poor, making good cheer, and prostrating herself before gold, her god of heaven and earth.‡

“Calvin to his former friend, at present, bishop. Now, every body declares that you are very happy, and, as the saying runs, the pet of fortune, because of the new dignity of bishop which has fallen to you. For, besides the honorable title of prelate, the majesty of which is every where revered, it brings you also a large revenue of money, with which not only you can keep up your house, but also assist the poverty of several, and exercise liberality towards others. Behold what men say of you, and, perchance, also make you believe it. But as to myself, when I think a little about the real value of all these things, generally so greatly esteemed by men, I experience a great compassion for your calamity.”§

What a reproach cast upon the episcopacy by a man, who probably has not yet worn out the last garment with which the Catholic church has clothed him ; a man who has eaten the bread of our poor, spent the money of our widows and our orphans, and who still reads in the bible purchased for him at Noyon, by the charity of the abbé of St. Eloy !

*De fugiendis impiorum illicitis sacris. Epistola Nicholao Chemino.—Calvin has translated this pamphlet into French.

†Opuscules, Geneve, 1611, p. 710.

‡De papisticis sacerdotiis vel administrandis, vel abjiciendis.—Gerardo Ruffo.

§Opuscules, 113, 118, 123 25, 43.—Paul Henry : Das Leben Joh. Calvin's t. VI. p. 185-191.

He now pretends that his bishop is lolling in idleness, has no care for the salvation of souls, of the poor sheep, whom he only thinks of shearing, in order to vend their fleece, and make good cheer.

“Thy trumpet, shepherd! seize thy arms, thou who art to stand sentinel!” did he say; “What dost thou wait for? Of what dost thou dream? Is this the time to sleep? Wretch! thou art to render an account to the Lord for the death of so many souls! How many times art thou a homicide? How many times guilty of blood, for every drop of which the Lord will demand an account at thy hand? And being so horribly smitten, art thou in no wise moved? hast thou no fear? But I treat thee too mildly, when I call thee homicide and traitor. . . . Behold a crime, unfortunate man, above all others, which is, that every day thou dost sell and crucify the Son of God, as far as lies in thy power.

“This is an evident jugglery and deception, the boldest robbery which can be seen, that he who has never put his hand to the work, should come to demand payment;

“When being far from their churches during the whole year, they (the bishops) have their vicars there, who are so many little villains and brigands, by whose means they commit an infinite variety of exactions, extortions, robberies, and thefts.

“And your great brigand has so little shame, that he has introduced into his tyrannical edicts this poor saying of St. Jerome: ‘That the goods of the church are the goods of the poor; from which, whosoever takes more than is necessary for an honest and sober life, he steals so much from the poor.’

“Those whom the Lord appoints pastors over his church, he declares that he establishes as sentinels and guards, for the defence of his people. . . . They are called salt of the earth, light of the world, angels of God, and power of God. . . . Reply, then, to me; on thy conscience, chief and superintendent of religion, with what fidelity dost thou labour to restore what is fallen?”

But the shade of the bishop has awakened. It has spoken in words furnished by a Protestant: “What dost thou want, Calvin? Is it to convert France to Calvinism, that is, to hypocrisy, the mother of all vice? Thou wilt not succeed in this. Let Beza, at his pleasure, call thee the prophet of the Lord! This is a falsehood. Driven out of France, thou shalt be received at Geneva, where they shall heap upon thee all imaginary honors; aye, upon thee, who speakest of poverty! Thou shalt there, by all sorts of means, acquire an unlimited authority, and as soon as thou shalt be sure of a powerful party, thou shalt for thy own profit, confiscate the reformation, thou shalt procure the banishment of the founders of Genevan independence, the exile of men who sacrificed their possessions and their blood for liberty; thou shalt, from the pulpit, cry out against these patriots souls, and call them scum, scoundrels, dogs; thou shalt cause those who wish to resist thy tyranny to be burned, decapitated, drowned and hung. Thy reign shall be long, and thy barbarous institutions shall survive thee a century and a half.”*

*M. Galiffe, Lettre á un protestant, 2 pages, 4to.

I desire to contrast a Catholic priest with the reformed minister, and I will search for him precisely in that court of Leo X., which Calvin names the cavern of satan.

Leo X., on his elevation to the papacy, had chosen, for his secretary, a young man named James Sadolet.* This was a post, which brought the person selected to it, into relations with the glories of the known world, with Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, Henry VIII., Thomas More, Reuchlin.† The secretary must be able to write in Greek, Latin, and Italian; and Sadolet knew all these languages, which he spoke with extreme facility. The sum of three hundred Roman dollars was the ordinary salary attached to this much envied dignity: but, in compensation, the incumbent beheld Leo in all his pomp, and stood beside the Pope, when, in the saloons of the Vatican, the prince gave one of those audiences, at which epic poesy was represented by Ariosto; eloquence, by Accolti; painting, by Raphael; sculpture, by Michael Angelo; and hermeneutics, by Cajetan. Well, perhaps in all Rome there was not a more poetic soul than that of Sadolet. Judge, then, of his joy! With his three hundred dollars, he found means to feed and clothe himself, and to buy from the Jews some Greek manuscript, which the Israelites estimated admirably, purchased for nothing and sold for its weight in gold; or, perhaps, some little statue which had been found in the excavations of Campo Vaccino. By the time the year had elapsed, the museum and library of the young votary of letters were rich in masterpieces of art, before which he might be found in perpetual contemplation. Leo, who knew the tastes of his secretary, made him presents, at times, at the great solemnities of Easter or Christmas, of a cameo, a ring, or an article in bronze, and that day was a festival which James celebrated in beautiful verses. Each of these relics cost the poet a Latin ode, which afterwards he recited to Bembo, or to the Pope himself.

One day, in the year 1506, under Julius II., the workmen came to inform Sadolet that they had discovered a group in marble, from some admirable Greek chisel. Sadolet hurries to the gardens of Titus, and, imagine his rapture; he has recognized the Laocoon, such as it has been described by Pliny. In the evening, all the church bells rang, to announce the fortunate discovery. Bembo had drawn up the programme for the festival of the next day. On that day, the group, ornamented with flowers and verdure, was to traverse the city, at the sound of music, and make its triumphal entry into the Vatican. The poets slept not a wink through the whole night; they prepared sonnets, hymns, *canzoni*, in order to hail the resurrection of the Laocoon; the streets were garnished, in token of joy. Sadolet dreamed, became inspired, and after the space of a few hours, extemporized a Latin poem, which Bibbiena had asked from him.

The ceremony finished, and the marble having been placed safely upon its pedestal, the Pope withdraws to his own apartments; and then

*Excerpta ex tomo III. Florum historiæ S. R. E. cardinalium a Ludovico Domino d'Attichy epis. Aëduensi, Lut. Paris, 1660. in folio.

†Hier. Niger, Ep. ad Paul. Rhon.

begins a new festival, a festival quite pagan, in which Sadolet represents the poet of old, Virgil or Horace, and sings with his head crowned with ivy. He wanted to exhibit a drama: reptiles, with flaming eyes, were seen coming, twining round, and strangling the three bodies in their sinuous folds.

Prolixum bini spiris glomerantur in orbem
Ardentes colubri, et sinuosis orbibus oram
Ternaque multiplici constringunt corpora nexu.

They first bite, and tear to pieces the father.

Laocoonta petit totumque infraque supraque
Implicat.

The spectators heard the cries of the old man, at each stroke from the fangs of the serpents; they beheld the eye and the arm upraised to heaven to implore aid; the serpent, now stooping its crest, now rearing it on high, unfolds its fearful length, and amid its lubricious evolutions, begins to gnaw the stomach, breast and thighs of the unhappy man; the veins swell, the flesh quivers, a driveling slaver streams forth and mingles with the gush of black blood. . . . Exclamations of admiration peal forth on every side: they shout, *live Sadolet! live Virgil!* the Laocoon was forgotten. In the evening, on returning to his chambers, James found a beautiful manuscript of Plato: this was a present from the Pope.

The successor of Julius II. had come to regard his secretary only as an artist, who, in order to live, must content himself with glory and incense. He forgot that Sadolet had a body to feed. When the end of the year had rolled round, James was in debt, and was compelled to have recourse to the ever open purse of one of his friends. At last, Bembo solicited the Pope for a new robe for Sadolet. Medicis nobly repented. Some days after, Sadolet was nominated to the bishopric of Carpentras. We have forgotten to remark that the secretary was a great-theologian, a skillful commentator, a christian of the primitive church, simple in his manners, meek of heart, with a confidence in God truly infantile, and no more thoughtful of the morrow than the bird. For, like the bird, he loved to build his nest in the open air, in the folds of the robe of some Roman statue, but half disinterred.

Sadolet, for a long time, resisted; and any other would have done the same, who had lived in that Rome of the revival, in company with all the gods of ancient mythology, and the artists, who, each day, resuscitated some forgotten image. He, however, at length yielded, and obeyed in the spirit of a christian and a poet.

To decorate the episcopal residence of Carpentras, he intended to carry with him manuscripts of the Egyptian papyrus, statues of Athens, bronzes of Corinth, Venitian editions of Cicero, Demosthenes, St. Thomas, Aristotle, Virgil, Horace, and paintings of Guirlandajo, of Perugino, of Cimabue. The ship, containing all these wonders, had set sail from Ostium, accompanied, as, of old, was the vessel which bore

Virgil, by the best wishes of all the literati of Rome. But, see the misfortune! hardly had the vessel touched the waters of the Mediterranean, when the pest began to rage among the crew; nearly all the sailors perished; the captain and mate only survived, and made sail for the coast of France, whence they were unpityingly repelled. Farewell to the manuscripts, which Sadolet had collected with such affection! Farewell to the divine Plato, the gift of Julius II.! Adieu to the treasures of archeology and the numismatics, amassed by Pontanus! Adieu to the missals, sparkling with gold and cinnabar, the works of monastic patience! Adieu to the beautiful designs which Raphael had executed expressly for his friend! You no doubt expected some ode, in which Sadolet bewails the cruel disaster. I was in the same expectation: we were mistaken. The poet has left his wings at Rome; at Carpentras we shall find nothing but the priest, submissive to the decrees of heaven, "resigned to the loss of all these fine Greek manuscripts, which had cost him so much difficulty to collect, and so much trouble to preserve."* For our part, we could easily have pardoned the lamentations and regrets of the proprietor.

We forgot one circumstance of the voyage. At Carpentras, Sadolet sets to counting his money, and he finds that the Roman chancery has paid him for the whole year. Now, it was then the month of October. The bishop sends back one hundred and fifty beautiful dollars, which he has received more than his due, and roundly rates the treasurer for this error of calculation.

We should now need a whole volume, as did his biographer, to represent the guest of the most brilliant court of Europe, in the midst of his flock of mountaineers, whom he loved as he formerly loved his books. He had studied the law: he desired to be the first magistrate of his flock, or of his children, as he called them. Carpentras was then the seat of fairs, greatly frequented; when a quarrel originated among the merchants, the two parties came knocking at the doors of the bishop's house.—What do you want? We want your decision, bishop.—Sadolet conducted the pleaders into his garden, under the shade of a fine spreading chestnut-tree, made them seat themselves by his side, and, in a summary manner, judged the cause. His decree was in the last resort, and without appeal.

At the episcopal castle, there was a wood-house, filled with fuel, which, in winter, he distributed to the poor of his diocess. When the sheep suffered hunger as well as cold, he added bread and clothes to the wood. During a year of scarcity, he thus nourished several thousand unfortunate beings.† Sadolet sometimes said: "I know not how this is done: I look into my wood-house, not a branch is there; I search my purse, not a cent in it: a poor person presents himself, and lo! I find a stick in a little corner, and a piece of gold in the lining of my robe; it is some good angel that plays me this trick." He spoke the

* *Mei reliqui illi tot labores quos impenderamus græcis præsertim codicibus conquirendis undique et colligendis, mei tanti sumptus, meæ curæ, omnes iterum jam ad nihilum reciderunt.—Ep. Sadoleti.*

† *Duriore anno magnum hominum egentium numerum aiebat.*

truth. His diocess, and especially Carpentras, was full of good angels, in the guise of magistrates, of soldiers, of merchants, of fine ladies, who replenished the purse, the wood-house, and even the library of the bishop. That library at length was garnished with the works of humanists, jurists, doctors, by the aid of which he found means to begin again his life of artist. It was there the bishop wrote some of his works, and, among others, his Latin treatise concerning the primary instruction of children; *de liberis recte instituendis*; and his excellent commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; a commentary against which the whole Lutheran school arrayed itself, and which Sturm attacked so grossly. Sturm was a Strasbourg humanist.* Do you know of what he accused the Catholic bishop? Of having lied, in speaking of the reformation. Sadolet was not moved the least in the world. He answered Sturm, who had sent him his last manuscript:—"You accuse me, my dear sir, with having, in my commentaries, given false testimony concerning your doctrines, for this is the very expression you use, *falsum testimonium*. You should have left all these abusive words to Luther; they are not becoming an intelligence like yours. But you are mistaken; you will, I am sure, recover your politeness, and your habitual style. Should ever you, Bucer, or Melancthon need my assistance, I am disposed to serve you, and not merely in words."†

Not a week passed that he did not receive a letter from some one of his friends. Sometimes, it was from his neighbour, the bishop of Apt, who had instituted a school of theology in his palace;‡ sometimes from Cochläus, to whom he answered: "I approve your temperate and mild manner of writing: let us not exasperate the heretics."§ Erasmus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome, consulted him concerning some obscure text of scripture, or a doubtful word; Melancthon sent him all the works he published. Sadolet said: "Had I to deal only with Schwartzerde, peace would be restored to the church to-morrow; but with Luther, that is another affair!" He added:

"I know not how nature has created me: but I cannot hate a person because he does not agree with me in opinion."||

Here is the subject of a beautiful picture.

Francis I. was at war with the house of Savoy; the count of Furstemberg, under the orders of admiral Biron, was in the neighbourhood of Carpentras, where his German foot-soldiers had committed grave disorders. The inhabitants had armed themselves and driven the Germans away. Furstemberg, on receiving news of this, set forward with his troops and cannon, to chastise the city, when Sadolet, in his episcopal robes, presents himself before the advance guard:—Who art thou? the

*See chapter xix. Calvin at Strasbourg.

†Ep. Sadoleti Joh. Sturmio, 1536. Equidem quod ad me attinet si quid forte acciderit quod tibi et Melancthoni, et Bucero commodum aut gratum facere possim, reperietis me profecto paratiorem quam verbis ut nullum a me officium benevoli erga vos hominis desiderari sim passurus.

‡Flagrans studio sacrarum lectionum.—Sadol. Ep. lib. 6, ep. 9.

§Sadol. Ep., lib. 2, ep. 6.

||Non ego enim sum qui ut quisque a nobis opinione dissentit, statim eum odio habeam.

count demands of the prelate.—The bishop of Carpentras, who comes to implore mercy for his flock.—Leave me, said Furstemberg, I shall so shear your sheep, that they will not have strength left to bleat. Sir count, said Sadolet, at least, allow me to speak to the admiral? Go; said Furstemberg, I will wait for you. Sadolet asks to see the admiral, who puts him the same question:—Who art thou? I am Sadolet, replies the bishop of Carpentras. At this name the admiral dismounts from his horse, kneels, kisses the hand of the priest, and signs an order to Furstemberg to stop. It was time, said Furstemberg, for the cannon were about to play. You would still have waited for me, said Sadolet.—And why so?—The first bullet belongs to the shepherd, replies the prelate; the turn of the sheep would only come after his.*

But of more value than his reply to admiral Biron, is Sadolet's letter to the inhabitants of Geneva.†

Calvin had just left that city, which was agitated because of the excitement against the intolerance of the ministers, and full of malcontents, who loudly manifested their joy at being liberated from their despotism. It had resumed its habitual physiognomy: the people laughed, forgot the past, again opened the taverns. The war against images was suspended; the old prayer books, so long carefully hid from public view, began to reappear in families; and the title of Catholic was no longer persecuted as a sign of felony. Sadolet thought the moment auspicious for an attempt to bring back to Catholicism, a city, in which the memory of the prelates, who had occupied that see, was not yet extinct, and where still in noble hearts was cherished the remembrance of the efforts of those bishops to secure the national independence. Sadolet was not unknown at Geneva, which had formerly, with enlightened benevolence, welcomed the Roman priest, the friend of cardinal Contarini, and secretary of Leo X.

In assuming his pen, the first thing that strikes him, is the image of that generous hospitality which Geneva accorded to the stranger. He is in haste to thank the city, where he peacefully slept away a few sweet hours.

“I have learned to know you,” said he, “loyal Genevese, to love your republic, the political organization of which is the subject of my admiration, and the holy charity with which you receive the stranger. I am aware that Geneva is a prey to troubles, sown by the enemies of your repose and of Catholic unity: my heart bleeds at the lamentations of that church, our holy mother, who deplores the loss of so many children, whom she has nourished with her milk, and at the contemplation of the perils which are in reserve for you: for my dearly beloved, innovators can only establish their triumph by revolution, the subversion of order, and the ruin of your civil and religious liberty.”

Sadolet does not here recur to a dogmatic contest, in which the city

**Histoire de François 1er. par Galliard.*

†*Jacobus Sadoletus. . . . Episcopus Carpentoracti, S. R. E. tituli sancti Calixti, presbyter cardinalis, suis desideratis fratribus, magistratui, concilio et civibus Genevensibus. XV. Cal. Aprilis, 1539. t. I. p. 171, 186, of the Latin works of Sadolet, edition of Verona.*

could only take part at a disadvantage. He contents himself with dazzling it by an exhibition of the splendours of Catholic unity, an argument always novel and powerful. He displays to its view the cross of Christ, upon Golgotha, conquering the pagan world, subjugating kings and nations, and he asks it :—Whether there be two signs and two symbols? and when Christ has failed to fulfill the promise, made to his Apostles, to be with them to the consummation or end of the world? He desires them to point to a single instant, in the history of the human mind, when Catholicism abandoned the way marked out for it by the Son of God; an hour, in the succession of ages, when the successors of St. Peter failed in the faith; a halt in the harmonious and consistent teaching of the church; a falling away in dogma. He adjures the Genevese to tell him whether the Catholic priest of to-day does not teach what was taught by the priest of yesterday; what truths have been discovered by the innovators; whether the faith of St. Jerome be not that of Paul III. Magnificent unity! in which, whoever calls himself christian must take refuge, under penalty of rebellion, even had the pastors not been like Christ, meek and humble of heart, provided only they have preserved unchanged the deposit transmitted by the Saviour. What matters it if the sun is, at intervals, obscured, if the sun remains the same?

And, after developing all the folds of this argument, he imagines the world just after its final dissolution; that the trumpet has assembled the dead; that the Supreme Judge has come down, amid the clouds of his glory and majesty, to judge the earth. Then he represents to us two souls awaiting their sentence; one, who has lived in unity with the church, the other, who has violently severed himself from unity.

The faithful soul addresses the Lord, and says to him :

—“ Lord, my God! born, nurtured, reared in the bosom of thy church, I have observed its precepts, as if I had received them from thy mouth. I have beheld men fond of novelties, who came to me with the scriptures in their hands, seeking to trouble my heart, to stigmatize the past, to insult my mother, to preach disobedience and rebellion; but I have remained faithful to the faith of my ancestors, to the creed of our doctors, of our saints, to the teaching of our pastors. Though at times the splendour of the dress of some of our bishops, the scandal of their morals, the pomp of their dignities, offended my eyes, I have obeyed without judging them, wretched being that I am, with the stain of sin upon my brow. Behold me, Lord, before thy dread tribunal, imploring, not thy justice, but thy mercy.”

Then the Judge will summon the innovating soul :—“ Hear me, Lord,” will this soul say, “hear, and judge me. On beholding some of thy priests so proud, so rich, so often covered with gold and sin, I felt myself moved to wrath. I have lived in the meditation of thy holy word. Left indigent in a church where my labours and my science should have opened to me the door to dignities, I have been wounded to the very heart. I seized my pen, I attacked our pastors, to destroy their authority, I censured every thing that they taught; the liturgy, fasting, abstinence, confession: I exalted faith, and decried works, I asked for thy blood and offered it in holocaust for the washing away of our faults.

“And now, what will the Eternal Judge say? If there be a church, the faithful soul could not have been able to offend; for it has all the signs of this church, its symbol and its teaching: had that church erred, (a horrible thing to suppose,) how could the Lord condemn a being who has only erred from love and obedience?”

“But the soul which lifts up its brow, which exalts itself in pride, which for its advocates has no doctors, no priests, no pontiffs to cry out to God in its behalf: that soul which once believed what we believe; but miserable, it has listened only to itself and foolishly obeyed its individual judgment. What will be its lot? whither will it go?”

Still a word more, and this shall be the final adieu of Sadolet to the church of Geneva, for he is old, weakened by sufferings, and worn out by vigils and studies. The only tie that now binds him to earth is his affection for his flock; but the page which he is about to trace shall endure, an imperishable monument of the faith and charity of the bishop of Carpentras.

“My dearly beloved, I beseech you, remove the veils which cover your eyes and conceal the light from your gaze. Lift up your eyes to heaven, come back to the ancient faith, return to the bosom of the church, your tender mother: let us henceforth adore God in the same spirit of love! If our morals have afflicted you, if some have by their faults sullied the immaculate brow of that church; let not a sight of this drive you to rebellion. You can hate us at will, if the gospel allows this: but never our word and our faith! for it is written: Do what they shall tell you.

“Dearly beloved, I beseech you, do not reject my entreaties: if you listen to this voice so solicitous for your happiness, you will never repent it. I will be your intercessor with God, unworthy sinner that I am, but whose charity will obtain mercy from the Lord. I place all that I am worth at your service,—and I am worth but very little!—all the influence, authority and credit that I possess. Happy if, thanks to my love, you bring forth abundant fruits in this life and in the next.”

Has not the historian the right here to request the reader to compare this letter of a French bishop, of a Roman prelate, of one of the cardinals of Paul III. with those addressed by Luther to the churches which were unwilling to embrace the reformation? It is to be regretted that Sadolet had not written it in French. A protestant biographer of Calvin, pretends that it would have been the occasion of much evil at Geneva;† that is, undoubtedly, of bringing it back to unity.‡

*See the works of Luther, t. vii. German edition, p. 352. and also in De Wette, the letters of the reformer to Charles V. to Henry VIII. to Albrecht, archbishop of Magdebourg. Compare also those of Knox to different prelates of Scotland.

†Ein Mann von vielem Geist, und reinen Sitten schrieb dem Genser Volke einen so beweglichen und geschickten Brief, dasz er ohne Zweifel viel Unheil hätte in der hin- und herschwankenden Stadt anrichten müssen, wenn er nicht in fremder Sprache geschrieben gewesen wäre. Paul Henry, t. i. p. 229.

‡A short time before writing this letter, Sadolet in a letter to Clement VII. engaged the sovereign pontiff to bestow upon Erasmus some considerable benediction in Germany. Er. Ep. 12, L. 27. Vie d' Erasme par de Burigni. t. ii. p. 279.

It did, moreover, produce great sensation among the Genevan humanists, and it caused considerable chagrin to the council, which knew not where to find a pen able to reply to the bishop. Calvin, who had not abandoned the hope of again obtaining entrance into a city, where the reformed priesthood possessed not a single intellect of some worth, took upon himself the task of refuting Sadolet. It is a service for which the council will compensate him at a future period.

As a dogmatic discussion, Calvin's letter is impotent. The arguments which he employs are contemptible. Their origin can, without difficulty, be recognized by any one who has studied the reformation.

In several passages of his apology, Calvin appeals to tradition, in order to give glory to the doctrine which he came to teach to Geneva.—“If,” says he, “if we condemn that gross transubstantiation which would chain the people to matter, it is not a new dogma that we teach, but the very dogma of the primitive church.” Here Sadolet might be a suspected judge, but what objection will the reformation dare make to Luther? “It is the devil,” says Luther,* “who attacks us, by the aid of certain fanatics, who blaspheme the supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, and dream that they there receive only the symbol or sign of bread and wine, and who refuse, in their blindness, to acknowledge that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are therein contained in reality, as is taught so clearly and expressly by these words: “eat, this is my body.”

“This heresy will have its time: it will soon end, for it is too gross, too unruly; it is not a vain opinion about doubtful texts that it attacks; but scripture sentences, clear and explicit. . . . They resemble persons looking through coloured glass; whatever may be the colour of the object, the eye sees no other hue but that which is diffused by the lens. In vain shall you show them the truth, it would be necessary for God to take away the coloured glass. . . .”

“Princes should employ punishments to repress these sacrilegious persons, who blaspheme what they do not understand. One day they shall render an account of their doctrines; understand thou well, thou hog, dog, sacramentarian, whoever thou art, ass, beast, brute!!”

“Admirable heroes, who would deserve that persons should spit in their mouth and face, and anoint their hair with horse manure, as a perfume, and ignominiously drive them from the country.”†

How shall Calvin escape his judge; his judge “is an apostle by whose mouth God has spoken to men.”‡ John of Noyon has given this fine testimony, in behalf of Doctor Martin. “It is this blessed reformer, say the ministers of Canton de Vaud, who has announced the pure word of God in the midst of a population to which all the priests were preaching false doctrines, so that an incontestible proof of his vocation is found in the conformity of his doctrine with the Bible.”§

**Contra fanaticos sacramentariorum errores.* Luther's works. t. vii. p. 379, 380, 381, 382, 383.

†*Heros sane fortis et egregius, dignus qui fœdatus ora, vultumque sputo, et pilis ex stercore equino confectis, ignominiose e pago ejiciatur.* Luther's works, t. vii. p. 384.

‡Calvin. *Contra Pighium.*

§*Religion du cœur, by the abbé Baudry, p. 72.*

Sadolet had unfolded before Calvin's eyes, with all the zest of a poet and a christian, the whole beauty of the argument of unity. Calvin rejected it; and to-day after three centuries, one of the reformer's disciples, endeavors to display all its magnificence.

"The study of this system," says M. Ernest Naville, "causes us still more clearly to recognize that it is logical, that it is beautiful, and finally that the bases, upon which it reposes, are profoundly grounded in human nature."

"From the moment that we admit a clergy having a divine mission, without each one of its members being directly called by God, it is evident, on the one hand, that the clergy being destined to be one, should have a chief or head to guarantee unity; and, on the other, that this clergy should be vested with an absolute authority in matters of doctrine; for this is the whole system. I am persuaded that this dilemma can be victoriously sustained: either Jesus Christ has not organized the church, or the Catholic church is the one which he did organize."†

Calvin thus defines the church:‡ The communion of the elect spread through the whole earth, dispersed through all ages, united to Christ in doctrines and in spirit; || and he hurls a defiance at his adversary to prove that the Genevan priesthood has ever repudiated this holy society.

"With regard to what they have objected to me," says he, "that I am separated from the church, in this I do not feel myself guilty, if, perhaps by chance, he is not to be reputed a traitor, who, beholding the soldiers scattered and separated, wandering hither and thither, breaking their ranks, raises the standard of the captain, and calls them back, and puts them in order. For, Lord, all thine were so astray, that not only they could not hear what was commanded them; but also it seemed they had forgotten their captain, the battle, and the oath which they had taken. And I, to reclaim them from such error, did not spread a strange banner to the winds, but thy own noble standard, which it is necessary for us to follow if we desire to be enrolled in the number of thy people. In this place, those who ought to keep the said soldiers in entire order, and who led them into error, have put their hands on me, and because I constantly persist, they have resisted me with great violence. Then they have commenced grievously to mutiny, so that the combat has been enflamed even to the severance of union. But on what side are the fault and guilt, it is now for thee, oh Lord, to say and pronounce."

Besides, the theologian makes boast of belonging to the church of St. Basil, of St. Chrysostom, under the Greeks, of St. Ambrose and St. Augustin, under the Latins; "Beyond, there is nothing but ruins, a blasted papacy, a dishonored clergy."

Happily the bishop has for advocate one of the finest protestant intel-

†Ernest Naville, Thesis sustained at Geneva in 1839.

‡Opuscules—ed. of Geneva, 1612—works of Calvin, Amsterdam, .. viii.

||Nunc si definitionem ecclesiæ tuæ veriorem recipere sustines dic posthac: societatem esse sanctorum omnium, quæ per totum orbem diffusa, per omnes ætates dispersa, una tamen christi doctrina et uno spiritu colligata unitatem fidei ac fraternam concordiam colit.

jects of our epoch, M. Vinet, who here exclaims: "We have the right as christians to claim St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Augustine and St. Bernard. What we deny is not these, nor that church in which they blazed as torches; this would be denying ourselves."*

Honor to the Waldensian minister for having enlarged the choir of doctors of our school, and for having caused to enter into it, these fathers of the church, "blind and ignorant of the holy books, who, in writing had the pen in their hands and the mind somewhere else; who could not merit the name of saints, had they not before death taken better thoughts, and who were not worthy to tie the lachets of Luther's shoes."†

Let Beza then come to tell us, "that he protests and certifies before God and before angels, that the audacity of St. Jerome in twisting the nose of the scriptures afflicts him,"‡ we will respond to him that a man of heart and talents has placed St. Jerome among those glories of whom the church ought to be proud. And if an evangelical minister says to us that, "a banquet of drunkards more phrenetic than the council of Nice, can scarcely be imagined, even should we take Bacchus crowned with grapes seated upon a wine vat, with goblet in hand, surrounded by the Lapithæ and Menades, with his noises, worthy of such a president and such counselors, as was that band of senseless people, abusing the name of God and of his church. . . . § We will appeal from him to the Waldensian minister, whose intelligence and light no one will be sufficiently bold to question or deny.

Calvin, therefore, has calumniated our church, by placing it forever in a sepulchre, with no other guardians than St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine. Behold this church, which throws aside the stone from the sepulchre, and rises, eight centuries after, to shine with the aureola of St. Bernard. Had not Sadolet a right to declaim against the inconsistency of the Calvinistic word.

We have seen with what holy freedom the bishop of Carpentras has avowed that the crown, which some of the pontiffs bore, was not always a crown of thorns, but sometimes a worldly diadem, too much burdened with gold and precious stones; but he showed also; that the christian has no right to make this a ground of accusation against the church, which placed it upon their heads, and which was the first to bewail the faults of her own children elevated to the throne. This is an argument which Calvin seizes, and with great complacency extends, but which is demolished by a Protestant writer, of the present age. "To desire," says M. Naville, "to explain the Catholic system in an exclusive manner, by the frauds and ambitious schemes of the clergy, is to do an injury to the whole of Christianity, and to reject the most simple notions of history."⁹||

Now that the discussion is through, let Calvin cause to be heard the

*De Baudry, Religion du cœur. p. 273.

†Luther's works, Concerning the private mass. t. vii. p. 231.

‡Beza, on 3d. chap., to Romans, on acts of Apostles, in reply to Brent.

§De Serres, anti-jesuit.

||Thesis sustained at Geneva in 1839.

trumpet which shall awake the dead,* and let him, at the sound of this divine peal, approach the throne of the Lamb to ask for justice. It is not Sadolet, nor St. Jerome, nor St. Augustine who shall judge him. It is Luther, it is M. Naville, it is M. Vinet, it is the whole priesthood of Wintenberg, of Geneva, of Lausanne.*

Alexander Morus has said: "Let him who would know the force and beauty of Calvin's style, read the response which he made to Sadolet. He will not be able to do so without feeling his heart moved, and without becoming better and more holy." Alexander Morus should also celebrate the reformer's politeness, and as an example, quote this passage.

"Nourished as it were in the arms of pope Clement, and of recruit, made cardinal at Rome, in that shop of all *artifice* and cunning."†

If we were attached to forms only, we should avow that Calvin's epistle deserves the esteem and often the admiration of the scholar. He has made a marked progress since the time of writing his Institutes. His phrase has less dryness and barrenness; but in general he is destitute of what superabounds in the Italian writers of the epoch, colour and inspiration.

In reading Sadolet you think yourself at Rome, you breathe the perfumes which traverse the Janiculum; you see the sun, which, with its tints of gold, colours the monuments of the eternal city; in reading Calvin you have before you that high mountain, which is beheld from every part of Geneva, the Saleve, abrupt and naked, but proudly seated upon its base of granite, destitute of flowers and verdure.

But let us follow Calvin to Berne.

*Aures arrigamus ad illum tubæ clangorem quem ipsi quoque mortuorum cineres e sepulchris suis audient.

†Is homo prope a pueritia imbutus romanis artibus, in illa versutiarum ac calliditatis officina—Calvin published his Latin letter in 1539, and his French translation in 1541.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CALVIN AT BERNE.—1538.

Journey of Calvin to Berne.—Dispositions of the populations.—Arrival at Berne.—Conz.—Portrait of this minister.—Dispute of Conz, Calvin and Farel.—Berne exerts herself for the recall of the exiles.—The Genevan people, in general assembly, confirm the decree of exile against Calvin.—The church of Geneva and its ministers judged by the reformer.—Debauchery, hypocrisy, ignorance of the reformed clergy.—Calvin at Bale.—At Strasbourg.

Berne had, with disapproving eye, contemplated the efforts of Calvin to reject the regulations of the synod of Lausanne. Berne had preached a revolt against the church of Rome; but once that the triumph of the new word was accomplished, it desired that the new church should live in peace and union. Of the ancient religion it had preserved some ceremonies in order to strike the multitude, and it held to these external forms, as to written symbols. All the troubles, which agitated the populations of Switzerland, were very displeasing to Charles V. whose friendship the republic was anxious to preserve. It was said that the emperor designed sending an ambassador to Switzerland to study the condition of the public mind. Berne, therefore, made haste to repair the half ruined churches, to clean out the temples made filthy by the troops quartered in them, to convert the still standing monasteries into charity schools, to clothe and feed its new priests, to collect the objects of art which had been dispersed, and above all, to preach concord to the citizens, that it might be able to say to the imperial legate: You see that there has been no struggle as in Germany; that the presbyteries are almost all entire; the schools in order; the ministers of the Lord have done nothing but alter their vesture. . . . Behold only a few ruins which shall soon disappear, but all hearts are united in the same faith. Glory be to God!

In proportion as Calvin, in his travel of some days, drew near to Berne in company with Farel, he could divine that the people were agitated by hostile passions; the peasants mourned as they saw the Genevan ministers pass. They had been at Berne for eight days, uselessly asking for a hearing, without having received any response, "as if," says Calvin, "it had been designed to tire out their patience."* Conz,

*Ita ex composito putavimus patientiam nostram tentari, ut si tædio fracti caussam istam abjecissemus tota culpa speciose in nos conferri posset—Pientissimo et eruditissimo viro D Bullingero, Tig. Eccl. pastori, fratri carissimo—mense junio 1538.

(Kuntzen) pastor of the church of Berne, gave them an asylum in his house. Conz was a choleric logician, a buffoon, and a peevish man. Calvin, in a letter to Bucer, in which he disclaims the spirit of the slanderer,* declares that Conz is "a ferocious beast, with the gestures, the speech, and the appearance of a fury."†

Conz did not allow Calvin time to manifest his complaints against the church and government of Geneva; he commenced by blaming the conduct of the two ministers, whom he accused of having introduced trouble into the Canton. Calvin and Harel vainly essayed some words in justification of their conduct; they were at each instant interrupted by the orator, who wished to do all the speaking himself. Farel, astonished to find himself in front of an organization so choleric, hid himself behind Calvin, and long after he trembled at the remembrance of this scene.‡ Sebastian Meyer and Erasmus Ritter, who assisted at the conference, finally succeeded to pacify Conz. The accused had a moment of respite and silence, for Calvin and Farel were in reality before a tribunal. Then Conz resumed speech, and proffered the exiles the opportunity of a formal discussion before the Bernese senate. On the next morning Calvin and Farel attended at the entrance of the senate chamber, at the hour which had been specified by Conz; but after waiting two hours, some one came to inform them, that the council, burdened with business, had not time then to give them a hearing, but would receive them after dinner. Conz was the first to speak, and addressing Calvin said: "You are but marplots; the Helvetic church was in peace, you have disturbed it by the novelties which you introduced."§

It was not we, replied Calvin, who brought to Geneva the leavened bread, long before us in use in the ancient church; even under the papism, we find vestiges of the ancient Lord's supper; they there distributed leavened bread.

Conz cried, stormed, gesticulated, and twisted his fingers; it was a scene after the order of those enacted by Luther; one would have said that the minister had passed his whole life at Wittenberg. He so boiled over "with wrath," that he sprang up from his seat, menacing the Genevan ministers with his clenched fists.|| They succeeded to make him resume his seat.

Calvin's part was singularly retrenched; he stuttered, his tongue embarrassed itself in phrases, which his adversary did not allow him to conclude. Behold then, said Conz, their bad faith! it is not with servants of Christ that we are here disputing, but with marplots, who have promised to receive the decision of the synod of Lausanne, and who to-day refuse to obey the voice of the Helvetic church! The ac-

*Rixari non est certe mei moris. Calv. Bucero. Gen. 12, Jan. 1538.

†Bellua rabiosa. Vultus, gestus, verba, color ipse furias spirabant. Calv. Bucero.

‡Dasz Farel doch im späten Alter davon sprach.

§Conzensus exprobravit ecclesias omnes Germaniæ ac quæ alioqui tranquillæ erant, importuna novitatis affectatione fuisse a nobis perturbatas—Calv. Bullingero.

||Illic vero non clamoribus solis contentus, ex abaco se proripuit, ac tota corpore sic ebulliebat ut injecta manu retineri a collegis non posset. Calv. Bullingero.

cusation was precise. Calvin and Farel maintained that they had, on the contrary, promised to obey the synod; and that they were yet in the same disposition; but Conz still insisted, and desired that the dissidents should not be heard. They separated.

As Calvin was descending the great street of Berne, Sebastian Meyer ran after him, and plucking him by the skirt of his robe, said:—Tell me, is it true that some of your brethren treat as wolves and as false prophets, those who have taken your place at Geneva?

—“Yes,” answered Calvin, “and we in turn, hold them to be true wolves and false prophets.*

—Then, said his interrogator, you will say the same of us, who, after having expelled Megander, hold his place in the church of Berne?†

—Oh! rejoined Calvin, that is another thing: we say why it is, we treat those in our places as wolves.

Meyer, not satisfied with this polite distinction of Calvin, altered his tone immediately and abandoned Calvin's cause. “He was a true marplot, this Meyer,‡ of an inconstant nature, and always agreeing with him who last spoke to him.”

Erasmus Ritter still remained, who had a particular regard for Calvin, but was led away by his colleagues.

The grand council assembled soon after, summoned Calvin, and three times intimated to him an order to submit. The Genevan ministers yielded, “for fear,” they said, “lest their obstinacy should afflict the good.”

The council decided that two legates should accompany the exiles to within a short distance of Geneva, and then should proceed and negotiate for their recall; in case of success, they were to return for the ministers, and see that they were reinstated.

But the exiles asked for a new message; for, they said, it will appear as if we came imploring our restoration like guilty persons; and why also should not some minister of the gospel be joined to the deputation? The council granted their request. The legates and the exiles were to enter the city; Erasmus Ritter and Viret were to be members of the deputation.

The rumour of Calvin's return had thrown Geneva into commotion; the people loudly manifested their anger; the deputation was only about the distance of one league from the city, when a courier arrived to prohibit its entrance. This, said Calvin, was an outrage on the law of nations and on political liberty, against which the exiles were determined to protest, by entering Geneva with uncovered heads. But the deputies did not deem fit to brave the sovereign order, and very fortu-

*An verum putaremus quod narrabatur a quibusdam, tantam esse in certis fratribus severitatem ut eos lupos vocarent et pseudo prophetas, qui in locum nostrum irrepissent: respondimus nostrum non esse aliud de ipsis iudicium—Calv. Bullingeri.

†Megander and Leo Judæ labored for the translation of the holy scriptures into German; their translation was published at Zurich in 1529, and 1531. John Scott's *Calvin and the Swiss reformation*, p. 116.

‡Sed quid aliud potest quam suis deliramentis invertere Evangelii puritatem? Calv. Bucero. 12th Jan.

nately it was, says Calvin, "for twenty handitti watched in ambuscade at the gates of the city."*

In face of these very energetic manifestations, the authorities decided that the people should pronounce definitively upon the lot of the exiles. The people were assembled. Louis Annman and Viret pleaded the cause of the ministers with so much ardour, that the plebeian wrath seemed about to become extinct. But after their departure, one of the syndics began to read the charges against the exiles, amid murmurs of indignation, exclamations of surprise, laughter, and cries of rage. They were accused—with having called the church of Berne *our church*;—with having named the Bernese without their ordinary qualifications;—with having erected excommunication into a dogma.

Then did the public place in Geneva become another forum. See! exclaimed a thousand voices; *our church!* as they would speak of a field or a house! † To the Rhone! to the devil!! with their excommunication, we wish to hear no more of it! Exasperation was at the utmost height; and if, at that moment, Calvin or Farel had shown himself, the people would have proceeded to violent extremities: they had ready two open tombs: the Lake and the Rhone.

The deputies had with them articles, which they were to read to the people only in presence of the ministers. But it appears that Calvin was betrayed by Conz, who made use of Peter Vandel to spread them secretly among the people; a thing quite frightful, says Calvin, but worthy of a man who had exclaimed at Noyon: "They desire to recall the exiles; but I swear that I would sooner abandon the ministry and Switzerland, than behold the return of such marplots, who have done me so much evil."

Calvin and Farel resumed the road to Berne.

Calvin then deceived us in giving an immoral motive to his banishment. It was not a debauchee, who revolted to drive away an unfortunate witness and an inexorable judge; he was banished because he outraged the liberties of the city, because he wished to invest his despotism with the cap of a bishop, and to arm his tyranny with a sword and crozier. He has himself taken care to absolve the people, by causing them to assemble, at the grand assizes of April, to ratify the sentence of the commune.

The recital which we have just read cannot be suspected; it was written by the hands of Calvin and Farel, and was reposing in the archives, where it was allowed to sleep in quiet, till exhumed by a Protestant historian, perhaps with more imprudence than love for historic truth; for Calvin had from the first condemned it to oblivion, by writing at the bottom of the narrative:—"Remember well, that I confide all this to your discretion."

But why has M. Paul Henry in his translation, given to the German reader only some informal fragments of these babblings, and why has he placed the Latin account among the justificatory pieces, where assuredly the reader will not go to hunt for them?

*Nam postea constitit non procul mœnibus collocatas fuisse insidias; in ipsa autem porta considerant armati viginti gladiatores—Calvin. Bullingero.

†Ecce ut ecclesiam ausint vocare suam quasi in ejus possessionem venerint. . . . Ecce ut ad tyrannidem aspirent.

But in this letter of Calvin there are other revelations.

When Sadolet gave a picture of the disorders introduced into Geneva by the reformation, Calvin responded to the bishop: Thou art a calumniator; † and he added:

“As to myself, Sadolet, I am very desirous you should know, that I am one of those against whom you speak with such great wrath and fury. And although the true religion was already arranged and established, and the form of their church corrected, before I was called there, nevertheless, as I have not only by my vote and opinion approved, but also exerted myself to the utmost, as much as was in my power, to preserve and consolidate the things before instituted by Farel and Viret, I cannot be foreclosed nor separated from them in this cause. Had you taxed me individually, without doubt I could easily have forgiven all, because of your learning, and for the honor of literature. But when I behold my ministry (which I know to be founded and confirmed by the vocation of the Lord) wounded and injured by the blow you inflict on me, it would be disloyalty and not patience, if, by my silence, I should dissimulate in this matter.”

Now, let us listen to Calvin, whispering quite low into the ear of Bullinger, who is not to breathe a word to any person of what he learns:

“It is satan who has driven us from the city, in order, afterwards, to deliver it up to disorders still greater than those under which it was groaning. One could not imagine in what a slough of licentiousness all these impious persons are floundering! their petulance in offering insult to Christ, their mockery of the gospel, their fury and their folly! Woe to those who have been guilty of this scandal! This Conz, who could not ruin us without ruining the church, has betrayed this holy church, in betraying us. Better it were widowed, than live under such men who conceal themselves under the garb of pastors!”

Calvin and Farel undertake to trace for us the character of those who had their places:

“First there is the guardian of the Franciscans, who at the aurora of the gospel, obstinately rejected the light of truth, until the Christ appeared to him under the form of a young maiden, whom he seduced and corrupted; ‡ a filthy monk, who does not even take pains to hide his infamies, and goes on teaching that St. Paul does not require that the bishop should have lived in chastity, but that he should amend when he desires to have the charge of souls; a heart, destitute of all fear of God, and of every pious sentiment. . . . Then, there is that other priest, steeped in hypocrisy, and who struts about in his leprosy of sin; both of them ignorant preachers, brawlers, and venders of silly things: behold the third, a known debauchee, who has been indebted for his absolution to the favour of certain wicked good-for-nothings.

†Dabo operam ne qua vox asperior a me exeat. . . . simplex et moderata innocentiae meae adversus calumniosas tuas criminationes erit defensio.

‡Donec christum aliquando in uxoris forma contemplatus est, quam simul atque habuit secum, modis omnibus corrupit.—Calvin, Bullingero.

Oh! beautiful office which they have stolen, and which they administer as they have usurped it! Not a day passes, in which they are not convicted of some felony, by men, by women, and even by children!

Now, this letter raises a very grave question.

If the ministers, who occupy the place of Calvin at Geneva, be 'devouring wolves,' what is he, then, himself? From whom does he hold his mission? who has imposed hands on *him*? who has conferred on him the sacrament of orders? If he has received his mission from revolt, revolt could confer the same on others. M. Vinet pretends that "the man, whose office it is to repeat the message brought by infallible men, has no need of any other mark of his mission, than his fidelity in the exposition of his message known to all and within the reach of all." Very well. But, in order that he should efface from their brows the sacerdotal sign, the faith of his successors must have perished. "The imposition of hands," says Calvin, § "which is used for the installation of new priests, is not vain, it is a sign of the spiritual grace of God." And why, then, does he withdraw this grace from the guardian of the Franciscans? Should it be doctrine which must distinguish the legitimate pastors? Then let him inform us what is the rule of the doctrine of the church. Is it the confession of faith? Who drew up this confession? the pastors: thus it is the doctrine which shall judge the pastors, and the pastors who judge the doctrine. What a chaos! What an abyss! But the Franciscan has sworn to the formulary of Farel. With what, therefore, does Calvin reproach him? With notorious debauchery; and with what does he reproach the second? with refined hypocrisy; and the third? with proverbial silliness. But of what use, then, to him, was that terrible weapon, excommunication, which he has usurped as the choice of spoils? Instead of driving from the church that young woman whose curls drooped too low on her temples, he should have reserved his wrath for that ancient Franciscan, who came to the temple bearing his leprosy of impurity. In place of making war upon the Eidgenoss, he should have instructed his ignorant colleague in sacred learning. In place of refusing the Lord's supper to poor labourers who played cards, he should have snatched the serpent's skin from his hypocritical preacher. Yet he continues at Geneva, living with these devouring wolves, preaching the holy word in conjunction with them, adoring God in the same temple, and kneeling at the same communion table. And, it is only when he beholds them clothing themselves with his ministerial robe, that he denounces them to the indignation of christian souls.

Thus repelled by the Genevan population, Calvin returned to Berne, which soon after he abandoned, in order to take the road to Strasbourg.

§Inst. lib. 4. cap. 2.

CHAPTER XIX.

CALVIN AT STRASBOURG.—HIS MARRIAGE.—1539-1540.

Religious physiognomy of Strasbourg.—John Sturm.—Capito.—Hedio.—Bucer.—At what price the marriages of priests were effected.—Calvin arrives at Strasbourg.—He is named professor of theology.—He undertakes to get a wife for Viret.—He espouses Idelette Stærder.—He loses his first born, and sheds no tears.

STRASBOURG, in the middle ages,—a city of painting, of sculpture, of philosophy and the liberal arts,—by the urbanity of its language, represented Athens; by its love of letters, Venice; and by its theological disputations, Wittenberg.

At each hour of the day, they were there disputing upon all kinds of psychological questions; upon free-will, justification, grace, the divine concurrence with the action of the creature, and other intimate phenomena, about which the schools have ever been occupied. The work of Erasmus, *de servo arbitrio*, was looked for there with great anxiety; one of Luther's pamphlets agitated every mind; and even Carlstadt, with his lucubrations on the Lord's Supper, was certain to meet with some there to sympathise with him.* All religious opinions were in that place represented. There were Lutherans, Anabaptists, Zwinglians, Ecolampadians, Munzerians. It was a sort of pantheistical Olympus, where each sectary could have his altar and his God. It frequently happened that these men of noise, from misunderstandings with each other, threw the city into commotion by their discussions. Then the Stettmaster was forced to intervene, and to preach peace. Peace, meant silence, and none of these theologasters was willing to be silent; the municipal council was therefore obliged to conduct the refractory preacher politely beyond the walls of the city. Plato did not treat poets with greater respect. Soon, the sectary came back by another gate, his lungs refreshed by the perfumes of the Vosges, or by the waters of the Rhine, and he relapsed again into his habitual malady: loquacity.

Moreover, these magistrates, men of the people, with admirable indifference, passed from one god to another. Every new tongue had the art to seduce them. When a disciple of Zwingle, descended from the mountains of Schwytz, had appeared to announce to them the word of his master, they had listened to him, feasted him, and welcomed him as

*Carlstadt, driven away from Wittenberg, published his opinions about the real presence, at Strasbourg: his doctrine was adopted by the Protestant preachers. *Nouvelle description de Strasbourg*, 1538. p. 231.

an apostle. On that day, Strasbourg ceased to believe in the dogma of the real presence, and Zwingle was adored, and his teaching enclosed in the catechism for the use of children.* Bucer, reconciled with the doctrines of Luther, comes, preaches impanation, and Strasbourg abandons the curate of Ensiedeln for the monk of Wittenberg, and from its catechism retrenches the dogma of a figurative Lord's Supper : † it is no longer the blood and body which the child drinks and eats spiritually, but the very reality, under the material appearances. But Bucer has returned, and arranged the Lutheran confession ; a new angel has come down from heaven, to whom Strasbourg listens, until an Anabaptist of the sect of David, cuts away from the seraphim his wings, and puts them on his own shoulders. Then Strasbourg has not a sufficiency of water to have itself rebaptized. Each sectary, who comes to ask the right of citizenship from the hospitable city, brings to it, in exchange, a lamp, which it lights up in order to make new studies, and to each of these literary pilgrims, of these apostles of the liberty of thought, of these religious propagandists, Strasbourg offers a roof to shelter him, a bed for his repose, and food for his support.

We must make acquaintance with some of these erratic intelligences, who said, on beholding this city : "We are well off here, let us build here a tent."

John Sturm inhabited, near Luxhof, a small castle, which almost touched the skies : an airy habitation, where the bird could sing at his ease, without having his concerts troubled by the noises of the city. Sturm, after having made good studies at Liege, had set up, at Louvain, a printing press, in company with Rutger Rescius, professor of Greek in the University of that city. On beholding the first copy of a beautiful Homer, which he had printed with type expressly cast in Italy, he had been seized with a real transport of the brain, and fled from Louvain, carrying with him several trunks quite filled with his *chef d'œuvre*, which he sold for high prices at Paris. ‡

While in Paris he had associated with the humanists, whom Briconet, bishop of Meaux, had attracted there from Germany, and he was injured by contact with these disputatious gentry ; he had embraced Lutheranism, when heresy had but one representative : afterwards, he made himself Zwinglian. He was passionately fond of old books ; it was his joy to sift manuscripts, to compare their texts, and discuss their variations. When he had found out a new sense for explaining some rusty word, he felt himself uneasy, and deafened all ears with his good fortune : it was Archimedes turned vender of second-hand books. The introduction of the Lutheran idea into Strasbourg, came to draw him down from his sun and his muses. John Pappus§ had presented him-

*Isagoge, de pueris instituendis ecclesie argentinensis, an. 1527. Mense Augusto.

†Suum corpus edimus, sanguinemque bibimus, sed spiritualiter cum ingenti commodo.

‡Bailet, jugt, des Savants, t. VI. p. 313.

§ John Pappus tried to prove that St. Augustine was a frank Lutheran, whilst Whitaker maintains that he was a Calvinist, and Andrew Volanus, the Socinian, that he was quite simply an idolator.—Weislinger, *Frisz Vogel*, p. 297.

self, after the manner of Francis de Sickingen, quite barbed in steel, and with lance in hand, to sustain the Saxon dogma, in a book entitled : *De Charitate Christiana questiones duæ*, a pamphlet in which there is no sign of charity, except in the title. Sturm had opposed to him his *Anti-pappus*, a little book which we should say had escaped from some antique street-porter, metamorphosed into Calvinist. Pappus had found means to displace his rival from the post of rector of high studies, (hochschule,) and he boasted of this victory as of an argument beyond reply. The victory would have been more complete, had Pappus been able to apply to his enemy the decree of excommunication, which the church of Strasbourg still kept in its catechism :* but Sturm had rendered to the city too important services to allow his being struck so violently.

Capito (Koepplein) was one of those souls, of whom there existed many in the learned world of the sixteenth century, resembling the children of Plato, that wished to leap over their own shadows. He had tormented himself to find truth beyond the limits of authority, and he had traversed all those neologies of the reformation, in his effort to throw off the burden of doubt, when he might have been so happy, living under the benefits of Leo X., who had bestowed upon him a canonicate in the cathedral of Bale!† Fatigued, harrassed, he had fallen on the way, and allowed to escape him these sighs : “All, then, is going; all is lost; every thing disappears; ruins on every side! The people say to us, behold, you want to establish a new tyranny, another papacy; God has made me know what a charge the office of pastor is, and how much we have injured the church, by rejecting the authority of the Pope, with so much imprudence and precipitation. The people, fed upon licentiousness, say to us: we know enough of the gospel; what need have we of you in order to find Christ?”‡

Capito slept at Strasbourg, in the bed of the ancient curé of *St. Pierre le Jeune*, the pastor of which he had driven away, and he was living in the midst of the numerous children whom he had by two wives, the widow of *Æcolampadius*, and a young nun. He was a learned Hebraist, an astute theologian, a skillful physician, and above all, an ardent missionary of matrimony. His sermon against celibacy had gained over some vicars, who, by marrying, were certain of obtaining a rich prebend. It was by preferring marriage to burning, that Bucer had obtained the living of Aurelia, Thibault le Noir, that of *St. Pierre le Vieux*, and an apostate of the order of *St. John*, that of *St. Nicholas*.§ With a wife, the incontinent priest secured a parsonage, lodging,

*Excommunicantur quidam ut ab eorum et vita et doctrina alii cavere possint. Ad hæc ut excommunicatus pudore suffusus, curet et Deo et hominibus vitæ emendatione reconciliari sese.—*Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reform.* t. I.

†Leo X. had formed so high an opinion of Capito, that he, unsolicited, conferred on him a provostship or deanery, probably that of the cathedral of Bale. —John Scott's *Calvin and the Swiss Reformation*, p. 33.

‡Ep. ad Farel. ep. Calv. p. 5.—The book of the Roman Catholic church, by Charles Butler.

§History of the Province of Alsace, *Histoire de la province d'Alsace*, t. II. p. 6, and the following.

fire for winter, a little garden, and a good cellar of Rhenish wine.

Hedio, another married priest, had left Mayence, and withdrawn to Strasbourg, where the magistracy had nominated him preacher of the cathedral; a function which he continued to discharge sweetly, until the Lord summoned him to the supreme tribunal. In giving up this life, he slipped into his papers this little testament:

“God has left me without care, until this hour, by giving me his well beloved Son, Jesus Christ, as a certain pledge of eternal life. Go forth, then, my little soul; thy Saviour waits for thee, to bear thee away in his arms.”*

But the most illustrious, of all those intelligences, which Strasbourg at that hour boasted, was Bucer. Reared, fed, instructed at the convent of the Jacobins of Selestad, he had apostatized, and married a nun, by name Lebensfeltz, who, for dowry, had brought him nothing but a doubtful virginity. He was one of those adroit, cunning natures, who do nothing without calculation; who change faith as they do a garment, according to the season; who appeal to God for justification of every one of their transformations, and have always at their service a good blade to defend the dogmas which they present to the world. His protector was Frank de Sickingen, who hated a monk almost as much as he did temperance. Luther knew Bucer well. One day, the Saxon was amusing himself by shooting with a cross-bow; at the first shot, he pierced the heart of a bat; the night-bird shuddered and fell dead:—Thou shalt see, says Luther to Vitus, that this conceals a mystery: I have transfixed the heart of a bat. On the next morning, he was at his window, looking out upon the fields, when he perceived Bucer approaching from a distance. Vitus, come here now, says he, leaping for joy, behold my bat; was I mistaken?†

It was, in fact, Bucer, who came to Cobourg to treat concerning religious matters. The monk arrived, infatuated with Zwinglianism, and went away converted by Luther, whom he was to deny again at the first breath of a new doctrine, to abandon it, or confess it anew, as his Holy Ghost should illumine him. Of all the reformers, there is not one, who could have been able to institute so many suits, as Bucer, against the Holy Ghost; happily, to gain them, he had the coat of mail of Sickingen.

Calvin had left Berne without taking leave of the senate, his soul irritated, and exhaling wrath against his enemies in every one of his letters. It appeared that God's malediction accompanied him on the road. Storms had, in one moment, barred up the way to Bale. The torrents, rushing from the mountains, were so furious, that he came near being swallowed up by them.

“But,” says he, recounting his travels to Viret, “the waves were

*Gott hat mich ohne meine Sorg leben lassen bis auf diese Stund, dazu mir seinen lieben Sohn Jesum Christum zum gewissen theuern Pfand des ewigen Lebens geschencket; darum fahre hin, meine liebe Seele, du hast einen treuen Heiland der dich zu seinen Händen aufgenommen hat. Cited by Freherus.

†Pfizer, Luther's Leben.—See, regarding Bucer, Melancthon's Epistles, t. I, op. fol. 24.

more merciful than men."* The men drove him away, the waves spared him. Calvin has none but bitter words to speak of the injustice of his fellows; every where the same spectre haunts him. He finds it at Berne, under the mantle of Conz: he beholds it in the senate, vested in grand livery; he meets it at Geneva, in the council of the two hundred; at the tavern of the *rue des Chanoines*, at the temple of St. Peter, and even on the public place, it appears brandishing the popular sword.

At length, he can find repose at Bale, where he may forget the ingratitude of the Genevese, seated at the table of Simon Gryneus, who regarded his bosom friend, "as the ornament of their common church."† At Bale, Farel lived for more than a month in the house of Oporin, which he left to go to Neuchatel, where the people and senate confided to him the administration of their church. Bucer ceased not to invite Calvin to Strasbourg, and at length induced him to bid adieu to Bale, and take up his way on foot for the imperial city.

The scene played at Geneva on Calvin's arrival, was to be repeated here;‡ only, that Bucer, instead of causing God to descend, in person, to retain his friend, called to his aid the prophet Jonas: and Calvin allowed himself to be persuaded, and consented to remain at Strasbourg to preach the gospel there: "So that," says the exile, "being frightened by the example of Jonas, which that excellent servant of God, Martin Bucer, had proposed to me, I continued the office of teaching theology."§ Sturm, in his *Antipappus*, has furnished us with some details concerning the literary life of the reformer at Strasbourg: "After three years' abode in that city," says he, "I saw Calvin come, who was, by the magistrates and theologians, appointed lecturer of the academy, and preacher at the French church of St. Nicholas. The gospel of St. John was the first book that he expounded. He disputed in the gymnasium. He had a dispute with the dean of Passau, who maintained that works engender faith. James Sturm had been selected to preside at the discussion, assisted by other professors. He here revised his book of *the Institutes*, completed his work, chastened his thought, and expunged those antilogies or contradictions with which he had been reproached."||

Calvin led a laborious life at Strasbourg. He preached in the evening, gave lessons in theology in the morning, and laboured till late in the night, to prepare a new edition of the book of his affection. In the first edition of *the Institutes*, he had interjected, so to speak, some few phrases of pity in favour of the heretic, whom he did not exile from christian society, but allowed to dwell in quiet in the midst of the evan-

*Epist. Petro Viret. sub. fine Maii. 1538. MSS. Gen.

†Nos enim te fratrem in Domino libenter ac cum gaudio agnoscimus, ac pro eximio ornameto ecclesie amplectimur.—Epist. 23. 1540.

‡Er führte sogar das Beispiel des Jonas an, und das erschreckte mich so, dasz ich von Neuem das Lehramt übernahm.—Paul Henry, i. I, p. 212.

§ Calvin's preface to the Psalms.

||Joh. Sturmii Rectoris Arg. Antipappi tres 1579.—Quarti Antipappi, Neapoli Palatinorum, 1580. p. 20, 21.

gical flock.* His exile from Geneva had rendered him cruel, and in his revision, some passages relative to innovators are remodeled. He foresees the future; he fears, if ever he shall condemn a heretic, that they will be able, by opening his book of Institutes, to reproach him with the blood which he will shed.† He has even put his inflexible dogma into practice. Strasbourg had excommunicated a christian, named Alexander; Calvin having been consulted, forbids his brethren to receive him; he will not even have an interview with him; he drives him away, when he comes to knock at the door of his dwelling.‡

Moreover, he was imitating the Saxon monk, who at first invoked the word only against his adversaries, when he was in his nest of Wartbourg, and who, at a later period, threw far away this blunt weapon, to seize a sword with which he smote, with edge and hilt, all who troubled him. The reformation has always begun by the word, and ended with the sword.

The sermons of Calvin were fortunate; he had converted to his doctrine, concerning the Lord's Supper, some of those christians who resembled the Hecebolics of Erasmus, and changed religion as they did "a shirt." The senate, to testify its gratitude to the French preacher, conferred on him the rights of citizenship.§ The oral lectures of the theologian had the power to assemble the crowd, and to attract from France numerous pupils, and some humanists who were desirous of becoming acquainted with the Calvinistic doctrines.||

But all the thoughts of the exile still reverted to Geneva; it was a cherished image which haunted him day and night. In each of his letters to Farel, we perceive the spite of a vain nature, who found preferred before him men without science, such as those who were preaching the evangelical word at St. Peter's; the wrath of the theologian, who delights to ferret into their private lives, to justify his murmurs and complaints; the malignant joy of the exile, who is pleased to display the miseries of the church which has driven him away; the hope of the despot, who beforehand is making arrangements in turn to oppress his oppressors. We have no need to read his epistles, in order to understand all the gall there is in him, all the bitterness and hatred; the superscription by itself shows the state of his soul. He writes to the Gene-

*Quibus (Institutionibus) nihil post addidit quod cum primis pugnet.—Joh. Sturmius.

†See chapter concerning *the Christian Institutes*, in this work.

‡Epist. Farello, 27 Oct. 1539.

§In the archives of Gotha, fol. 738 and 739, we find the passages relative to the right of citizenship conferred on Calvin.—"Johannes Calvinus, hatt das burgerecht kaufft, vnnnd diedt zun schneidern. Dd. Dinstages des 29ten July An. 1539. Jo Beyer, v. Thomas. Heinrich von Daxstein Rentmeister."—Vff. den 30 tag July 1539, ist Johannes Calvinus vff vnnsrer Herren der statt Strasburg Stall erschienen vnnnd sich angeben let der ordnung vnnnd vill dienen mit den schnydern. Die drin verodnete Herrn vff der Statt Stalle."

||Placebet enim tum sanatus quod ecclesia Gallorum apud nos quotidie magis atque magis augetur, et quod ex Gallia multi propter Calvinum accederent, studiosi adolescentes, atque etiam literati viri.—Antipapp. IV. p. 21.

vese:—"To the faithful of Geneva during the dissipation of the church."*

For Calvin, there is at Geneva no more church, no more ministry, no more gospel, no more religion; Geneva has relapsed into papism, and into that idolatry wherein it was waiting for the light. Bonnivard, in his manuscript history, affirms to us, that "the city had opened its eyes to the rays of the gospel, in 1535." What, then, has become of these rays? they are obscured since the exile of Calvin. Geneva, however, has no more Catholic priests; it has proscribed images; it has overturned statues, prostrated the cross, demolished monasteries, driven away the nuns; does it not behold the signs of evangelical resurrection? Its church is dissipated, because it has exiled one of its pastors! This is the crime which Calvin did not know how to pardon. He makes out that "it has been by the vocation of God that he was joined to the Genevese, and for which it could not be in the power of men to dissolve such a tie."—Admire the logic of passion. Calvin refuses to his church the right to drive away one of its members, and at that very moment, he introduces into his new edition of the Institutes, a chapter on ecclesiastical discipline, wherein he divides, between the magistracy and the priesthood, the charge of *correcting abuses*,† and confers upon the minister the power of banishing from the table of communion, "the pagan sufficiently bold to approach it." He does not repent for having refused the Lord's Supper to the faithful at St. Peter's; he believes that he fulfilled the duty of a good pastor, and obeyed the discipline of the true church. Behold, then, he writes to Farel, the sad condition of a society, which should not have the power to repulse unworthy men, branded with infamy, and who bear shame written on their foreheads!‡

Of all the ministers, Calvin was the only one at Strasbourg not married. Erasmus laughs at this carnal fury, with which the reformed society was tormented. In Saxony, they gave as definition for a preacher, "a man to whom a wife is more necessary than daily bread."§ At Strasbourg this malady already dated far back. In 1525, some priests, after having perused the writings of Zwingle, had got married. The bishop was desirous to cite them before the tribunal of the official, but the magistrates invoked the privileges of the commune, and enjoined on the married priests to decline the episcopal jurisdiction. The bishop had summoned them to Hagenau. During this struggle between the two powers, these priests published their memoirs; a real confession, written in some bad place, in which they accused themselves of multiplied infractions of the sixth commandment of God, in a style which would bring blushes to the brow of the reader. The magistrates thought well of this courageous effrontery, and rewarded them by driving away some old vicars, whom they divested of their livings, in order

*Strasbourg, October 1st., 1538.

† In corrigendis vitiis mutuæ debent esse operæ. p. 440—444.

‡ MSS. Gen. May 1540.

§ Prædicans Lutheranus est vir, uxore magis necessario instructus quam pane quotidiano.—Laurentius Forer, cited by Weislinger. Frisz Vogel, oder Sturb. p. cclxxxvi.

to give them to these men of scandal. Celibacy was no longer regarded as any thing but an impure state, which the christian soul has not sufficient strength to sustain. Power had turned theologian: did it come across a young Levite, it quoted to him the text of St. Paul: "It is better to marry than to burn," fortified by certain glosses, stolen from Capito, Bucer, Hedio, or John Sturm. When power had not the gift to convince, it resorted to force, and drove the disobedient priest from his charge. There were at Strasbourg some great falls: the church deplores them.

The Catholic priest was then living by the altar; when he was driven out of the presbytery, he had no resource for nourishment but the charity of the faithful. At that time, the sympathising christian was the poor labourer, whom the pest, common at that epoch, whom sickness and misery often prostrated upon his couch. The rich man, was then generally a great vassal, who coveted the treasures of the abbeys, the coffers of the church, the chalices of the sacristy, and who laboured with all his might for the emancipation of convents. By each secularization of a monastery, he gained a meadow, a vineyard, a house, for which, hitherto, they only paid him rent. When the poor man's door could no longer be opened to him, the dispossessed priest had only one of two parts to take: either to address himself to the magistrate, that is, to deny his faith and to marry, or to set forth on the way of his exile. Now, this way, infested by robbers, who, perhaps, might have let him pass, was guarded by the armed men of great seigniors, who killed him as an accusing victim. Sickingen, who had vast possessions, reaching to the very gates of Strasbourg, delighted to use this expeditious justice. When the way of controversy had not been successful, he resorted to water and the sword.* You can now understand the fallings of the Catholic priests. These were more numerous at Strasbourg than any where else, because the feudatories of the empire had enveloped the city as with a net. The more remarkable was the fall, the richer was the reward given by the magistrate. The richest living of the city was bestowed upon a vicar, who had published the bans of his own marriage at the Sunday sermon.† The reformation should not show itself so proud of these apostacies, purchased at so high a price. Beza and Laplace have seen in these forced marriages nothing but the finger of God; had they wished, they might have found, at the nuptials of the priest, a knight, quite cased in steel, with gauntlet sharp as the claws of the eagle, first witness, and gentleman of honor to the bridal parties.

The marriage of Calvin was a cause of joy to Strasbourg; at Geneva it occasioned no surprise. Calvin had been for a long time meditating this measure. In the midst of his literary labours, absorbed by his books, with his head full of his commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, and of his treatise upon the Lord's Supper, he occupied himself with his bosom friends about the choice of a wife. He traces to Farel the portrait of her, whom he desires for a companion.

* Sickingen had a third means of converting the traveler to the gospel—*Emasculabat virum.*

† History of the province of Alsace. t. II.

The form is not for him a matter of consideration ; the young maiden will be deemed a pearl of beauty, if she be chaste, modest, economical, a good housewife, patient,* and above all, if she love to wait on the sick. Calvin had frail health, an enfeebled stomach, a brain of fire, the arduous of which could not be moderated by sleep, and also he had dispositions to the gravel. He added, laughingly, that his friend should procure him such a treasure, as soon as possible, that he would be happy to possess it.† Farel did not find this treasure.

He was offered a person of good family, who would have brought him a fine dowry ; but Calvin objected : he dreaded lest the child should be too proud of her birth ; lest, into his household, she should introduce a pomp and display, which would have been in marked contrast with the simple tastes of the husband. Besides, she did not know French, and Calvin, in marrying, would be very glad to get a person who might serve him as secretary, as nurse, and as cook. The father and mother were urgent with the refugee, who did not dare give an abrupt refusal, but ended by making it the condition of his consent, that their daughter should learn French. The lady, on her part, feeling her pride wounded, asked time for consideration. Calvin was saved. He had despatched his brother to Geneva, who was to bring back for him a Swiss girl, without fortune, but endowed with all the virtues dreamed of by the reformer, who, beforehand, had arranged the nuptials, determined their celebration for the 10th of March, and invited Farel and the ministers of Neufchatel, in case his friend could not come to Strasbourg ; and Calvin leaped for joy, like a child, at the risk of appearing very ridiculous if his dreams were not realized, which, in fact, occurred. For, some days after, at the moment when every thing for the nuptials had been arranged, he wrote : “Do you know, Farel, if you wait for my marriage, before coming to visit me, you will wait yet a long time ? Nothing is wanting to me but a wife, and I do not think that I ought to hunt one any longer.‡ Claudius and my brother had lately made espousals for me ; but three days after their arrival, I was informed of certain particularities which forced me to send my brother back, and the marriage has been broken off.”

Calvin was not more fortunate in behalf of his friends. Viret, who was anxious to get married, was seeking a wife on every side, and no one would have him. At last, he resolved to address himself to Calvin, who, in his turn, undertook to search out a companion for the pastor of Lausanne, and found one immediately ; good news, which he hastened to announce to Viret : “I have found what you asked for ; I

*Hæc sola est quæ me illectat pulchritudo, si pudica est, si morigera, si non fastuosa, si patiens, si spes est de mea valetudine fore sollicitam.—Epist. Farello, 19 Maii, 1539.

† Quanquam ridiculum me facio si contigerit me ista spe decidere ; sed quia Dominum mihi adfuturum confido, perinde ac de re certa delibero.—6 Februarii, 1541. MSS. Gen.

‡ Sed vereor ne si expectare velis meas nuptias sero venturus sis. Nondum inventa est uxor et dubito an quærere amplius deboam. Nuper mihi puellam desponsaverant Claudius et frater meus. Triduo postquam redierant, delata sunt ad me nonnulla quæ me coegerunt fratrem remittere quo a conventionem illam nos expediret.—Farello, 21 Jun, 1540. MSS. Gen.

have the best information concerning the maiden; I am now sounding the father, and when I shall learn something, I will tell you: be ready for the affair. I dine to-day with the family. I have seen the young person; a modest air, fine countenance, and something noble and beautiful in every feature, and in the whole person; they say that she is wise; the little John is desperately in love; adieu.”*

But Perrin and Corneus, who were desirous of marrying Viret to the daughter of Ramée, spoiled the work of Calvin, who was left at a loss to explain the matter to the father and mother. He wrote to Viret letter after letter, and the responses always arrived too late. We are certain that his system of predestination cost him less anxiety than the marriage of his colleague. It is manifest that he is at the end of his patience, and weary of that part of go-between, which he played so badly; a part not suitable for him, a young man of sententious phrase, of austere forms, and whose lips are not more accustomed to a smile than is his style. In Germany, all important matters are disposed of at table, between two pots of beer; now, Calvin loved neither beer nor bar-rooms. Viret had selected a poor matrimonial agent. If there was ever in this world, a man who did not understand how to marry off young ladies, it was Calvin. Luther, the pamphleteer, orator, poet, musician, would not have failed in such a mission. He would have summoned the father, and poured down his throat, in copious draughts, Rhenish wine, stolen from the cellars of some monastery, all the time plying the ears of his boon companion with sallies against monks and celibacy, against the Pope and the bishops; and the last bottle would not have been uncorked before the father would have pledged his hand to the match. Calvin repeated to Viret: “Come, then, come and arrange all that for yourself.” Viret could not budge. The father at length grew angry, declared that he would marry his daughter only at Geneva, and not at Lausanne. Calvin would not yield but in the last extremity. He said to the father: “It would not become us to abandon our churches to follow our wives: an unfortunate hymen, formed under such oaths; an impious compact, which would be displeasing to both parties; a bad example, which you would give to the city! And, besides, Lausanne is not so far from Geneva, that you could not easily visit it when you might wish.”†

The father would not listen to reason.

Calvin tried to console Viret, by offering him, as wife, a widow of whom much good was spoken.‡

Farel had not, like Calvin and Viret, time to wait. His back was bent by age, his hair was quite white; his fine red beard had assumed the colour of snow: he sought less for a wife than a nurse; he found one in his servant.

Calvin finally succeeded to meet with the wife he desired, a little dark,

* *Bis eam vidi: modestissima est, vultu et toto corporis habitu mira decora. De moribus ita loquuntur omnes, ut Johannes parvus mihi dixerit se esse in ea captum. MSS. Gen.*

† *Ostendi quam foret absurdum nos relictis ecclesiis, sequi quo uxores vocarent, infelix fore conjugium quod hac lege sancitum foret. MSS. Gen.*

‡ *De quadam vidua locutus est quam tibi asserit mire placere.*

as to the skin, says the chronicle, but beautiful and well-formed; the widow of an Anabaptist, whose house he frequented at Strasbourg, and whom he had converted. She was called Idelette, or Oudelette de Bures; her husband was named Stœrder. If we are to credit the accounts of Protestant writers, all these wives of the reformers were angels of meekness, of modesty, of virtue, whom God seems to have created expressly to be the ornaments and happiness of their husbands. Lucas Cranach has left us a portrait of Catharine Bora, the wife of Luther, with her cheeks covered with burning vermilion, with auburn tresses, with an eye surmounted by a soft silky brow; a true beauty of Rubens. Beza represents Idelette as a grave, honest, agreeable woman.*

The nuptials of Calvin were celebrated *en famille*; the consistories of Neufchatel and Valengin were represented by their most distinguished members. At the festal board, they sang German and French verses. Idelette was a good manager, very careful, very neat, and for dowry, brought her husband several children, whom she had by Stœrder, and whom she loved with a mother's true love. Calvin renders her this fine testimony; and he adds, that she gave an example of all the domestic virtues.†

Papire Masson and James Desmay have written, that "Calvin never had a child," and Florimond de Remond said, that "his nuptials were condemned to perpetual barrenness, notwithstanding that Idelette was still young and beautiful." This is an error which Beza has removed. It is certain that he had a son, who died at his birth. Calvin supported this loss with a courage rather too pagan. The godfather was selected, but the mother had received a hurt, and was delivered before her term: two lines directed to Viret inform us of this misfortune: "My brother will tell you of my grief; my wife was delivered of a dead infant; may God watch over us!"‡ And in another place, he says: "God has been pleased to strike us by the death of this child; but he is a father who knows well what is best for his son; may God assist you. I would be glad it were permitted you to come here. We should 'chat' together for half the day."

And this is all! not a word more about this child, whom God had taken from him; about this first-born, whom he was not allowed to embrace, and in whom he was to centre all his joy, and all his hopes for the future. Is this the language of a father? God did not forbid him to weep, to pour forth his sorrows into the bosom of his friend, to tell him of his tears, and of those of the poor mother. Calvin is right; God does well all that he does; he does not permit John of Noyon to become a father a second time.

While God thus smote Calvin, the city of Geneva presented to the view a sad spectacle. The word of God was delivered up to certain preachers of the lower rank, who scarcely knew how to read, and who,

*Gravis, honestaque fœmina, et lectissima.

†Singularis exempli fœmina.

‡Uxor enim parturit non sine extremo periculo, quod nondum uterus partui maturus erat; sed Deus respiciat nos.—Ep. 508, Lausanne edition.

in their sermons, as often assaulted doctrine as they did grammar. As their symbolism reproduced the contradictory teachings of Luther and of Zwingle, of Osiander and of Ecolampadius, of Carlstadt and of Melancthon, the idiom which they used was a medley of German, Italian, French, Latin, and of Savoyard patois. The commune, which had laid a greedy hand upon the goods of the clergy, left these ignorant ministers in a state of destitution. Calvin, in his correspondence with his friends, often finds occasion to blast the imbecility of his successors, but he would not wish that they should cause them to die by famine. At a later period, he had an opportunity, as well as at this moment, to explain himself with regard to the alienation of church property. He does not comprehend how the civil power could appropriate to itself what did not belong to it by any title, to give it away, or to sell it at a low price.*

“It is a spoliation,” he writes to Viret, “which they to-day attempt. What belongs to Christ and the church, belongs neither to the commune nor to the magistrate; when the church shall be despoiled, it will remain waste and solitary. The reformation has no other rule to follow, than that established by king Josias: ‘Inspection belongs to the magistrates, administration to the deacons.’”†

*Hac conditione emit Petrus Vendelius prioratum mille quingentis coronatis, alii vites, alii agra, alii domos.—Ep. Vireto. MSS. Gen.

†Non esse magistratus, quod christo et ecclesiæ semel fueri consecratum. . . . Fieri posse ut, cum nihil ecclesiæ reliquum fuerit, ea occasione relinquatur deserta ac solitaria.—Vireto. MSS. Gen.

CHAPTER XX.

DOCTRINES OF CALVIN.

PREDESTINATION—FREE WILL—1539—1540.

The Sacristan of St. Pierre-le-Jeune at Strasbourg.—Dispute at the tavern of the Green Tree.—That with God, the only motive to save or reprobate is his own good pleasure.—There is no innocent man.—The Lord does not permit, he ordains.—The horrible decree.—God wills the salvation of the elect only.—He commands sin.—The work of the sinner is the work of God.—In man there is no liberty.—Concupiscence.—An exposition of Calvin's system of predestination.—The reformed church vs. the Protestant church.—The Sacristan's tomb.*

In 1524, when the reformation drove away the curé of St. Pierre-le-Jeune, at Strasbourg, the sacristan of the church was involved in the disgrace of the pastor. This sacristan was an ancient *enfant du chœur*, who, in the convent of the Dominicans, had received a monastic education, and had studied the scholastics with a kind of passion. His memory was happy. He easily retained all that he heard or read. The scholastics had infused into him a taste for disputation. Often, after having served the mass, he would, upon the church pavement, engage in a discussion, with any passer by, upon some point of dogma, or of Catholic discipline. On the day on which the Lutheran minister, by order of the magistrate, had taken the keys of St. Peter's church, Gerard Kaufmann attended the intruder to the sacristy, in order to engage with him in a regular disputation concerning the mission of the new comer. The Lutheran, for his only response, ordered that Gerard should be driven away, who, as he departed, murmured to himself against the ignorance of the prebendary. Gerard had an aged mother, whom he was supporting; the magistrate had pity upon the son, to whom he offered the post of guardian of the cemetery of the city. To prevent his old mother from perishing with hunger, Gerard accepted the place. It was, besides, a post much coveted in the city, which was often visited by the pest. In 1541, so cruel was this scourge, that they were forced to double the number of grave-diggers. It had raged on the Rhenish banks, where it struck, as if designedly, the most illustrious heads of the reformation. The

*I must inform the reader that this chapter, in which Calvin's doctrines are exposed so dramatically, is translated from a Latin work, published in 1743, at Strasbourg, under this title: *Joh. Calvini de predestinatione systema*, in 12. containing 144 pages, which I met with in the library of Mayence, under no. 26. 160. A. B.

cemetery was common to the two religions; but each denomination had there a separate corner of earth.

In 1540, on the vigil of the feast of St. John the Baptist, two coffins entered this asylum of peace at the same moment; the one belonged to a Lutheran; the other to a Calvinist. Each minister recited the liturgical prayers; then the grave-digger took his shovel, threw in the earth, and covered up the coffins one after the other. This accomplished, Gerard shut the gates of this city of the dead.

It was summer. The cemetery was sufficiently distant from the city. At the entry of the suburb, there stood a public house, whose sign was a green tree, and where on Sundays persons assembled to drink, and especially beer; the best, it was said, of the whole city and neighbourhood. The two ministers were seated at the same table to rest, having each before him one of those enormous pewter pots, which boast the faculty of keeping the liquor long fresh. Their glasses were full, and the conversation was animated, when Gerard Kaufmann entered. He had recognised the heretics.

"Brethren, your health," said he, swallowing at one draught a full glass. The ministers made a slight sign with the head.

"*Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur*," said Gerard.*

Nobody answered.

Then Kaufmann, casting on the table some pieces of copper: "Gentlemen," said he, "are your two souls worth these three *graschen*?"

"I hope firmly," said the Calvinist, without emotion, "that the soul of my brother has seen the face of the Lord."

"And yours?" said Kaufmann to the Lutheran, smiling.

"God is faithful to his word," said the Lutheran, "and I also hope that my brother is in the glory of God."

"Truly!" added Kaufmann, "and what then must one believe in order to gain heaven? Let us know; teach me, if you have any concern for the living."

It was easy to perceive that the tavern was about to be transformed into a school of theology. The assistants had drawn near.

"What must one believe?" said the Calvinist: "Master John teaches thee, each day, at the French church. Listen then!

PREDESTINATION.

"In drawing his creatures out of nothingness, God had a double will; to save some and damn the rest. Open the holy books; does he not predestine Jacob to life without regard to the works of the patriarch? Esau to death, who was soiled by no sin?" †

"Behold," cried Gerard, "a word which seems to me very hard: *durus est hic sermo*."

"And, however," added the vicar of the French church, "It is a word of truth, which thou findest hard, because thy priests have not

*Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

†Calv. Inst. lib. 3, c. 21, no. 5. ‡Calv. Inst. book 3d, c. 22, no. 11.

taught this to thee. How could they have comprehended it; they, from whom the Lord has taken away understanding?"

"Very well!" said Kaufmann, "Master Bucer has devoutly allowed to be adjudged to himself the charge of the pastor of St. Aurelia, with the presbytery, the garden, the furniture, the cellar, and the soutans out of which he has fitted a garment to his own stature, and made a bonnet larger than that of Storch the Anabaptist; and behold, you now speak evil of the priests whom you have driven away, pillaged, robbed, probably to accomplish the divine precept: "Thou shalt not take the goods of another." But proceed then: Master Andrew, proprietor of this establishment, who, I think, has been re-baptized and is a re-baptizer, has made more than one grimace while listening to you."

"What does it matter!" said the Calvinist. "What I say, I hold it from the Lord, whose word I preach, in spite of all papists and Anabaptists, even should they have three crowns on their heads. I continue:

"The good pleasure of God, is the sole motive of the grace which he gives to his elect, as of the punishment with which he strikes the reprobate."*

Kaufmann arose, quite angry. "Thou calumniatest Master John Calvin," exclaimed he, striking his glass on the table where he had been seated; "I have often listened to the preaching at the French chapel on Saturdays, and never did my ear listen to such a doctrine."

"It is," responded the Calvinist, "because thou hast ears to hear, and dost not understand. The rest of you, papists, are all thus: you have not the understanding of the divine word."

"Luther, the ecclesiastes of Wittenberg, has often reproached you," interposed the Lutheran, "with being nothing but blockheads, moles, hogs, dogs, asses."†

"Gather these," said the grave-digger, bowing to the Calvinist; "it is to you sacramentarians, that Master Martin addresses these soft words."

"But, by what right," he added, still speaking to the Calvinist, "does the good God thus damn creatures from whom he has received no offence? He is almost as unjust as Sickingen, who judges the faith of a man by the dress he wears. He is a capricious tyrant, senseless, whom I deny for my Lord."

"It is thou, that art senseless," responded the minister. "Who has permitted thee to measure God by man! to cry out: 'Why! why!' It is because he has willed it; because out of himself there is no determining cause; he wills because he wills; dost thou well understand? Life and death, suffering and joy, hell and paradise, every thing is just, since he has willed it. Thou insistest; take care, thou tryest to fathom an abyss impenetrable to thy eye and to mine."‡

*Inst. book 3d, c. 22, no. 11.

†Ausculta tu, porce, canis, asine; Contra fanaticos sacramentariorum errores. t. vii. p. 379.

‡Ubi ergo quæritur cur ita fecerit Dominus, respondendum est, quia voluit.

Gerard, while listening to the orator, was seeking in his head for a text which might close the Calvinist's mouth; on a sudden, his eye lighted up with joy, his lips smiled, and seizing the hand of the disputer, he said: "Thou hast not then read St. Augustine:—'Thy God is unjust, who condemns the innocent.'"*

"And who has said, that I was speaking of the innocent? There is no one innocent. Man has sinned. It is original sin which is the cause of his damnation, or of his predestination."†

"I have thee there, bad scholar," rejoined Gerard. "Therefore, it is no longer as creator, but as judge, that he saves or damns, that he gives life, or kills! Therefore, out of himself, there is cause of salvation or of reprobation! This is clear!"

"Not so clear as thou thinkest; for, before original sin, the reprobate had been already predestined to damnation, by a divine decree; a decree which from all eternity is in God. If they perish, it is because they bear the pain of the fault, into which Adam fell, by the order of God. Therefore, as Master John has said and taught, glorification or fall, life or death, happiness or misery, every thing flows from the good pleasure of God; God has willed all."‡

"Shouldst thou exclaim louder than Capito; shouldst thou make finer gestures than Bucer, I would still answer thee: Thou encloseth thyself in an argument for which I would not give thee a glass of beer. For, if Adam has been condemned because of his sin, there was then in his punishment a determining cause out of God. But tell me, does thy Master believe in angels?"

"In good and bad angels; the former, servants and messengers of God; the latter, fallen natures, whose chief is the demon, who has resisted the will of his creator, the sovereign master and regulator of that resistance; a demon who can do nothing but evil, but who could not do this without the will of the Lord; able to torment the good, but not to overcome him. If the faithful angel has persevered in the love of his creator, it is because God has sustained him; if the bad angel has fallen, it is because God had abandoned him. He has abandoned him because he had been reprobated.§ Dost thou demand why? Because that fall and that glory were in the eternal decrees of providence."||

"Master, take care; thou resemblest a man who by night should have fallen into one of the ditches of the city; he may turn, and turn again, as he pleases, he swims there and finds nothing but mud.

Quod si ultra pergas rogando cur voluerit? majus aliquid quæris et sublimius voluntate Dei, quod inveniri non potest. lib. 3. c. 22. no. 2.

*Quemquam vero immeritum et nulli obnoxium peccato, si Deus damnare creditur, alienus ab iniquitate non creditur.—Ep. 106.

†Inst. lib. 3, c. 22, no. 3.

‡Inst. lib. 3, c. 23, no. 4.

§Angelos qui steterunt in sua integritate Paulus vocat electos: Si eorum constantia in Dei bene placito fundata fuit, aliorum defectio arguit fuisse derelictos. Cujus rei causa non potest alia adduci quam reprobatio quæ in arcano Dei abscondita est.—Lib. 3, c. 23. no. 4.

||Consilio nutuque suo, ita ordinat ut inter homines nascantur ab utero certæ morti devoti, qui suo exitio ipsius nomen glorificent.—Inst. lib. 3, c. 23. no. 6.

The argument crawls in blood as soon as it ceases to repose in the mud; my *why* erects itself against thee still, like the crest of a serpent."

"Why? God wills it because he is the master of his creatures; has he not produced them in the plenitude of his power? could he not have left them in nothingness? If he has destined them to life in this world, to death in the next, it is because he has willed that life, as well as death, temporal or eternal, should serve for the glorifying of his name; heaven or hell equally sings the Lord's glory."*

"Dost thou mean," resumed Kaufmann, "that God permits the soul to lose itself in its way? Then I am ready with the school to repeat: *concedo, I grant it.*"

"No, I tell thee, dull intellect, thy soul does not perish *permissive*, by permission; for God does not permit, he ordains; his will is existence, necessity, irremediable *fatum* or fate. How then does it happen that so many generations have been enveloped, as with a winding sheet, in the fault of their first parents? I know nothing about it. Be silent tongue of a magpie, be silent, and cease to interrogate me. . . . Thou wishest that I should answer thee; I, worm of the earth, clay formed by the hand of God, unclean dust! What am I, to fathom God? Pious ignorance is worth more than rash knowledge."†

"Then, why dost thou dogmatize?" demanded Kaufmann. "Why dost thou make appeal to scripture? Why then dost thou, mere dust of the earth, set thyself up for doctor in Israel? Oh man, who glorifiest thyself in thy misery; who goest forth to teach the nations, who treatest as rash and senseless all science, that seeks to give thee an explanation of the mysteries which God has hidden in the abyss of his supreme justice.‡ But, in my turn, I urge thee, I press upon thee, I seize hold of thy robe and ask thee, if God has not sent his Son for the salvation of that man whom thou hast just laid in the sepulchre, and who, in two days, will be the food of worms, as also thyself and thy master will be in your turn."

"Thou hidest thyself under the robe of Pelagius, a worn out robe, old even to the thread. St. Paul has never spoken of the in-

*God has predestined the reprobate not only to damnation, but also to the causes of damnation.—Beza.

†Iterum quæro unde factum est ut tot gentes una cum liberis eorum infantibus æternæ morti involveret lapsus Adæ absque remedio, nisi quia Deo ita visum est. Hic obmutescere oportet tam dicaces, alioqui linguas.—Lib. 2. c. 23.

Tu homo expectas a me responsum, et ego sum homo. Itaque ambo audiamus dicentem: O homo, tu quis es? Melior est fidelis ignorantia quam temeraria scientia.—Lib. 3, c. 23.

‡To day the Protestant school recognizes the value of Gerard's argument; it accuses Calvin of formal contradiction in the deduction of his system concerning foreknowledge. *Die letzten Worte melior est fidelis ignorantia. . . . Sind eine kritikk Calvins selbst—Denn er geht hartnackig gegen seinen grundfatz, so weit, dass sein Wissen auch verwegen ist, und er stellt als nothwendige Glaubens Regel in den confessions-Schriften auf, was nur angedeutet, und sehr gefarlich ist, fur die gewohnliche Gemuther.*—Paul Henry, p. 319, t. i. Life of Calvin.

dividual, *in persona*, but of the individuality; of the genus and not of the species: *non singulos generum, sed genera singulorum.*"*

"Master," rejoined Kaufmann, "this is a distinction which smells singularly of the school, and I imagine that, on entering here, thou hast left at the door the girdle of some monk, whom thy predestined, Francis Sickingen, has robbed, being no more a lover of monkery than of monks, of the variety than of the species; *singulos generum et genera singulorum.* Thy God appears to me to be made to his likeness, and I do not compliment you in his regard."

"My God," responded the minister, "hates no one."

"How then," resumed Gerard, emptying a large glass of beer, "is it not hating, to predestine a poor creature to eternal punishment?"

"Thou dost never distinguish, thou bad Thomist; to predestine to death is not to hate, but to destinè unto hatred, which is something very different."†

"Again," said Gerard, "like thy Frank de Sickingen, who conceals his armed men, true wolves, upon the route from Bale to Waldshut, rushes upon our monks, robs them, mutilates them *out of love for chastity.* I say and maintain that thy God is a wicked gauntlet of iron, whom I neither love nor could love. His decrees are horrible decrees."

"My God," said the minister, "has no form, and thou desirest to give him one, and to judge him by an image created in thy brain: I say, like thee, a horrible decree, for we could not deny that the Lord, by his foreknowledge, knew the fall of Adam before he had created him, and that he foresaw it only because he had ordained it by his decree."‡

*Inst. c. 23 and 24, concerning eternal predestination.

†Exitio prædestinare non est odisse, sed odio destinare.

‡Decretum quidem horribile fatoor, inficiari tamen poterit nemo quin præciverit Deus quem exitum habiturus esset homo, antequam ipsum conderet, et ideo præciverit quia decreto suo sic ordinavit. Inst. 1. 3. c. 23. no. 7.

"It is said that Calvin here utters a blasphemy in using the word *horrible* in this passage. It is pretended that he calls all the decrees of God horrible, as if he spoke in general. It is certain that this remark is very malicious, and it is used only with a view to render Calvin odious, but very unjustly: For Calvin, by these words, has pretended to say nothing else, but that this decree ought to fill us with dread. Rivet t. 3. in his treatise: *Apologeticus, contra Hugonis Grotii votum, &c.*—Ancillon *Melanges Critiques*, p. 87.

Rivet, Ancillon, and Morus the panegyrist of Calvin, in translating *decretum horribile*, by the words "which ought to fill us with dread," give proof of profound ignorance of the Latin language, or of very bad faith. The embarrassed announcement of Calvin, *decretum quidem horribile fatoor*, sufficiently shows that the translation or meaning given by Catholic writers, is that which Calvin designed to express. Beausobre, author of "The defence of the doctrine of the reformers on providence, predestination, grace and the Eucharist," does not understand the passage differently from Catholics.

In more than one place of his writings, Luther has taught the same doctrine as Calvin. He writes: *Dass Gott etliche Menschen verdammet, die es nicht verdient haben.* Also, *Dasz Gott etliche Menschen zur verdammnisz verordnet habe ehe sie geböhren worden.* Luther's works t. iii. Jen. lat. fol. 207. a. t. vi. Wit. germ. fol. 534. 535. a.

“You may use your utmost efforts,” said Gerard, “you could sooner give to the red stones of our Munster the colour of garlic, than to the doctrine of thy master the appearance of truth. Thy dogmas are impious and horrible : if thou hast come into the world only to preach such doctrine, thou hadst no need to be born.”

Among the guests of the tavern of the Green Tree, who were listening in silence to the dispute on predestination, there was one who had often, by shrugs of the shoulder and head, applauded the arguments of the Calvinist minister. He had open before him a book, and amused himself by turning over the leaves. At the moment Gerard concluded his last speech, he put up his book, and spoke in these terms :

“There is one way to shut the papist’s mouth : God has not willed the death of the impious, in words, I grant ; but by his impenetrable will, I deny : *non vult peccatoris mortem verbo, vult autem eam voluntate illa imperscrutabili*, as master Martin of Eisleben, preacher of Wittenberg, prophet of God, and his evangelist, teaches in folio 446, *de servo Arbitrio*. The God who is preached to us wishes to save all men ; he has sent his Son to call us by his word to salvation : but by his will he damns and reprobates.”*

“What a fine comedian is thy God,” exclaimed Gerard, turning to the unknown. “He resembles Bucer, who acts the dog ; crouching to the sacramentarians of Strasbourg, he whines, flatters them, gives his paw, and afterwards, at Wittenburg yelps, barks at them in company with the big dog Luther ! Thy hypocritical God is worth no more than Calvin’s tyrannical God. Am I a vessel of election or a vessel of perdition ? Has the word been spoken for me ? has Jesus Christ poured out his blood for the former sacristan of St. Peter’s church ?”

“God wills only the salvation of the elect,” resumed the Calvinist ; “it is for them only that he took flesh, that he descended upon earth, that he suffered and died. Also, he as not prayed for all ; his elect are those whom his father wills to save.”†

“But if God have destined me to eternal damnation, what shall I do ?”

“To the reprobate,” said the minister, “God sends a preacher of his word to make them more deaf ; he causes his light to shine in their eyes to make them blind ; he announces his law to stupify them ; he puts the honey of truth on their lips to poison them.”‡

“So then,” said Kaufmann, “God wills sin.”

“He wills it, he prescribes it—he excites us to it,”—responded the minister.§

*In hoc missus est ut loquatur : verbo salutis ad omnes salvandos venit.—Luther.

†On the gospel of John—Inst. lib. 3. c. 29.

‡Ecce vocem ad eos dirigit, sed ut magis obsurdescant, lucem accendit, sed ut reddantur cæciores ; doctrinam profert, sed qua magis obstupescant ; remedium adhibet, sed ne sanentur.—Calv. Inst. 1. 3. c. 24. n. 13.

§Inst. lib. 3. c. 24. p. 13, 14, 15.

FREE-WILL.

“It is God, therefore,” resumed Kaufmann, after a moment’s silence, “who has sent us Bucer, to dishonor our nuns, to rob our churches, to drive away our priests, and introduce the abomination of desolation into Strasbourg?”

“If Bucer be guilty, his work is God’s work,” answered the Calvinist, “as are the incest of Absalom,* the furies of Achab, the treachery of Judas, and the deicide of the Jews. It was satan who, by the mouth of Judas, said: how much will you give me, and I will deliver him up? who exclaimed: *tolle! tolle!* take him away! take him away! But satan is only the minister of the Most High, his submissive slave, who does nothing, and can do nothing, without the order of God, whom he must obey, willing or not, as the clay obeys the hand of him who gives it form. God calls satan, and says to him: take possession of this body, I deliver it up to you; and satan, the minister of divine wrath, sets forth more rapidly than the lightning. God has, beforehand, blinded the poor creature: he has hardened his heart, and impelled him to sin, by taking away from him the power to accomplish his commandments.”†

*Absalon incesto coitu patris torum polluens detestabile scelus perpetrat; Deus tamen hoc opus sum pronuntiat.—Inst. lib. 3.

† Inst. liv. 3, c. 24.

In the sixteenth century, poesy itself did not disdain to speak theology. Here is the title of a very curious book which appeared in the year 1559.

“Les dispytes de Gvillot le Porcher et de la Bergère de St.-Denis en France, contre Jean Caluin, prédicant de Genesue, Paris, par Pierre Gaultier.”

The work is in form of a dialogue. We cite an extract from it.

CALVIN.

Or pour bien entendre le poinct
De ce mérite ou ie me fonde
C'est pour ce que l'homme n'a poinct
De libéral arbitre au monde,
Car de l'offence tremebonde
Qu'Adam fit par Mort mortifaire,
Sa semence en fut si immonde
Qu'onque depuis ne sceut bien faire.

Et cette cause nous disons
Et maintenons pour vérité
Qu'en ce monde icy nous faisons
Tous œuvres par nécessité,
Et que Dieu en Eternité
Prenoit par diuin pensement
Tout bien et toute iniquité
Dont ne se peut faire autrement.

LA BERGERE.

Si tu as quelque bonne robe
Ou autre riche habillement,
Et que quelqu'un te le dérobe,
Il ne sçayt donc faire autrement.

“But,” urged Gerard, “man, in the opinion of thy master, is not then a free agent?”

“Look, now!” exclaimed the Calvinist, “thou comest with thy great question of free-will, which Thomists, Danetists, Lombardists, and Papists, have never been able to comprehend. There is no one truly free, except God. Satan is not more so than Absalom, Judas, or Achab. If satan come, it is because God has called him. If he depart like lightning, it is because God has given him wings of fire. When the sinner falls, it is because God drives and precipitates him into the abyss.* I have already said to thee, that God had, for his own glory, predestined Adam to sin;—for the glory of God, dost thou understand?—and that, in our first father, and in his children, he had effaced the celestial ray, with which he had encircled their brows. In place of that divine light, he has placed impurity, impotence, vanity, and that hereditary train, which is termed *concupiscence*, the portion of every creature on earth.† From that concupiscence, sin is born, as the worm springs from filth, and corruption from fermentation.”

“Master, I stop thee,” said Kaufmann. “Is this a new doctrine thou bringest us, like that of John in the desert, or of the Son of Man in Judea? or hast thou fished it up out of some unclean sink of heresy?”

“It is a new letter which I teach. Master John avows that the dogma of free-will has been proclaimed in the eastern and western church; but what signifies the voice of your fathers, your doctors, and your pontiffs? There is in man no such free-will as is taught by the Catholic school. Man, the fruit of sin, can only produce the fruits of death; his will, since the fall of Adam, has been chained with a chain of adamant; it is like a bad tree, which necessarily produces bad fruit.”‡

“Then man is but an incarnate slave?”

Et si ton voysin mesmement
Te donnoit d'un cueur despité,
Dessus la joue fermement
Feroit-il de nécessité?

Si par contrainte nécessaire
Un brigant la gorge te coupe,
Et qu'il ne puisse autrement faire,
Il n'y a point en lui de coulpe.

CALVIN.

Dieu n'est point autheur pour cela
Des grefs péchés que nous faisons.
Mais le dit Adam qui uous a
Perdu la liberté qu'eussions;
Comme petits Dieux nous fussions:
Et sans jamais auoir faict mal,
Ce que plus faire ne scaurions
Faulte d'arbitre libéral.

*In eo obliterata fuit cælestis imago.—Inst. I. e. II. No. 5.

†Inst. lib. II. c. I. No. 4. and 7.

‡Libertate abdicatam, voluntatem dico necessitate in malum vel trahi, vel duci.—Inst. lib. II. c. 3. n. 5.

“Thou art mistaken here : thou goest too far. As God does good necessarily, without ceasing to be free ; as satan, who has no power except for evil, sins voluntarily ; so man, nailed to sin, does not the less act voluntarily.* This necessity is neither the *fate* (*fatum*) of pagans, nor the *fortune* of christians ; it is a necessity which shall be termed *voluntary*, because its mother is the human will, which has freely embraced sin, and made itself the slave thereof.”†

Kaufmann could not restrain himself any longer : he rolled his glass in his hands ; shrugged his shoulders, stamped his foot, and produced that amusing mimicry, which Luther lends to Eck, while listening to Carlstadt.

“Enough, enough,” he repeated ; “you have burned the benches of our schools, and made a bonfire out of our summaries, and now you speak to us a jargon, which our monks had themselves ceased to use, long before the coming of Luther ! A pleasant marvel, is your voluntary necessity ! And what a foolish figure is your creature free amid the chains of sin ! But would you please tell me, what is the principle or motive of action, in that man, made by your hands, for I deny that he was created by God ?”

“Speakest thou of the reprobate or of the elect ?” asked the Calvinist.

“Of the reprobate and the elect,” answered Kaufmann.

“With the reprobate,” continued the minister, “it is the attraction of pleasure,‡ or the sensual appetite. The reprobate, inclined by his will to evil, is dragged to it by the whole weight of the flesh ; the elect abandons himself to good, because he is sweetly conducted to it by the Spirit. With the elect, this entirely immaterial delectation is called *grace*, a sweet charm, which attracts us to God, by the allurements of the felicity which he promises us, as said by master John : nos ad ipsum amandum et expetendum præmiorum dulcedine voluit.—Inst. lib. II. c. 8. Behold Saul ; what attaches him to the Lord ? Is it not the sweetness and goodness of the Creator ?”§

“But,” said Kaufmann, “this grace, or, to use your term, this delectation, could not always be efficacious.”

“Thou speakest like a true disciple of Thomas, whose salvation is very problematical. || This grace can be nothing else but efficacious :

*Ergo si liberam Dei voluntatem in agendo non impedit quod necesse est illum bene agere ; si diabolus, quia non nisi male agere potest, voluntarie tamen peccat ; quis hominem ideo minus voluntarie peccare dicet, quod sit peccando necessitati obnoxius?—Inst. lib. II, c. 3. n. 5.

† Quia voluntas, cum libera esset, servam se peccati fecit.

‡ Delectatione et proprio appetitu movetur.

§ Ut Deum amaret, bonitatis ejus dulcedine capiebatur.—Inst. lib. III, c. 12. n. 12.

|| Probably an allusion to this passage of Luther on St. Thomas :

Per papam errasse sanctos Bernardum, Franciscum, Dominicum et multos sanctissimos viros, non dubito, etc.—De quo numero et sanctus Thomas Aquinas, si tamen sanctus est, nam vehementer dubito, cum adeo nihil olfiat spiritus in eo.—De Thoma Aquino, an damnatus vel beatus sit vehementissime dubito, citius Bonaventuram crediturus beatum. Thomas multa heretica scripsit, et autor est regnantis Aristotelis, vastator piæ doctrinæ. Opera Lutheri. t. II lat. fol. 354, 355, 357, in resp. ad. lib. Amb. Catharini.

“Whosoever has heard of my Father, cometh to me.” Does not the Saviour say this? Whence it follows that this delectation necessarily produces faith.”

“Thou flayest the text,” said Gerard. “If it be true, as Erasmus has said, that thy brethren have never yet been able to cure a lame horse, we must avow that more than once they have lamed and crippled a text like this, which, before, marched perfectly straight.

“In St. John, chap. 6, v. 45, we have: *Omnia qui audivit a patre et didicit, venit ad me.* A double operation: the Creator, who gives his grace, the creature, who consents to receive it; *omnis qui audivit a patre*, behold the gift of grace; *et didicit*, behold the act of free-will; the father, who manifests himself; the child, who consents to hear him. But in spite of thee, I come with the whole force of my argument, and I say to thee: if, sinner and reprobate, thy grace flies from me and escapes, because I am marked with the seal of reprobation, I have an excuse to alledge; I could not do otherwise than I have done; I would say this to thy God, did he summon me before him.”

“But my God would reply to thee immediately: Israel, of what dost thou complain? whence has come to thee this impotence for good, if not from thy corrupt nature? and what gave thee that nature, but thy sin? Now, allow me to explain to thee the whole economy of Calvin’s system.

“God, in creating man, foresaw the fall of Adam, from all eternity. Among his descendants he chose a small number, whom the apostle calls the elect of the Lord, for eternal felicity; the rest, for an endless reprobation; that the salvation of the blessed might manifest his mercy, and the fall of the damned, his justice. He took away his grace from the first man who fell. He has willed only to save the elect; it is for them only that he came down upon earth, that he was crucified, that he died. It is the blood, poured out by the word made flesh, which is the pledge of the salvation of the elect; the grace infused in this blood cannot be lost: it is *inamissable*. This grace consists in the *non-imputation* of sins, and it is by faith only, that it is communicated to the creature. Baptism and the other sacraments are but signs only. The justice of God being infinite, the creature to whom it is imputed has nothing to expiate, either in this life or in the next. Therefore, in the other life, there is no purgatory; therefore, in this world, there are no suffrages for the living. Every action is sovereignly good or naturally evil. Without grace, man can do nothing but sin,—sin is not imputed to the elect. To the elect, God gives an efficacious grace, which incessantly operates good. He refuses this to the reprobate, who unceasingly commits sin, by the instigation of God, of satan his minister, of concupiscence, the fruit of death, and itself an unceasing death.

“This reprobate had been destined to damnation, antecedently to the foreknowledge of all sins, even of original sin, and without any other

*Si quis cum eo disceptare velit et hoc prætextu iudicium subterfugere, quia aliter non potuit, habet paratam responsionem: Perditio tua Israel. Unde enim ista impotentia, nisi ex naturæ vitiositate? Unde porro vitiositas, nisi quod homo defuit a suo opifice. Inst. lib. iv.

motive than the good pleasure of the Creator. He has sinned in the first man, sinned in the womb of his mother, sinned at his birth; he sins unceasingly during this life, even till the moment he falls into the hands of his inexorable judge."

"Behold," said the minister, "the theological system of John Calvin, preacher at the French church of St. Thomas, and which thou canst read in his Christian Institutes, the finest work, as thou knowest, which ever came from the hands of man."

"Let it sleep there," replied Gerard, "till the day of the final judgment, when the trumpet shall summon the dead before the tribunal of the Lord. Glorify thy master as much as thou pleasest, chant him as the king of the schools. I know him, even I: and I tell thee that his cloak is made up of shreds, stolen from the princes of heresy, who existed before him, from Wickliff, Godhescale, John Huss, and Luther: but this Calvin, or Cauvin, has no personal life! He is an automaton fashioned upon a dry carcass, a carcass which the worms have pierced to the very heart, and into which, in a short time, the eye of his own disciples will not dare gaze."

And they separated.

An age later, the Lutherans attacked and pulverized the system of predestination.*

And an age and a half later, Jurieu, the Calvinist, wrote: "We reject all those dogmas of predestination; we reject them as destructive of all religion, and savouring of Manicheism; I say with regret, and in spite of myself, none of ours, at this day, any longer uses those modes of speech fit to cause scandal."†

And yet Beza had said: that "the theological system of Calvin was founded on truth."‡

"The shade of the old sacristan of St. Pierre-le-Jeune, must more than once have leaped in its sepulchre at the noise of the intestine discords of Protestantism. The tomb of Gerard still exists, (1743,) in the cemetery of Strasbourg. What religious revolutions have come to expire at the base of this stone, which covers the remains of a poor creature, who, before the church to which he had so often summoned the faithful to prayer, slept in the Lord, in the year 1560, full of years! It is a popular belief among the Catholics of Strasbourg, that Gerard died in the odour of sanctity. Also, during the time of great tempests, menacing the faith, they are wont to pray to him, as to one of the blessed. The tomb of the sacristan has been preserved by a kind of miracle. We were desirous to behold it. He, who acted as our guide, knew nearly all the inmates of this valley of tears. After having walked for

* *Anti Calvinianus Elenchus*, wherein is examined how Calvinists are reprobated or predestined to hell by the immutable decree of God, according to the Lutherans; by Christopher Seldius, superintendent, minister of Cobourg.

Anti Calvinianus Speculator; by Christ. Althoser, professor of Altorff, superintendent of the church of Kulmbach. Altorff. in quarto. 1636.

Anti Calvinianus Paulus; by Ananias Weber. Leipsick, 1644, in quarto.

† *Jugt. sur les methodes*, etc. p. 143. Consult. de ineund. pace. 214.

‡ At Genevæ collegium ministrorum in publico cætu veram de prædestinatione doctrinam asseruit, publicoque scripto a Calvino comprehensam, comprobavit, caput hoc christianæ religionis. Beza, vita Calvini, ad ann. 1532.

some time through the cemetery, we perceived at the eastern angle a little grove of mallows, quite fresh, from the midst of which arose a funeral monument, eaten by the tooth of time, but on which the eye could still read these words distinctly: *Melior est fidelis ignorantia, quam temeraria scientia.* We felt moved; this stone, which arose out of the flowery tuft, presented us an image of our church, erect after so many ages of combat, and to-day, as lovely in her eternal youth, as when she first defied the doctors of the reformation.”*

* Calvini de Prædestinatione systema, p 37.

The question of predestination in the several systems of Wickliff, Luther, and Calvin, has been profoundly examined by the Jesuit Du Chesne, in a treatise in 4to., which appeared in 1724, under the title, *Du Prædestinationianisme.* Du Chesne is a skillful and polished controvertist.

CHAPTER XXI.

CALVIN AT FRANCKFORT, AT HAGENAU, AT WORMS, AT RATISBON.—
1540—1541.

Double labour of the reformation.—Appeal to a council with a resolve beforehand to reject its decision.—Calvin at Franckfort.—His opinion on the Lord's supper ;—On the ceremonies of worship.—His discord with Melancthon.—Calvin at Hagenau.—Desires of Rome for peace.—Eck, Bucer and Calvin.—Accusations brought against the Genevan reformer by his co-religionists.

At the period of which we speak, the reformation was engaged in a twofold work : a work of proselytism and a work of concord. To accomplish the former, it had need of human aid ; to effect the latter, it was seeking for some voice able to still the waves which it had excited. It was by an abuse of the holy word, that the reformation had entered the world ; by an abuse of the same word, it desired to settle itself down and consolidate its dominion : for the struggle which it had maintained had been ardent and protracted. It had neither feared the tripple tiara of Leo X. and his successors, the iron crown of Maximilian, the long sword of Charles V., nor the devil himself, that grand knight of the reformation, whom Luther caused to intervene in all his combats, with Cajetan and Carlstadt, Eck and Schwenkfeld, Munzer and the Anabaptists. We have, elsewhere, invited you to be present at the hatching of that new word, concealed in an egg, which, it is said, Erasmus had opened with the point of his pen ; a word which at Witenberg, invests itself with a monk's cowl, to affix its theses on the walls of the church of All-Saints ; assumes the robes of a doctor, to speak to emperors at Worms ; then disguises itself with the beard of a knight, at the castle of the Wartburg, to escape the eye of Charles V. ; and finally, seizes the lance of Sickingen, on the plains of Thuringia, to contend with the revolted peasants ; and after all these transformations, again becomes monk and doctor, in order to achieve the rights of German citizenship, sometimes, by means of free discussion, and at other times, by fraud and artifice. We have beheld the electors hiding their faces and wrapping themselves in the mantle of their fears in presence of this word, and to appease its rage, casting before it the soutans of our priests, the capes of our canons, the purple of our bishops, the ostensors of our altars, the precious stones of our sanctuaries, and even the crops newly gathered from the fields of our convents. But gold

was not sufficient to sate the appetite of this new word. It desired to be recognized as the legitimate daughter of the word incarnate. There are moments when Charles V. might be supposed to carry a distaff instead of a sword: he amuses himself in disputation with revolt; to discuss, was to parley.

The new religion had drawn up a formulary of faith which it had named its confession. After having set forth its symbol at Augsburg, it had expressed itself in the following terms:

“If our discussions cannot be amicably terminated, let your majesty (it was addressing the emperor) convoke a general council; we will be present there, we will there plead our cause in the name of God. We appeal to a council.”*

The reformation here was trifling with the emperor, the Pope, and christendom. It had spoken sincerely by the mouth of its apostle. In more than a hundred places of his epistles and books, Luther had rejected all compact with Belial. Search for the word Belial in the protestant dictionary: you will find it synonymous with Pope. But at Augsburg, it was the interest of the reformation to deceive the emperor.

In the mean time, it was acquiring cities, provinces, kingdoms, crowned heads, even bishops. So that when the court of Rome had taken it at its word, it falsified its oath, and rejected every species of council.

At Smalcald, in 1539, the reformation threw aside the mask, changed its character, and resorted to open force, calling to its aid all its partisans, who were found in every part of Germany. Catholicism became aware that its very existence was menaced, and, convoking its allies at Nuremberg, prepared for the combat. The emperor, occupied with the triumphs of his arms, could not leave his finest provinces a prey to doctrines, which threatened the quiet of the whole world. Moreover, enough of blood had already been poured out in Franconia and Swabia. He had recourse to his ordinary remedy; he convoked a diet at Frankfort. Calvin appeared there by the side of Melancthon.

Luther was growing old; God had smitten him prematurely with all those maladies, which afflict men towards the end of a protracted life. He had become deaf; his brain, as he tells us himself, was full of tempests and thunders; his hand, as if struck with palsy, could not

*Histoire du protestantisme par M. Roisselet de Sauclieres, t. 2. p. 378.

Luther did not content himself with protesting in his writings against the holding of a council, he amused himself by ridiculing it in caricatures, which may sometimes still be met with on the stalls of the venders of old books, or, as they are called, of the German antiquaries. In one of these images, the Pope is represented seated on a hog, and holding *stercora fumida* in his hand, the odors of which women and old men are smelling. In another, the Pope is represented surrounded by devils of every colour and shape, whom he is invoking with joined hands, but who, without mercy are breaking to pieces his crown, and collecting the wood, with which he is to be burned in hell. Sleidan has given the description of these two caricatures, lib. 16, fol. 365; edit. of Strasbourg, 1608. Welsingher has re-produced them in his *Frisz Vogel, oder stirb*, p. 94, 97.

pen two lines without causing his head to glow and ache. And as if these physical sufferings were not sufficient chastisement, the wrath of God, according to the just remark of a writer, had come to visit him in his very household. During the lapse of a few years, he had lost two children, one of them a cherished daughter, the model of beauty and innocence. Henceforward, his part, upon the world's theatre, is over; but in dying he left a disciple, Melancthon, who was to continue his master's work, to extend it, symbolize it, and protect it against the just wrath of the Catholic princes, and the caprices of the Protestant electors. The task was great, and far above the strength of a single man. How could he hope to give unity to that word, which changed its signification in each mouth that announced it? Thus, the reformation was, at Frankfort, represented by three men, Bucer, Melancthon, and Calvin; Bucer, that bat whom Luther had already so often pierced to the heart; Calvin, whom he had damned in the person of Zwingle; and Melancthon, a poor traveler in search of a star which constantly fled from before him.

Calvin, before leaving Strasbourg, had developed his system on the Lord's supper, in a letter to Melancthon. Philip had not time to reply. "Master John," he said to Calvin, on seeing him for the first time at Frankfort, "I think as you do concerning the Eucharist."* Calvin, with joy, records this avowal of Melancthon, in a letter to Farel.† He did not yet know the nature of the man, weak even to cowardice, who would not have dared offend, face to face, any one devoted to the common cause. In the evening, when returned to his lodgings, Melancthon resumed courage, hastened to reassure and console his father, promising to remain faithful to him even unto death. And Luther, quite joyous, summoned Justus Jonas, showed him the letter, and drank a large glass of beer to the perseverance of Philip, and to the fall of the papacy.

The imperial legates had come to Frankfort, in quite a bad humour. In the name of their master, they threatened to destroy the reformation in blood, if it refused to recognize the voice of reason. The emperor consented to allow the Protestants to keep the churches which they had seized upon by violence, but he wished to constrain them to make restitution of the goods of the convents and presbyteries. Melancthon, had he only consulted his own conscience, would have yielded willingly; but in presence of the reformed princes, who, according to an old historian, "suffered cruel pangs, when mention was made of regorging what they had too greedily swallowed,"‡ he hesitated, asked for time, advised his friends "to brail up the sails amid the tempest, and wait till God should make his sun shine, when by its light they could labour to destroy the germs of discord, generated in the bosom of the reformation, and to reunite all minds in one faith and a common symbol!"—A carnal soul! said Capito, who did not dare

**Illos enim ad eum miseram quo expiscarer, an aliquid esset inter nos dissensionis. Antequam responderet conveni eum Francofordiæ; testatus est mihi nihil se aliud sentire quam quod meis verbis expressissem.*

†*Epist. Farello, Mart. 1539.*

‡*Florimond de Remond.*

show his God before men, who dreaded the princes of this world! My God! take me from this earth, for I call the Lord to witness, that our poor church is lost, if it continue to march upon this path; if all those whom the Lord has called to the light, afflict his eye by their intestine quarrels.* Calvin's apparition at Strasbourg, had no other success than to introduce new disorders into the evangelical church, for he brought to the reformation a dogmatic word, which he was determined to cause to prevail. His figurative sign, his emblematic bread, his symbolical flesh of the Lord's supper, had wrested from Lutheranism many wavering souls, who began to be revolted, at the miracle of the real presence, and who believed that reason alone, was the shortest way for arriving at the truth.

Each diet was like a halt in the movement: the repose, which they essayed to establish, soon became burdensome to minds so divided: they recurred to oral disputation, which, if we are to believe them, is the only means of terminating religious controversies. At Frankfort, a truce of some months was decreed, during which some king of the two camps was to be selected, who should impose his yoke upon all rebellious minds. The monarch of the reformation was Luther, whom God then held upon a bed of suffering, and whom Germany in vain summoned to each of its assizes, where his voice might have commanded silence. Melancthon, the vicar of Luther, had not sufficient influence to recall the dissenting disciples to unity. He wanted not, as was desired by Calvin, a worship, without life, without light, flowers, and reflectors, despoiled of images, of priests, of bishops, and of liturgies. When Calvin said to him, that all the ceremonies, which the Saxon church had preserved, savoured of Judaism, Melancthon did not dare contradict the preacher of Strasbourg; but he represented to him that too many blows had been struck at Catholicism; that the abolition of all those external forms which had the power to address the imagination, would arouse the complaints of the canonists; and he appealed to time and to Luther,† who approved the pomps of the Catholic service no more than he did the nudity of the reformed worship. Bucer united his voice with that of Melancthon. While contemning our beautiful Latin chants, the splendid images of our temples, the gold of our sacerdotal vestments, the precious stones of our tabernacles, he was, like Luther, disposed to defer to some future time the consideration of liturgical questions: the thing most important for the reformation was to provide itself with a symbol.‡

Calvin departed from Frankfort, surprised at the science, in raptures with the mildness of Melancthon; but believing in the danger arising from visible forms, the last trace of which he would have desired to efface, that the wall of separation, erected by the Saxon monk between the reformation and Catholicism, might be completed. The position of the two theologians was not the same; their opinions ought to be different. Melancthon had assisted at all the phases of a

*Epist. Farello. Mart. 1539.

†Epist. Farello, Ap. 1539.

‡P. Henry, p. 243, and the following t. i.—Hess, t. i. p. 367, and the following—Epistolæ Calvini.

revolution, commenced by the word, and prosecuted amid blood. Calvin, since his arrival at Strasbourg, had as yet only witnessed tournaments, in which on both sides, ink alone had flowed. The professor of Wittenberg was aware that no one can, with impunity, sport with popular convictions; the shade of Munzer incessantly reared itself before his view, to testify that a fanatical spirit, desirous of triumph, is restrained by no consideration, not even by the peril of his life. Besides, at the appearance of each neology, he had a vision of new ruins, and already too many fragments encumbered the path of his progress, for him to consent, with gaiety of heart, to march the same route. He wrote to one of his friends: "All the waters of the Elbe would not furnish me with tears, sufficient to deplore the miseries of the reformation. The people will never submit to the yoke, which the love of liberty has induced them to cast off. We are contending, not for the gospel, but for our own interests. Ecclesiastical discipline is ruined."* Towards the end of his career, he would have wished to cheer his eye with a view of material reconstruction in worship. He sought, before dying, to leave a symbol based upon palpable forms, which would nourish the intellect and imagination. Hence, his desires for a priesthood, modeled after the Catholic priesthood, having its spiritual hierarchy, its pontiffs, its priests, and its altars.

Melancthon was unable to assist at the diet of Hagenau, which was opened in the month of June, 1540. He was retained at Weimar, by sickness. Calvin had set out from Strasbourg to take share in the conference; his part was destined to be only secondary. He was recognized to possess science, dexterity, cunning, but not the slightest shadow of eloquence. He was not the man for popular assemblies: his word could not agitate the souls of men. Involved but recently in the movement of religious ideas, he had but a false notion of men and things. In a letter, which he wrote to Henry de Taillis, he manifests complete ignorance, as to the part which each personage was desirous to play in the great drama of Germany.

"The intention of adversaries," says he, "is to augment their league, and diminish ours; but we hope that God will turn aside this fortune. However this may be, ours seek to extend the reign of Christ as much as is in their power, and have in no wise thought of relenting. We do not now know what it will please the Lord to send us. A portion of our adversaries ask only for war. The emperor (Charles V.) is so much embarrassed that he dare not undertake it. The Pope, on his part, would not scruple to engage in it, for he has already, through his ambassador, made offer of three thousand ducats for its commencement. Should all those who refuse to receive our religion, be willing to assail us, the emperor would make no difficulty to lend his name, were this only for the purpose of breaking to pieces the strength of Germany, that he might the more easily subject it. But there is a grand obstacle; which is, that all the electors, with common accord, are anxious amicably to appease all dissensions, without a resort to arms. The duke of Saxony and the marquiss of

*Ep. l. iv. ep. 100, 129.

Brandenbourg are ours, and therefore they can do nothing else but prosecute their cause."

Calvin was mistaken; Rome desired peace. The Catholic deputies, little jealous of the student of Noyon,* were solicitous for repose. "Eck and the papists," says a historian whose testimony will not be refused,† "desired that they would not agitate those questions which had been decided at Augsburg, in 1530, in the confession subscribed by the Saxon church." But the Protestants wished to remodel a work which included doctrines formerly admitted, but now rejected by them. They withdrew, one by one, all the concessions which their fathers had made to the Catholics. Had not Eck reason to say to them: "At Augsburg, you gave us your exomologesis as if inspired by the Holy Ghost, why to-day do you seek to revise and correct a divine revelation?" They could not agree. They separated, appointing Worms as a rendezvous for another meeting. Luther had foreseen this result, and found means to amuse himself with it: "We are in for our expenses, said he: they did worse than nothing at Hagenau."‡

The conferences, opened at Worms and Ratisbon, seemed destined to be more successful than those of Hagenau. The two communions had their representatives there: Melancthon, Calvin, Capito, and Bucer represented the reformation, Eck the theologian, Gropper and Pflug, Catholicism. Calvin has sketched the portraits, or rather the caricatures of these last: "Pflug is an eloquent man, a skillful politician, a vulgar theologian, a courtier, an ambitious man, but of exemplary morals. Gropper§ is one of those natures divided between God and the world, with whom no one could hold a discussion for the acquisition of glory. You know Eck, that marplot, who spoils every thing he touches. . . . If we come to an understanding with such men, I shall be greatly mistaken."

Calvin here employs the ordinary formula of his master; he calumniates. Eck was an enlightened spirit, who read the very thoughts of his adversaries. This intuition was the result of long experience in the human heart. If he had not the radiant fire of that other Eck who so often disputed with Luther; if he knew not how to poetize a theological question, or to transform an argument into a drama, he had a different gift, which was the talent to set forth a question in an admirable manner. The theologians of Strasbourg, had prepared themselves beforehand for an ardent struggle; they had come with their heads teeming with fine discourses, by the aid of which they expected to fascinate the diet; but they found themselves taxed with the costs of this work of memory, when Eck said to them: "The Protestant school

*Fateor ipsum neque docentem, neque scribentem in ornatu verborum et humana eloquentia eximium.—David Claude.

†Hospinianus, *Historiæ sacramentariæ*. t. ii. p. 310, and the following.

‡Es ist mit dem Reichstage in Hagenau Dreck; ist meine Mühe und Arbeit verloren, und Unkosten vergebliche.—Luth. an seine Frau; *De Wette*, t. v. p. 298, 299, Paul Henry, p. 260. t. i.

§Gropper, in reward for his services to the Catholic cause, received the hat of a cardinal.

has its symbol, as we have ours: this formulary of faith is the one they brought us, ten years ago, at Augsburg, which has since been obstinately retained, published, and spread, by thousands, through Germany. We have combated this formulary, as we propose still to combat it, with the exception, however, of some of its articles, for example, those relative to the Lord's supper, which in part we admit. Do you wish to dispute? We are ready. The papacy has manifested to you how great a desire for peace animates it, in sending to you cardinal Contarini, whose mildness is sufficiently known to you."

Eck said the truth: Catholicism desired peace even at the cost of large concessions, not in doctrines, but in various points of ecclesiastical discipline. Contarini, the friend of Sadolet, and one of the glories of the Roman purple, admitted the necessity of religious reform; the organ of an enlightened pope, Paul III., who was unwilling to descend to the grave, before he had assisted at the reconciliation of his children in Jesus Christ.

The emperor Charles V. thought with the Pope; Melancthon and Bucer were disposed to moderate their language and their pretensions. A reformed historian has signalized the benevolent dispositions of the two communions. Who then will explain to us that sudden transition from hope to deception, from charity to wrath? Calvin, who had received from the church which he represented a special mandate, and who, as he declared, would have sooner preferred to be buried beneath the ruins of his temple at Strasburg, than to be reconciled with Rome. It was necessary then to recur to those disputes, in which, according to the expression of Melancthon, the Lord, who delights in silence, finds his cause so little advanced. The order of the discussions was arranged. The first, the most important, regarded the Lord's supper. At Augsburg, the reformation had recognized the real presence; it now maintained its word, and, by the mouth of Melancthon and of Bucer, it confessed—that with the Catholic church it held firmly, that after the consecration of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are in the Eucharist, truly and really; that the faithful receive them, not enclosed in a material substance, or by a carnal manducation, but spiritually, and by faith.*

Catholicism could not be satisfied with such a confession of faith, in which, by torturing it, could be found two opposing terms, negation and affirmation. Hence, cardinal de Granville rejected this confession, as hostile to the doctrine which it appeared willing to recognize. But during the interval of the dispute, Bucer and Melancthon had essayed to draw up another formula, less ambiguous, it is true, but which pleased the Catholics no more than it did the deputies of Stras-

**Nam et illi docent vere et realiter corpus in cœna præsens esse et dari sumentibus; at non in pane neque ori præsens esse, sed fidei et omnibus quidem cum pane et vino sumendum offerri, sed solis fide sumentibus communicari.*

Nam perspicue testati sumus nos amplecti et tueri omnem consensum ecclesiæ catholicæ, quod in cœna Domini, consecrato pane et vino, realiter adsint et sumantur corpus et sanguis Domini. Testati sumus nos improbare eos qui negant adesse et vere sumi corpus christi.—Hosp. Hist. sacra., t. ii. 314.

bourg. Calvin bitterly censures Bucer and Melancthon for this timid conduct towards a creed, which he stigmatizes as idolatrous.* As they were unable to come to an agreement concerning the enunciation of the dogma, they deferred, with common consent, to some future time, a question which each communion regarded as fundamental.

Eck defended the Eucharistic dogma with a splendour of language which moved the whole assembly. In the evening, he went to bed to rise from it no more. Some days after, he died from a stroke of apoplexy. For a moment, the Catholic world entertained the hope that God would preserve a man of such fine talents: whilst the reformation, watching, with unquiet eye, every symptom of the malady, solicited the Lord, by the mouth of Calvin, that he would deliver it from "that ferocious beast."† How does it happen that Calvin's last historian, M. Paul Henry, has, from his hero's letter to Farel, effaced this death-wish? Did he think it would remain forever buried there, and that no hand would come to drag it from the tombs? Already, in another history, we had surprised Luther, on his knees, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, and beseeching God to deliver him from another Eck, "a hornet, which troubled and importuned him, by its stings."

The blood of Luther, prematurely frozen by diseases, coursed through his veins, as it did at the age of thirty years, when he learned the sad issue of the diet of Ratisbon.—God had heard him, he said, and spread darkness over the eyes of the papists.—Courage, he wrote to Philip, thanks be rendered thee! thou hast stript from the mass its finest gem, the title of sacrament, a thing which I should never have attempted to undertake.‡

Melancthon, in various letters, and among them, in his letters to Luther§ has given long details in relation to the conferences at Ratisbon and Worms. We no where in them see mentioned the name of Calvin. If, however, we shall credit certain historians, the Genevan reformer had a dispute at Worms, with Robert Mosham, at which Luther's disciple was present, and felicitated the sacramentarian, on whom he bestowed the name of *theologian*.|| Melancthon has during his whole life preserved secrecy in regard to this triumph. Nor do we find, in Philip's correspondence, the least word concerning the interviews which he should have had with Calvin. What then becomes of that symbolical fellowship with the Wittenberg professor, which Calvin with such joy proclaims to his friend Farel, when yesterday he was

*Philipus et Bucerus formulas de transsubstantiatione composuerunt ambiguis et fucosas.—Calv. Epist. 12 maii.

†Eckius, ut aiunt, convalescit, nondum meretur mundus ista bestia liberari.—12 maii 1541. Farello.

‡Macte virtute et pietate, mi Philippe, tibi debetur gratia qui missæ potuisti sacramentum adimere, quod ego tentare et aggredi non fui ausus.—Hospin. Hist. Sacr.

§De conventu Ratisbonæ. D. Martino Lutero 1541.—Epistola ad lectorem de colloquio Wormaciensi, 1540.

||Aderat enim Melancthon Wormatiæ in ea disputatione, qua Passaviensem decanum Calvinus percullerat, territum a Calvino, primo Argentinensi congressu.—Antip. iv. p. 21, 22.

still talking to us, concerning the lying opinion (*fucosa*) of Melancthon on the Lord's supper? "It was immediately after their interview at Ratisbon," says Sturm, "that a friendship, which nothing could trouble, was established between these two souls."* We avow that we cannot comprehend the possibility of a union between two organizations so different; the one, pliable and affectionate, the other, choleric and vindictive; the one, a generous combatant, who seeks his adversary, but in the closed lists, in open air, beneath the twofold sunlight of earth and heaven; the other, skulking like a mole in his lodgings, cries out to God: "Lord, deliver us from this wild beast." A long time after Melancthon's death, Calvin recalls the image of him, whom he had beheld at Ratisbon full of life, and he invokes this shade—"Philip, thou who art in the bosom of thy God, where thou art waiting for me in thy happy repose, come, my voice invites thee. How often, when thou wast oppressed by chagrin and lassitude, and sweetly reposed thy head upon my bosom, didst thou say to me: Ah! would to God I might die upon this cherished bosom! A thousand times, have I, on my part, desired to live with thee: I would have cheered thee on to combat; I would have taught thee to despise envy and calumny; I would have placed a check to the wickedness of thy enemies, whose feebleness augmented their insolence."†

Calvin, in eternity, beside the theologian who believed in the real presence; in the same glory with Melancthon, who so often exclaimed anathema, against the sacramentarians!

Whence happens it that Calvin has so sedulously concealed from us Melancthon's marks of affection for his person and his writings? I open the correspondence of the professor, I discover therein abundant effusions for Sadolet, who is calumniated by Calvin; for cardinal Contarini, whose character Calvin tarnishes;‡ for Bucer, whom Calvin depicts as having the nature of a fox; for almost all our Catholic glories of the epoch of the revival, whom Calvin either knows not, or else whose talents he denies. Heaven had given him a true friend in Grynæus, who died suddenly. With what tenderness does Melancthon speak of the labours, the science, and the zeal of the minister of Bale! And yet, Calvin announces this great loss, as if it were a mere ordinary event; his eye had even no tears to deplore the death of his first born. Never do you find him, with some glow and affection of soul, recounting the labours of his coreligionists; his was a soul, jealous of all glory not dependent upon his own! Let him then cease to talk to us about the tenderness of Melancthon, who, during the space of several years, writes to him seven or eight times, and terminates a little

*Etiam in colloquio ita inter Melancthonem et Calvinum constituta notitia est, ut dum viverent ambo nunquam interrupta fuerit charitas.—Sturmius, in Antip. iv. p. 21, 25.

†O Philippe Melancthon! te enim appello, qui apud Deum cum Christo vivis, nosque illic expectas, donec tecum in beatam quietem colligamur, etc.—De v. part. chr. in cœna contra Heshusium.—Op. 724.

‡Quod Contarenus mallet, si potest, nos sine cæde reprimere. Calv. Farello. MSS. Gen.

note with this very dry formula: *Bene vale: Philippus Melancthon.*

Moreover, it was not Calvin who bore the brunt and glory of the tournament at Ratisbon. The Senate of Strasbourg knew full well, that the French refugee could not measure arms with Eck; but it calculated on the theologian, who, a cypher in the pulpit, might, in this conference, take his revenge at his own lodgings; and truly it is there that Calvin might have been able to combat with some éclat. But Bucer ambitioned all the honours for himself, he wished to dispute in public and to lecture at the academy. Nature had lavished upon him, as upon Luther, those exterior gifts, which seduce and bear away the multitude; she had given him a large forehead, above which sported his jet black hair, teeth of showy white, a smile most fascinating, a brilliant eye, a lofty and noble stature, and a woman's hands. His voice distilled honey, or, in case of need, fulminated thunder; but language was the most precious instrument he had received for fascinating his hearers; it flashed like a diamond; a real solar spectrum, in which all colours were produced, so that after having listened to him, each person could acknowledge his word, because he found reflected in it, his own opinion; it was a word, tinctured with Judaism, Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, and even Catholicism itself! His friends would have been puzzled to say to what religion he belonged.* There were some who loudly accused him of Papism.† Never was a student of Cologne or Leipsic more refined in scholastic subtilities. Luther said, that as Abraham, before sacrificing Isaac, had left his ass at the foot of the mountain, so before disputing, should we tie up Aristotle: Bucer had not followed the precept of his master. At each discussion, he appeared always with the same ass, burdened with relics of the school, that is, with *enthymemes* and distinctions, hunting nets, which he spread out under the feet of his adversaries, but in which Eck was not the man to allow himself to be caught. Unfortunately, when Bucer made no impression on his judges, he had recourse to calumny. One day, at the diet, he made his whole auditory laugh, by representing the grave Eck, running like a veritable student to all the princes, to conjure them to reject the articles of conciliation proposed by the Protestants.

—Am I, said Eck on the next day, a light-footed solicitor, who quite recently have had three attacks of fever; I, who am afflicted with dropsy, and compelled to keep close in my room!"‡ Eck got the laughers on his side.

In vain did Bucer seek to take refuge in his thicket of sonorous words, Eck pursued him there, muttering:—poor hydropic as I am, de-

*Bucerus ambiguus et obscuris loquendi formulis sententiam suam proposuit, ut in utram partem magis propenderet colligi non potuerit.—Lavater.
†Traducebant amici Calvinii Bucerum quasi novum papismum erigere.—Vossius. Ep. 457, p. 103.

‡Qui ter febre correptus, aurigine læsus, proxima dispositione ad hydropisim timidus, qui tot septimanis, nunquam ædes exire potis eram, cucurri per aulas principum et eis suggesti ne acceptarent articulos pro conciliatis eis venditos!—Apologia pro rever. et illust. princip. catholicis, etc. Parisiis, 1543.

voured by fever, bedridden, whom you seek to transform into a student, quite hale, rosy, with the legs of Atlas, and the lungs of Stentor; I ask no better than to believe in the miracle: it will be the first of your miracles.

Calvin at last recognizes the Protean clay, out of which the soul of Bucer had been kneaded. It was in one of those moments of intimate confidence, when every thing in the heart is poured out, though afterwards repented for, when it is too late to extract the shaft from the wound.

"You are truly right," said Calvin to one of the friends of his whole life, "in censuring the obscurities in which Bucer loves to envelop himself."*

When he perceived the fault he had committed, he endeavoured to pour a little honey into the wound. Bucer was not the man to forgive: in a moment of humour, he said, but it was to Calvin himself:—Thou! why thou judgest, as thou lovest or hatest; and thou lovest and hatest without reason.†

Calvin, at the diet of Ratisbon, seemed to have modified his opinions concerning the Lord's supper and the forms of worship: he had hid himself in clouds, where the human eye could scarcely recognize him. His friends themselves censured his wavering phrase and ambiguous language. Know, said Lavater, that Calvin was not forgiven by many for his tergiversations regarding the Lord's supper.‡ Others censured him for his ideas on con-substantiation.§

Thus, that grand organization, which the prospect of exile could not cause to bend at Geneva, diminishes before the representatives of the Saxon church. The reason was, because Calvin, like all the other reformers, dreaded the wrath of Luther.

*Tu Buceri obscuritatem vituperas et merito, at nihil est in Bucero adeo perplexum, obscurum, flexiloquum, atque ut sic loquar, tortuosum.

†Judicas pro ut amas vel odisti; amas autem vel odisti pro ut lubet.

‡Multi offendebantur, quod Calvinus diversum quid de cœna Domini tradere videbatur a Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministris.—Hist. Sacr. p. 98.

§Multis videbatur Calvinus diversum quid a Tigurinis de cœna tradere ac consubstantiationi non nihil favere.—Adam: Bullinger's Leben, p. 489.

CHAPTER XXII.

DE CENA DOMINI.—1539-1540.

Divergence of Protestant symbols regarding the Lord's Supper.—Opinion of Carlstadt,—Of Zwingle,—Of Luther.—System of Calvin exposed by Bosuet, and refuted and condemned by Luther and the Saxon church.—The Catholic dogma of Transubstantiation, defended by various Protestants.

I am desirous to exhibit to you all the misery of that word, which announced itself to be a ray from the eternal sun, a shadow of the word made flesh, a drop of the infinite ocean; you shall hear it, in all its splendour, from the mouth of its apostles, and you shall adore it, if you dare. Let the reformation proceed with its work, for it has just implored the Spirit of God, in order to explain these very clear words: *This is my body, this is my blood.*

And, first, here is Carlstadt, whose old German shines admirably in the translation of our Bordeaux counselor, Florimond de Remond.

“ This sentence, *hoc est corpus meum*, is full and perfect, which the Lord has used elsewhere, without making mention of the sacrament.* For this pronoun *Hoc*, has a capital letter H. Now, a large letter indicates the commencement of a sentence. These words have been inscribed in the words of the last supper, as sometimes various expressions are interlaced, and yet the sense is preserved entire. It would have been well, had the interpreters left the Greek pronoun *touto*, and interwoven it with the Latin, saying thus, *touto, hoc est corpus meum*: then it would have been known what this word *touto* signifies: it is a Greek pronoun, which shows a neuter noun. Now, the Latin word *panis* is masculine; therefore the pronoun *touto* cannot agree with it, and cannot support the opinion of those who say that the bread is the body of Christ, for the Greek phrase will not allow it any more than the Latin: *istud panis est corpus meum*. As to myself, I have always thought that Christ, showing his own body, said: this is my body, which shall be delivered for you. For Christ does not exhibit bread, and does not say: this bread is my body; and those lie, who say that the bread is the body of Jesus Christ. These words, *hoc est corpus meum quod vobis tradetur*, are included by points, both at the commencement and end, showing that the sense is not attached to what precedes or follows, but is separate and distinct. Therefore, of necessity, it must be confessed that Christ, in saying: this is my body, showed his own body, and not the bread. . . . As to myself, I as little believe that Jesus Christ is corporally in several places, as I believe that St. Anne had five heads,

*Carlstadt, in dial. de Cœna.

and that the poor little innocent, of whom all Germany speaks, was born with a beard on his chin twelve cubits long.”*

Now, Carlstadt was archdeacon of Wittenberg, a wretched Hebraist, who was the first of the reformers to take a wife, to the great joy of the Saxon church; Luther's second, at the dispute of Leipsic, and who boasted that he had obtained the secret of the great Eucharistic mystery from a familiar spirit, that had appeared to him. Carlstadt entertained a very poor opinion of the science of Luther.†

When the doctor read the singular interpretation of his disciple, he rubbed his eyes, and shook his long locks, as if the mists of Wittenberg had prevented him from reading. Then he began laughing, and with him, Justus Jonas, Aurifaber, Pomeranus and Melancthon, with such loud peals, that the archdeacon heard him, but without being moved the least in the world; for he believed himself favoured with a divine inspiration: a good fortune, of which all the chiefs of the reformation made boast. Carlstadt set himself to commenting upon his commentary, in the pulpit and in his writings, until master Martin had stifled the author amid floods of Bavarian beer. Carlstadt, driven away, went from city to city, with this writing, which Melancthon had stuck upon his back: ‡ “A barbarous man, without intellect, without science, destitute even of common sense, who lives, like drunkards, amidst pots and glasses.” Poor Carlstadt, who drank nothing but water, and who, at the time of his marriage, had been transformed by Luther into a saint of Paradise!§

In 1524, an angel appeared to the curé of Einsiedeln, whilst he was sleeping in the arms of his maid-servant, and this aerial visitant, whose colour Zwingle was never able to remember, revealed to him the signification of the words of the Lord's Supper. Luther resumed his homeric laugh, which, in the reformed world, never after left him, and Zwingle wrote:

“I think that Carlstadt has had a glimpse of a ray of light: but he has not, like myself, beheld the sun of truth; he has not comprehended the mystic meaning of the words of Christ. The body of Christ can neither be under the bread, nor with the bread: the bread is only the sign of an absent reality. || A sacrament is an image, and nothing more; if you make a reality of it, the sacrament becomes God; then,

* Ut innocentem infantem habuisse barbam duodecim cubitis prolixam.

† Langæus in vita Carlostadii,—Schlüsselburg, de Cœna Dom. p. 87. For the dispute *de Cœna Domini*, consult: Marheinecke: Geschichte der deutschen Reformation, t. II. 1816, p. 236 and the following.

‡ Hist. de Cœna Aug., fol. 42, in 2 Conf. Resp. ad Lutherum.

§ At the mass for Carlstadt's marriage, the celebrant recited a prayer which began thus: Deus qui post longam et impiam sacerdotum tuorum cæcitatem, beatum Andream Carlostadium ea gratia donare dignatus es, ut primus, nulla habita papistici juris ratione, uxorem ducere ausus fuerit,” etc.

|| Si sacramentis fidendum est, jam sacramenta Deum esse oportet, ut non tantum Eucharistiæ sacramentum, sed et baptismus manuumque impositio Deus sit. Sacramenta veneramus ut signa et symbola rerum sacrarum, non quasi res ipsæ sint quarum signa sunt.—Christianæ fidei a Huldrycho Zwinglio, ab ipso Zwinglio paulo ante mortem ejus ad regem christianum scripta, Tiguri, 1536.

of the Eucharist, of baptism, of the imposition of hands, you will say: a God, another God, a third God. What, then, is a sacrament? A sign, a symbol. In the Lord's Supper, we do not carnally, but spiritually, receive the body of Christ, who suffered, died, and now sits at the right hand of his Father.* The humanity of Christ is neither eternal, nor infinite; therefore, it must be finite: if it be finite, therefore it is not every where. Therefore, the sacramental words should be taken in a symbolical, figurative, metonymic sense. Let us say:—this is my sacramental or mystical body, the symbol of that which I have assumed and offered in death.”†

Suppose the reformation had been registered at parliament, and accepted as a *lettre de cachet*, behold in what embarrassment the ladies of the court,—the duchess d'Etampes, and queen Margaret,—and perhaps also Morin, the life-guard, would have found themselves, standing between the figure of Zwingle, the impanation of Luther, and the objectiveness of Carlstadt! The prince, then, did well, not to allow himself to be ensnared by the new word; for, at each royal levee, they would have announced some antique dogma, revised and corrected. The ancient faith of his ancestors was worth more than these semblances of doctrine. Honor, then, to Francis I.! Let him, and, especially, let his people be praised, for the rude war which they waged against error, although Zwingle had closed his heaven against them, in case they did not accept his angel and his metonymy.

When the Zwinglian exegesis was thrown into the Wittenberg cavern, the Saxon lion arose, with his mane erect, he lashed his flanks with his undulating tail, and sent forth a roar which resounded even to the mountains of Toggenbourg, and Zwingle was goaded and cut by it.

“Come, now, my good friends of Switzerland,” said Luther, roaring, “where have you found that, this is my body, signifies: this is the figure of my body? Ask the meaning, then, from the little children, who have not yet reached their seventh year, and who, at school, are learning to say: c, e, ce, c, i, ci, ceci. There are bibles in Greek, in Latin, in German: come, now, show us where it is written: this is the sign of my body. You cannot do so. Therefore, silence! simpletons, peasants!”

Ah! had Melancthon been acquainted with Zwingle's bible, printed at Zurich, in 1525, by Chris. Froschauer, what fine food he would have presented to the teeth of Luther! A bible, in which the mountaineer curé has translated the Greek *touto*, the *hoc est corpus meum*, by these

* T. II. de subsid. Eucharist., fol. 249. a, b.

† In Cœna Domini naturale ac substantiale istud corpus Christi quo hic passus est et nunc in cœlis ad dextram patris sedet, non naturaliter et per essentiam editur, sed spiritualiter tantum. Christi humanitas non est æterna, ergo neque infinita; si finita, jam non est ubique. Mens reficitur hac fide quam symbolis testaris. Igitur verba sacramenti non naturaliter ac pro verborum proprio sensu, sed symbolice, sacramentaliter, denominative, *metonumikios*, captanda sunt.—Christianæ fidei expositio.

words; das bedeutet mein Leib, das bedeutet mein Blut;* this is the image of my body, this is the image of my blood. Oh! three times woe to the angel of Zwingle! his wings would have been torn to pieces by the Saxon monk.

Is it not for the soul a melancholy spectacle, to behold these lovers of novelty, coming, one after another, to seize upon some grand Catholic truth, in order to subject it to their foolish curiosity, to their mole vision, to their nocturnal reveries, and proclaiming the imbecility of our great doctors, the blindness of our faith, and the obscurity of our tradition? Luther himself did not always dare laugh at the folly of his disciples; his eye pierced the future, and saw the work, which he had commenced at Wittenberg, abandoned to disordered intellects, who would destroy its whole economy. Then, how sad were his lamentations. "Poor human reason," said he, who had himself proclaimed its omnipotence; "how feeble art thou, when listening only to thy own inspirations! Of these holy words, "this is my body," Carlstadt has miserably tortured the pronoun *hoc* (this); Zwingle torments the verb *est* (is); Ecolampadius applies the torture to the substantive *corpus* (body). There are some who flay the whole phrase, who translate: take and eat the body, which is given for thee, it is this here. Others crucify the half of the sentence, and say: take and eat, this is my body, which I give thee, not really, but symbolically, and commemoratively. Behold, how the devil mocks us!"†

Then, a moment after, the whim again seizes this man, whose laugh kills. He recollects himself, draws his hand across his brow, and, with the comic volubility of a student, commences to recite all the glories of these modern interpretations.

— This is my body,—that is to say, the use of my body and of my blood.—This is my blood,—that is, the glorification of my passion and my resurrection.—This is my body,—that is, the quality of my body.—This is my body,—that is, the mystery or symbol of my body.—This is my body,—that is, the form, the rite, the external representation of my supper.—This is my body,—that is, the participation of bread and wine obtained by entreaty.—This is my body,—that is, the communion and society of my body.—This is my body,—that is, the testament of my will.—This is my body,—that is, this body, which I have created.‡

Then, at the church of All-Saints, the hour of judgment sounded. The souls of all these doctors appeared before the tribunal of Luther,

*Conr. Schlüsselburg, præd. Luth. in theol. Calvin., lib. 3, act. vi, p. 79.

In 1549, the same Froschauer sent Luther a translation of the bible by Leo Juda, or Judæ; the reformer, in a polite letter, entreats him to desist, for the future, from sending him the works which were printed at Zurich.—Mart. Luther's Briefe, t. V. p. 587. Ed. de Wetze.

† Op. Luth., Jen. t. VII, p. 192.

‡ Hoc est corpus meum, id est: hic est usus in corpore et sanguine meo.—Hoc est meritum et gloria passionis, mortis et resurrectionis corporis mei.—Hoc est qualitas propria mei corporis.—In hoc sacramento mysterium mei corporis designatur.—Hæc est forma, ceremonia et actio externæ meæ Cœnæ.—Panis et poculi impetrata participatio.—Hæc est communio et societas mei corporis.—Hæc est extrema voluntatis meæ contestatio.—Hoc est corpus quod creavi.

who did not even take the trouble to hear them, but drove them from before his face, and cast them into hell.*

Some of them appealed from this sentence, ordinarily pronounced in the bar-room, at Wittenberg; and they summoned before their own tribunal Luther himself, with his God impanated, and made by the pastry-cook, and they condemned them to eternal fire. The reformation then acted the part of Catholicism, and Rescius, the Sacramentarian, took the Dominican's girdle, and exclaimed to Luther: "God has withdrawn from thee, and abandoned thee to the spirit of darkness."† That poor Prierias, the ardent antagonist of the Saxon monk, was not allowed, before dying, to enjoy the pleasure of plucking from his enemy's brow, the crown which had been placed upon it by his disciples; this triumph was reserved for doctor Eck, who lived long enough to see him, who had been called the angel of Eisleben, transfigured into a spirit of the abyss.

After the lapse of three centuries, we are astonished at the influence which the apparition of a new heresy was able to exercise upon the christian society of the sixteenth century; we smile, when they inform us that an insolent or comic interpretation was hailed with acclamations and peals of laughter, by a whole people of false doctors, because it called into doubt the infallibility of the church. We are unable to estimate the terror of simple souls, on the appearance of a commentary, often extravagant, upon a dogmatic word, which they believed without examination. At that time, theology reigned supreme over all dominations, as does the sun over the other planets. There was but one focus of truth for all: tradition. What deception for the poor centenary, when they came to whisper in his ear, that the light which had illumined the cradle and tomb of his father, was a false light; that the words, murmured over the head of the new-born babe; that the manna of the desert, distributed to the adult, at the table of the Lord; that the peace, imparted by the priest in the confessional; that the prayers, chanted by the church for the repose of the dead; that the holy oil, with which a sacerdotal hand anointed the members of the agonizing christian, were gross fancies, false and impotent practices, jugglings, invented during the ages of darkness! He must overturn all that he had adored: the light of his doctors, the glory of his martyrs, the halo of his saints, the diadem of his popes. At each hour of the day, some one came and told him: "A star has beamed forth at Eisleben, at the Wartbourg, on the Hauenstein of Bale, at Geneva; ye nations, arouse from sleep; this is the star of the Lord."

Below this theological world, gravitates another world,—that of the arts and of poesy,—to which the first is, what the sun is to the rays of light, and which has a right to be agitated, for commotion in one must extend to the other, and communicate its trouble. Behold what tie unites them together. Has Carlstadt convicted the veneration of images of idolatry, painting loses all material personifications, the enchant-

* Hospinianus, *Hist. sacram.* fol. 344. *Lutheri op. contra fanaticos sacramentariorum errores*, t. VII, fol. 379, et seq.

† *Schlusselfburg*, in *lib. contra Hessium de cœna Domini*.

ments of interior life. Does *Æcolampadius* expunge from our liturgy, all its ancient chants, there is left no more music to delight the ear. Has *Zwingle* broken our censer into pieces, prayer no longer ascends before the throne of God, amid clouds of perfume. Does *Bucer* condemn the invocation and intercession of the saints, the eye of faith can no longer traverse space, in order to contemplate the blessed, beside the eternal throne, presenting to God the tears of the mother or the child.

Therefore, awake thyself, fool, that thou art, poor imagination! Thou kneelest before the image of the Virgin; knowest thou not that the Virgin is nothing more than a privileged creature? Do not longer, at the termination of the evening vigil, murmur, while invoking Mary: mystical rose, morning star, comforter of the afflicted; thou art deceived: Mary is but a daughter of Adam, purer than his other daughters, but unable to hear thy prayers. Come, take away the flowers which thou hast sown before the door of thy dwelling; it is no longer a God made man, that is to pass before thee, as formerly Jesus proceeded through the streets of Jerusalem; dost thou not see, that there is nothing in the host but a symbol and an image? Formerly, every thing touched by Catholicism became a rose, *quidquid calcaveris rosa fiet*: now, all things touched by the reformation, become briars and thorns.

Hence, therefore, you will understand, we trust, the lively emotions which swelled in the Catholic soul, when informed that Calvin was coming, in the wake of so many other innovators, to attack one of the doctrines of the church: the real presence.

What, then, was the new word, which Calvin appeared to preach?

Neither that of Luther nor that of *Zwingle*, but a word producing the realism of the first, and the symbolism of the last; figurative and sensible, in which matter and spirit amuse themselves; in which man, having become God, changes visible appearances, by means of faith, and operates the miracle of the Catholic priest at the consecration.

Bossuet has admirably exhibited Calvin's system:

"Calvin," says he, "teaches a presence quite miraculous and divine. He is not like the Swiss, who become angry when you tell them that there is a miracle in the Lord's Supper: but on the contrary, he grows angry, when you tell him there is none. He ceases not to repeat, that the mystery of the Eucharist surpasses the senses; that it is the incomprehensible work of divine power, and a secret impenetrable to the human understanding; that words are wanting to him to give expression to his conceptions, and that his conceptions, far superior to his expressions, are still far below the elevation of this ineffable mystery. In such sort, he says, that he rather experiences than understands this union: which manifests, that he feels, or believes that he feels, the effects, but the cause is above his reach. This also, it is, which causes him to say, in the confession of faith, that this mystery surpasses in its elevation the measure of our senses, and the whole order of nature, and that, because it is heavenly, it can be apprehended, that is, comprehended, only by faith. In his efforts to explain in his catechism, how Jesus Christ can make us participators of his own substance, whilst his body is in heaven and we are upon earth, he answers, that this is effected by the

incomprehensible virtue of his Spirit, which can easily unite things separated by distance of place.”*

Calvin, who represents body and soul as the elements of the human being, and affirms that the scripture confounds the mind and soul in the same attribute, teaches, that in the Lord's Supper, the soul, or mind, is, by means of faith, nourished with the flesh, and refreshed with the blood of Jesus Christ; whilst the body receives nothing but symbols, that is, material bread and wine. He wishes the flesh and blood to leap, by the power of the Holy Ghost, over the space which separates them from earth, in order to identify themselves with the soul, if the soul be elevated, on the wings of faith, towards Jesus Christ, who reigns in heaven. But before communion, we believe, either a Christ clothed with a body, or a Christ who cannot come under the senses: if we believe a Christ, dead, resuscitated, seated at the right hand of God his Father, what does faith operate in communion, that it has not accomplished before receiving it? Thus, the philosophic system of Calvin floats between the reality and the symbolical, between spirit and matter. Calvin objects: the flesh must be flesh, and the spirit, spirit: now, his definition is defective, precisely on account of the absence of realism or of symbolism, or rather, because of the confusion of the ideal, and the absolute; and notwithstanding all his perspicacity, the reformer was never able to reconcile these artificial contradictions.†

We perceive that Calvin in his symbolism, has broken with the school of Zwingle, while seeking to conciliate it; for he admits a real presence, and a subversion of the order of nature, as does the Catholic school; his miracle surpasses that of the Catholic church, as is remarked by Pelisson.‡ Every manducation supposes a substance, and every substance a place which it occupies: therefore, the miracle he operates is greater than that of the Catholic priest: idealism elevated by faith to the condition of body. In vain, to make his idea comprehensible, does he have recourse to the image of the sun, which strikes our eyes with light, for this light is itself a reality: the sun operates by the effusion of its rays, and Calvin rejects the effusion or impression of the substance. Claude, therefore, said truly, when, on the principles of the reformation, he maintained that the Calvinistic dogma could no more be sustained than Catholic transubstantiation.§

A political idea governed Calvin, in his interpretation of the words of the Lord's Supper. He hoped, should it be adopted, to reunite the Zwinglians and the Lutherans in the same faith; this idea did not escape the notice of the two communions, who censured it as a degradation of spirit to matter. Planck has acknowledged, that the Calvinistic word was aiming, in this gloss of the sacred text, to please the theologians of the two schools. Down to the year 1549, the Lutherans, who were unacquainted with the book, *de Cena Domini*, thought

* Bossuet's Variations.

† Die Gegenwart Leibes und Blutes Christi im Sakrament.—Allg. deutsche Real-Encyclopedie.

‡ Pelisson, *Traité de l'Eucharistie*, in 12mo. 1694.

§ Pelisson, p. 93.

that Calvin had not ceased to belong to the Saxon church.* The destiny of this theological work was by no means brilliant in Germany, since Luther, who must have been acquainted with it, mentions Calvin's name but once, and then only to salute it with an ordinary formula of esteem.†

Moreover, the monk of Wittenberg has done even still better than Bossuet: his words, with the reformed, must possess an influence which would be denied to those of the bishop of Meaux. Luther, to refute the opinion of Calvin, has seized the pen of a father of primitive christianity, of the Sieur Bossuet, as Jurieu terms our great bishop.

Calvin said, that all miracles are perceptible to the senses, and that the priest at the altar cannot enact the part of the Divinity.‡

“But who has told thee,” replies Luther, “that Jesus Christ has resolved in his counsels to operate no more miracles? Has he not been conceived by the Holy Ghost, in the womb of a virgin? Hast thou seen this miracle? Has not the Divinity dwelt in the flesh of Christ? Hast thou seen this miracle? Thou sayest that he is seated at the right hand of his Father: dost thou see this miracle?”§

Calvin entrenched himself behind the verse of St. John: the flesh profiteth nothing.

—Capharnite, exclaimed the doctor, with what right dardest thou affirm that the flesh is useless? It is of the flesh, fashioned from the slime of earth, of fermented mud, of unclean clay, that Christ speaks, and not of that flesh which gives eternal life.

Calvin imagined that his doctrine would re-unite divided minds.

But Luther rejects the concord offered by Calvin: Cursed, he exclaims, be that concord, which thou seekest to introduce amongst christians, cursed in this life and in the next!

The Genevan church had declared that,—as the church of the Augsburg confession agreed with the others, in the fundamental points of the true religion, there was neither superstition nor idolatry in their worship; the faithful of the said communion, who, through a spirit of amity and peace, should unite with the Helvetic communion, might, without making any abjuration, be received at the table of the Lord.||

But in his prophetic visions, Luther had long since divined the fate of this strange hallucination, and cast his curse upon this approximation of the two communions.

—Avaunt! my fine sirs; address yourselves to some other than to me. Had I cut the throat of thy father, of thy mother, of thy wife

*Die lutherischen Theologen wollten mit aller Gewalt die Welt bereden, dasz Calvin bis zum Jahre 1549 sich öffentlich nicht anders hätte merken lassen, denn dasz er mit dem lutherischen Theil ganz gleichstimmig sei.—Plank, Geschichte der Entstehung des prot. Lehrbegriffs. Bd. 5 Th. p. 10.

† Grütze mir achtungsvoll den Sturm und den Calvin.—De Wette, Luther's Briefe, t. V. p. 210.

‡ Talem ergo præsentiam loco circumscriptam statuere qua corpus Christi signo includatur aut localiter, quod aiunt, conjungatur, non est tantum delirium, sed etiam execrandus error, gloriam Christi detrahens.—Calv. *de Cena Domini*, p. 7.

§ Sermo quod verba stent.

|| Aymon, actes de tous les synodes de l'Eglise ref. en France, t. II, p. 501.

and thy child, and were I desirous of killing thee also, while saying to thee : peace, peace ! a fine means to jumble us together,—what wouldst thou say ? Thou slayest my Christ, fanatic, that thou art ; the Christ, my Master, my God, my Father, in his holy word ; thou slayest my mother, the holy church, and my brothers also, and thou darest cry out to me, peace, peace !*

—Ah ! you are not our brethren, said another Lutheran to the Calvinists, and though you boast that your doctrines are not dogmas of faith, nor good grain ; therefore, they are straw, since your theology does not leave untouched a single one of the cardinal points of faith.†

—No, no ! exclaimed Peter Martyr, say no more that the question of the Eucharist is but a vain dispute between you and ourselves : you are mistaken ; for ever let us separate from churches which err, as you know full well.‡

And to stifle the growth of the cockle, it was not merely a fiery, choleric word, that the Lutherans invoked to their aid ; but raillery, after the manner of the great Saxon pamphleteer.

Titus Theodore wrote to one of his friends : “ What does Moiban think of Calvin’s libel regarding the Lord’s Supper ?—Truly, I would say of the author of this, what Martin said of another pamphlet writer : he imitates Gribouille, and jumps into the water to dry himself.”

Calvin, at a later period, understood that he was labouring under an illusion. Then, in the bitterness of his mind, he exclaims, speaking of the Lutherans : “ hateful gentry, who would make peace with the Turks, and give the kiss of brotherhood to the papists, rather than allow us a truce of a few days.”§

Do you remember his interview with Melancthon, at Frankfort, respecting the Lord’s Supper ? he informed us that he had gained over Philip : a noble conquest, and one of which he might well boast. Think you that Melancthon has deserted the impanation of Luther ? We do not believe this ; for, then, what confidence could be reposed in the faith of a theologian who so suddenly changes his opinion. Either this is a gratuitous calumny of Calvin, or an ineffaceable stigma upon Melancthon.

But whence comes it, that the reformation, which so often has made sport of the pretensions of our church to unity, has always pretended to reflect dogmatic unity ? Would it be believed, that, in 1720, a minister of Ratisbon attempted to prove that the Protestant church has

**Nam si cui parentes, uxorem et liberos interfecissem et de eo quoque occidendo cogitarem et tamen dicerem : amice bone, quæso, securo sis animo et otioso ; diligamur nos mutuo, res non est tanti ponderis ut ob eam inimicitias suscipiamus et bellum geramus, etc. . . .—Contra fanaticos sacramentariorum errores. tome. I, folio 382–383. Dasz die worte Christi : das ist mein Leib, noch feststehen. Halle, t. XX, p. 950.*

† Henricus Eckhardus, Præfat. ad Fasciculum.

‡ Fortasse putatis controversiam eucharisticam leve quoddam esse dissidium : quod non ita se habet ; cur a specie taciti consensus non cavemus cum iis ecclesiis quas male sentire certo scimus.—Pet. Martyr. Epistola ad ecclesiam anglicanam.

§ Tam virulento odio in nos crepant ut citius illis pax cum Turcis futura sit et cum papistis fraternitas, quam nobiscum induciæ.—Calv. contra Westphal. p. 791.

never announced but one and the same symbol? * But whom do they wish to deceive? The dead reappear.

Now, that three centuries sleep upon the ashes of Calvin, behold Protestants, lifting up their voices to glorify the Catholic dogma, which he so deplorably denied.

“You reject the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist; well, then, tell us what it does enclose?—Straw. If Christ be not there, what shall we find there? Nothing.” †

“They tell us that we receive the body and the blood of Christ, but only by the organ of faith.—But faith does not lift itself up to heaven otherwise than thought travels to Rome or Constantinople! If not, you attribute to the spirit qualities which you deny to Jesus Christ: to dwell at the same time in heaven and on earth. ‡

“You offer an insult to logic, in maintaining that the soul of the communicant receives the body and blood of Jesus Christ from the highest heavens, at the moment that his material mouth is eating bread and drinking wine. §

“The scriptures can only be explained by tradition, or by the first institutions of christianity. St. Justin, in the middle of the second century, wrote: “We know that this consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ.” Thus, the idea of the real presence belongs to the primitive times of christianity. ||

“The miracle of transubstantiation is not greater than that of the hypostatic union. ¶

* *Schediasma Irenicum, hoc est necessaria eccles. Protestantium in fide consensio ex propriis doct. Lutheranorum rigidissimorum unica demonstratione evicta. Ratis. in 4to. 1720.*

In a single visit at Heidelberg, in 1836, we found with Wolf, the antiquary, (this is the name given in Germany to the venders of old books,) the following Latin works, written by Calvinists, against the Lutheran doctrines:

Bremensis Ecclesiæ Ministrorum Elenchi paradoxorum, ad refutandam audaciam Tubingensium, Bremæ, A. 1588.

Paræi, Calvinus orthodoxus. Neostadii, 1595.

Mart. Beumleri, triplex scriptum ad Jacobum Andreæ. Neostadii, 1586.

—*Ejusdem, Falco emissus ad capiendum, deplumandum et dilacerandum cuculum ubiquitatis. Neostadii, 1535.*

Matt. Martini, confusio confusionum, D. Balth. Mentzeri. Herbornæ, 1597.

Rodolphi Hospiniani, concordia discors. Tiguri, 1607.

Christophori Herdesiani, duo scripta contra formulam concordiæ. 1579, 1580.

Ambrosii Wolfii, fundamenta Lutheraniæ doctrinæ. Genevæ, 1579.

Danielis Tossani, Theses theologicæ contra pseudo-evangelicos. Steinfurthi, 1605.

Orthodoxa Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ confessio adversus Lutheri calumnias, contemnones et convicia. Tiguri, 1545.

† *Glaus Harm's Predigten.* ‡ *Leibnitz, Systema theol., p. 215.*

§ *Schwurz, über das Wesen des heil. Abendmahls.*

|| *Horst, cited by Hœninghaus, p. 185.* Here is the text of St. Justin: *Ad eundem modum, etiam eam, in qua per preces verbi ejus ab ipso profecti gratiæ actæ sunt, alimoniam unde sanguis et caro nostra per mutationem aluntur, incarnati illius Jesu carnem et sanguinem esse edocti sumus.—Ad. Anton. Pium, Apol. 2.*

¶ *Plank, Worte des Friedens.*

“The dogma of transubstantiation is the most sublime idea of all religion and of all philosophy; it is the union of the finite and the infinite, of heaven and earth.”*

* Horst: Das Dogma von der Transubstantiation geht auf dem höchsten weltbürgerlich-religiösen Standpunkte in die erhabenste Idee aller Religion und Philosophie über.

The Catholic school of the seventeenth century has produced an excellent work on the question of the Eucharist; we mean: “Le Traité de l’Eucharistie, par feu Pelisson, conseiller du roi, maitre des requêtes de son Hôtel; à Paris, chez Jean Anisson, 1694, in 12mo. de 558 pages.” In the beginning of the work, there is an approbation of Bossuet.

But the finest pages of controversy, on this subject, are found in “Methode la plus facile pour convertir ceux qui se sont séparés de l’Eglise,” attributed to Cardinal Richelieu, in folio, Paris, 1650; a work which cannot be too strongly recommended, and with which Catholic Germany has nothing that can be compared.

Rodolph Goclenius has published a work, concerning the manner in which the Zwinglians and Calvinists explain the mystery of the Eucharist. Against this work, Gaspard Fink, a Lutheran, wrote his “Disputationes antigocleniæ, de analogia sacramentali cingliana et tractione panis Calvinistica.” Giessen, 1607, in 8vo.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

Character of the Saxon exegesis.—Luther.—Melancthon.—The Catholic School.—Its influence and progress in hermeneutics.—Calvin's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.—Appreciation of this work.—Examples of various texts of St. Paul tortured by the reformer.—His exegetical system.—The abysses into which his interpretation leads.

THE struggle of Protestantism against Catholicism was at first altogether dogmatic. When the Saxon church had triumphed, it should have endeavoured to spread the word, by aid of which it boasted that it had won the victory. It was necessary to prove that the scriptures had been corrupted or perverted by the Catholic school. The reformation, with incredible ardour, set to work to give its commentaries upon the Old and New Testaments. The *Postilla* of Luther, real village sermons, contain various interpretations of the sacred text. These familiar instructions were not addressed to the learned, but to simple souls, who receive the word of God without scrutinizing its economy or its depths. Luther has commented some of the Psalms of David, interspersing through his comments of the sacred texts, insults to the papists, abusive words about the monks, and blasphemies against the court of Rome. Nevertheless, some natural sentiments, worthy of a father, a spouse, and a master, are found there. The first, who laid down the rules of Protestant exegesis, was Mathias Flaccius Illyricus, in his book entitled : *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*.*

Melancthon, next after him, devoted himself to sacred hermeneutics. His commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans† rejoiced the heart of Luther, who ranked the work of his disciple above every thing that had been produced by St. Jerome. Let no one cry out, exaggeration ; for it is well known that Luther held St. Jerome in slight esteem, and amused himself with damning him, in order to enrage Erasmus, who ranked St. Jerome with St. John Chrysostom : Erasmus was right.

Undoubtedly, Melancthon studied the holy scriptures very well, as a man of the world, and a grammarian ; but his exegesis is never that of a theologian. It is impossible, with the principle of individual reason, faithfully to interpret an inspired book, which, both in letter and

* Leonhard Berthold and Doctor J. G. Engelhardt, in "Observations on the Sermons of Reinhard." t. II, p. 292.

† Commentarii Philippi Melancthonis in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Wittembergæ, 1524.

thought, derives its whole weight from tradition and divine infallibility. Melancthon, at the University of Wittenberg, may have been able to analyze all its poetic beauties, but only Catholic genius is able to perceive, and expose to the admiration of others, its real beauties, dogmatic and moral, which flow, necessarily, from its true sense. Nor shall we even agree with certain reform writers, at the head of whom stands M. de Villers, that interpretation is the fruit of the tree of the reformation; for, before Luther, one of the cardinals of Leo X., Cajetan, had proved himself a true master of the sacred science, in his commentary on the Psalms. It is Erasmus who tenders him this fine eulogy.

Catholicism has the right to claim for herself glories of every kind. The fathers of our church are, by turns, theologians, orators, and commentators. Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Diodorus, Tertullian, and St. Jerome understood hermeneutics wonderfully well. They had learnedly studied sacred archeology, the manners, laws, and idioms of sacred and profane antiquity. But we would not wish to deny, that Protestants have often profited by the oriental languages, for the explanation and interpretation of the sacred scriptures. With them, exegesis particularly embraces criticism of texts, and in this department, the reformation has established some chairs, in which, at intervals, appeared men of remarkable ability. The names of Chemnitz, Camerarius, Val, Schindler, John Buxtorf, Henry Hottinger, Bugenhagen, are known to all those who devote their attention to sacred philology. Unfortunately, it was the destiny of the reformation, to blast every thing it touched; and in its hands, exegesis shared the fate of all the truths of revelation. "Admirable science," here exclaims doctor de Wette, "which, with disdain for the derivation of words, ceased to attach itself to grammatical criticism; which, from the moment it refused to live of christian life, lost its historical character, and which no longer deserves the name of exegesis, for it no longer thinks of reflecting sacred science, in order to explain or translate it."*

Calvin obtained the reputation of commentator, by his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. He was acquainted with the labours of his predecessors, and he loves to eulogise them: "And first," says he, "comes Melancthon, who, among all, shines conspicuous for science, intellect, eloquence, and who, in his scriptural commentaries, has diffused such vivid light.—After him, there is Bullinger, illustrious also, by his labours; and finally, Bucer, that treasure of erudition, perspicacity, information and intelligence, the rival of every one now living."† But how did he happen to forget the very remarkable work of cardinal Cajetan? Why, if acquainted with it, such disdain for so splendid a work? Whence this ignorance of a book, so widely circulated, that he could have found it in the library of any literato of Strasbourg?

* Diese Exegese ist weder grammatisch, denn sie miszhandelt noch gar zu oft die Sprache, und kennt deren lebendige Gesetze nicht; noch historisch, denn sie forscht nicht, sie lebt nicht mit und in der Geschichte, und hat keine geschichtliche Anschauung; sie verdient endlich nicht den Namen Exegese, denn sie ist nicht des Heiligen Dolmetscherin, sie kennt und versteht es nicht. De Wette. Prof. der Theologie zu Berlin.

† Præfatio, Simoni Gryneo. Argentinae, XV, Cal. Nov. 1539.

He needed only have asked it from his friend Bucer, who had read it, and read it again.

Calvin had selected the Epistle to the Romans, because, he said, he found in it, in substance, "the doctrine of predestination taught in the Institutes, the immolation of works to grace, christianity in all its severity, the apostolic thought expressed in Roman language, depth and simplicity, and revealed truths in their primitive form." Beautiful and noble characteristics, which Tholuck imagines to behold resplendent in the reformer's commentary.*

Tholuck here considers the form only : should we examine the work under a theological point of view, we would point out the unhappy efforts of Calvin to corrupt the Apostle's thought, to torture, twist, and mutilate it, until it is brought to lie against authority : a violent treachery, which he tries to disguise in a phraseology sparkling with insults against Catholics. Do you wish to be acquainted with Calvin's manner ?

Deus enim est qui operatur in vobis et velle et efficere pro bona voluntate. ch. II. v. 13. Phil.

"For it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to accomplish, according to his good will."

"The papists calumniate us, saying that we make man like to a stone : yes, we have of our nature, free-will ; but nature has been vitiated by sin, and is worth nothing, save inasmuch as God reforms it in us. Sweat, then, ye sophists, to reconcile in your schools the human will and the grace of God ! In every act, the will and the power are to be distinguished ; Paul relates to you that both are in God : what, then, remains to us about which to glory ?"

So, then, behold St. Paul, that great doctor of nations, transformed into a preacher of *serf-will* ; and man metamorphosed into clay, without consciousness of his individuality, and incapable of doing good ; into a worm of the earth, ignorant how to avoid corruption, or to seek for grass and sunshine ! But had not Calvin then read the work, written by Erasmus, in reply to the desolating doctrines of Luther ? The refutation of his argument deduced from St. Paul, is there written, in letters of gold. Had he not then perused the pages of Melancthon, on the Epistle of the great Apostle ? Had he not then, in spirit, participated in the disputes of the Saxon school, regarding free-will ? And had nobody even lent him a copy of the confession of Augsburg, in which Protestant Germany openly recognizes the error of Luther ?

Let us proceed.

The Apostle has said : *Vestram salutem operamini (Work out your salvation)*. Are any words more positive, more clear, and more luminous ? Can there be a more precise demonstration of free-will ? Work out thy salvation, does Paul say to man,—by faith or by work as Calvin will understand it,—but in virtue of thy individuality, thy spontaneity, as is said to physical man : walk. What! then, would the doctor of the Gentiles cry out to the slave chained to his pillar :—Arise,

* Hier vereinigt sich römischer Styl, gründliche grammatisch-historische Auslegung und lebendiges Christenthum.

and walk? But would not the slave respond to him: first break my chain, or thy word is but another insult to my misery? Well, Calvin has found means to accommodate this very powerful text to his own doctrines, and see how he does so:

—“I respond, that *salutem* (salvation), in this place, signifies the entire cycle of our vocation,* the accomplishment by God himself, of all his decrees, upon the gratuitous election of humanity.” This is not a reply; it is rather an exaggeration of the difficulty. If salvation be nothing but the entire cycle of our vocation, and if this cycle itself be but the accomplishment by God of all his immutable decrees, upon the gratuitous election of humanity; what can man do, except turn like a machine, under the omnipotent influence and direction of these immutable decrees?

Moreover, these are but mere logomachies, which Calvin ought to have rejected, after having placed at the head of his commentaries upon the minor prophets, this beautiful declaration —“If God has bestowed on me some dexterity for the exposition of the scriptures, I well know with what fidelity and diligence I endeavour to reject therefrom all subtilties, which are but too vain, and that it is far better to give expositions characterized by a simplicity, ingenuous and suitable to edify the children of God, who are not content with the shell, but desire to arrive at the kernel. In truth, the fruits produced by my other expositions of scripture, so gladden my heart, that I long to devote the remainder of my life to such labours.”

He, besides, sometimes imitates his master, and like Luther, tears to pieces the most holy names of the Old Testament.

In his eleventh sermon, on the history of Job, he accuses this patriarch “of being in doubt, of murmuring against God, of being angry, of having wavered, tottered, yielded; of being ungrateful to God, of having so succumbed amid his passions, as to have forgotten the divine graces, and cursed the Lord.”

In his twelfth sermon, he adds, speaking of Job:—What sayest thou? that there is no discrimination between the good and the bad? that death is the end of every thing? Thou here speakest like an infidel, who has never known what God or religion is.

With the exception of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, Esther, the Paralipomenon, the Canticle of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and the Apocalypse, Calvin has commented the whole of the scriptures. M. Paul Henry remarks correctly, that “this choice is characteristic; † it manifests that the writer only aimed at the elucidation of the morality of revelation, without regarding its historical value.” It seems that, at a later period, and when in advanced age, he contemplated completing his labours, and including in his exegetical examination, the annals of

* *Salutem pro toto vocationis nostræ cursu accipi, et hoc nomine comprehendendi, omnia quibus Deus, eam ad quam nos gratuita sua electione destinavit, perfectionem implet.*

† Diese Auswahl ist auch charakteristisch und zeigt deutlich, wie Calvin's Geist sich nicht von dem Aeuszerlichen, Historischen angezogen fühlt, sondern weit mehr von den Werken, die den Kern des Glaubens enthalten, t. I, p. 347.

the holy books. His last thoughts were given to Joshua. He did not always disdain the Catholic school, and Scaliger recognises that his work upon Daniel, admirable in its texture, was inspired in all its parts by St. Jerome.* Calvin was right, perhaps, in not undertaking the Apocalypse; but what christian, or what learned man would dare endorse his judgment, on the revelations of St. John, "so obscure that the thought of him who wrote it is incomprehensible, and that the true author is unknown by any one who prides himself upon his erudition?"†

In our days, since the Protestant school has discovered that Rome is the see of satan, and the Pope Antichrist in person, the Apocalypse has been restored to its dignity.‡

Exegesis was differently practised in Germany. The Saxon school, which recognizes Luther and Melancthon for its masters, is almost entirely metaphysical; the Genevan school, of which Calvin is chief, is more philosophical. In its scriptural elucidations, in the least of its glosses, in its scholia, and little notes, the Saxon school labours to undermine the foundation of the Catholic edifice, and it denies the greater part of the truths established by tradition. It was impossible for it to take another course. At the epoch, when Wittenberg desired to erect altars, it could only build them upon the ruins of our symbol. When there were in Germany sufficient fragments out of which to construct a preacher's pulpit, the Saxon reformation still continued its exegesis, nearly always by attacking authority. It was bent to this form by Luther, Melancthon, Musculus, Chytreus, Bugenhagen; hence, that stiffness of style, that professorial surliness, that sententious acrimony, that pedantic wrath, which you detect in the least important of their commentaries, and of which the Saxon's disciple, in spite of his gentler nature, could not entirely divest himself. Bugenhagen and Musculus, particularly, with their eyes upon the sacred book, have ever the air of professors: with their affected disdain for the king of syllogisms, they ever, like Aristotle, proceed by argumentation. Never seek, in their commentaries, for that dew which refreshes and vivifies the soul; for that sweet odour, which invests magisterial instruction with a charm of irresistible attraction; for that ambrosia which intoxicates the lips of the sinner. In them, lives the man, and not the priest. Often, at the moment we allow ourselves to be taken by the artifice of their words, and are on the point of being lulled to sleep by their logical reveries, we find ourselves shocked by the grinning figure of a monk, which rises up in front of a hymn of love to the Lord, or a canticle in praise of the humility of Christ. The Genevan school, in its exegesis, exhibits the sense, the spirit, the morality of the scriptures, in a point of view congenial with fatalism. It nearly always regards dogma as a fixed

* O quam Calvinus bene assequitur mentem prophetarum! nemo melius! Calvinus omnium optime in Daniele scripsit, sed omnia hausit ex B. Hieronymo. Scaligeriana secunda.

† Ac valde mihi probatur Calvini non minus urbana quam prudens oratio, qui de libro Apocalipseos sententiam rogatus ingenue respondit, se penitus ignorare quid velit tam obscurus scriptor, qui qualisque fuerit, nondum constare inter eruditos. Bodin, cited by Bayle.

‡ L'Europe protestante n. XII, p. 21.

point, and passes beyond it. Calvin rarely emancipates himself from this law, which he seems to have imposed upon himself; it is a sacrifice which costs him something, but for which he finds means to compensate himself.

Calvin, for a taste more correct, a style more precise, an expression more clear, bears away the palm from Zwingli and Œcolampadius, who have given commentaries, the first, upon Isaias, Jeremias, the Gospels and Epistles; the second, upon Isaias, and the Epistle to the Romans; but he is inferior to these in science, and this is the opinion of Schroeckh, a competent judge.* Zwingli delights in tropes, allegories, figures; he pursues them with curious eye, and when he believes that he has caught them, he encases them in a dogmatic deduction. Calvin aims to address reason. For Zwingli, David is the anticipated personification of the Christ; in Calvin's eyes, David represents a miserable guilty soul, which groans, prays, and sues for mercy. Calvin has in vain searched the Old Testament for the enunciation of one God in three persons, as well as for the prophetic announcement of the mysteries which one day should be accomplished on Golgotha. In this, he resembles Servetus.† Had he been born two centuries later, he would have been a rationalist. Leo Hutter reproaches him with having furnished the Jews with arms against Christ; he says Calvin Judaizes.

The learned Richard Simon thinks that the Genevan only possessed the rudiments of the Hebrew language, and had but vulgar notions of the Greek. We are not to expect from Calvin the linguistic skill of Erasmus or Cajetan; he discovered the sense of a text, less by the aid of his knowledge of languages, than by a sort of divination.‡

Tholuck has eulogized Calvin's exegetic talents too much:

"In his writings we find," says he, "a happy understanding of the grammatical sense, a great propriety of terms, a luminous intuition of the allegorical or symbolical idea. In his commentaries on the New Testament, his simple and elegant style, his philosophic independence, his vast knowledge, his enlightened christianism, cannot be sufficiently admired. With him, elegance of expression is conjoined with conciseness of thought; an elegance which does not, after the manner of Bembo or Castalion, consist in a fastidious choice of terms, but in a purity and correctness of words, very difficult to be acquired."§

It cannot be denied, that the Calvinistic exegesis tends towards rationalism. Whatever Tholuck may say on the subject, Calvin holds

* Calvin, weniger geübt als Zwingli und Œcolampadius in den Sprachen: übertraf sie an Scharfsinn und seinem Geschmack, die ihm oft mehr Dienste leisteten, als Sprachkenntnis; suchte weniger wie sie typische, allegorische Deutung auf, prüfte, beurtheilte weit freier gewöhnliche Erklärungen, zeichnete sich durch eine mehr gebildete Schreibart aus. X. 5. der Ref.-Gesch., p. 115.

† See the chapter of this work, entitled: *Michael Servetus*.

‡ Calvinus solidus theologus et doctus, stili sat purgati et elegantioris quam theologum deceat. . . . divino vir præditus ingenio, multa divinavit, quæ non nisi a linguæ hebraicæ peritissimis (cujus modi tamen ipse non erat) divinari possunt. Scaligeriana prima, p. 39.

§ Litt. Anz. für christliche Theologie, n. 41, 1831.

tradition in as little esteem as he does allegorical signification. He is unwilling to recognize in the Old Testament the figures, which, according to Christ, to St. Paul, and to tradition, foretold the future. He has thus opened the path for the Socinian school, which itself has prepared the way for Naturalism, that beholds in the inspired books, but an ordinary word, the value of which each individual has a right to examine. The Paulus, the Eichhorns, the Strauss, are the offspring of Calvin, just as Carlstadt, Ecolampadius, and Munzer proceeded from Luther: the same causes produce the same effects. It was liberty of examination, that, in Calvin's time, had already given birth to the sect of false mystics: unbridled imaginations, which repulsed science, as calculated only to seduce the soul from the way of salvation, "as if," says Calvin, "the sword should be cast away, because it may sometimes arm the hand of a madman."*

Moreover, exegetical science, the influence of which; upon the development of the christian spirit, has been too highly lauded by M. Villers, was already depraved at the epoch of the reformation. It had become curious, rash, imprudent. Beza himself was alarmed by it. Castalion's impudence of language, in his commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, was enough to sadden a christian soul. Under the pen of this literato, Solomon is rather an ale-house poet, than an inspired writer. †

* *Scientia tamen nihil propterea quod inflat magis vituperanda est, quam gladius si in manus furiosi incidat. Hoc propter quosdam fanaticos dictum sit qui contra omnes artes doctrinamque furiose clamitant; quasi tantum ad inflandos homines valeant, ac non utilissima sint tam pietatis quam communis vitæ instrumenta.—In Cor., 8, I.*

† *Columba mea columbinis ocellulis lepidulas habes genulas: dissuaviare me tui oris suavio; labellula tua sunt similia cocco; elegans oratiuncula; mammula vino pulchrior, lactiflua lingula; cervicula tua eburnea curricula; ostende mihi taum vulticulum, nam vulticulum habes lepidulum.—Comm. de Castalion.*

The edition of Calvin's works (Amsterdam, Schepfer) contain, in the first seven volumes, all his exegetical works.—V. Ziegenbein, 29, 30. Walsh, Bib. vol. 4. Schellhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie*. Schräckh, t. V. Bretschneider: Calvin and the Protestant church.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRIVATE LIFE OF CALVIN AT STRASBOURG.

Calvin's literary friendships at Strasbourg.—Castalion.—The Waldensian brothers.—Indigence of the reformer.—Farel wishes to come to the aid of his friend.—Calvin's refusal.—The booksellers, Vendelin and Michel.—Calvin's books meet with but little success in Germany; and why?—The reformer's character.—He denounces the misconduct of a magistrate from the pulpit.—He complains of Bucer.—The Jacobin's recriminations.—Calvin's avowals.

THOUGH Calvin was affectionately welcomed at Strasbourg, he lived there without glory. Bucer threw the refugee in the shade. The lectures of the Jacobin attracted the crowd; those of Calvin, at the French church, were only frequented by persons of a peculiar organization. Calvin was no orator: his gestures were vulgar, his voice was hesitating, his style without warmth. He discussed in the pulpit. At Frankfort, Worms, Ratisbon, attentions and laurels fell to the share of Bucer and of Eck, and Calvin was left neglected in the crowd. The reason is, that at diets is needed an oratory capable of affecting, fascinating, and exciting the auditor. Deluded by Melancthon, who had seemed to approve his Eucharistic system, he returned to Strasbourg, irritated by the pedantic haughtiness of certain reformers, who prided themselves too much on their fame; jealous of the approving smile accorded by the emperor to certain German deputies, whose cerebral sterility was no mystery; disenchanting by Bucer's recantations, and regretting that Geneva, where he had neither masters nor rivals.

Finding himself in a large city, where every thing was new to him, its customs as well as its language, he, at first, attracted certain young pupils, who, after his lecture, came to visit the professor at his lodgings, in order to hear him converse, and, by friendly offices and attentions, to beguile the hours of his exile. It was a joy for the theologian to commune with his scholars, in a language which he tenderly loved, and which, with some glory, he had spoken in his Christian Institutes. He attempted to learn German, but very soon had thrown his grammar aside; that idiom, replete with images, was unsuited to a mind so positive as his, which, content with the idea, never troubled itself about the form. Calvin had wished to sing at Worms; the city which Luther had formerly entered entoning his *marseillaise*:

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott,

"My God is my citadel." It was at the commencement of the year 1541,

that Calvin began his salutation in Latin verses, where, speaking of the Pope, he said :

Digiti signo spatiorum concutit orbem,
Nec minus est hodie, quam fuit ante ferox.

A pitiful distich, unworthy of a pupil of the fourth class. Calvin was no poet, as must be admitted : never was there an ear less musical than his.*

The friendship between Calvin and his scholars lasted but a short period ; whether, because the habitual sufferings of the professor fatigued these youthful imaginations, which, full of life and joy, could not, without pain, endure the sight of physical miseries ; or rather, because the morose preceptor could not accommodate himself to the noise of these prating associates, who were free and light as air. The tie of affection, which bound master and pupils together, was soon broken, and all these birds, whose wings Calvin would have desired to cut, took flight, and returned no more. One day, one of these birds of golden plumage, which had made its nest in the lote-trees of Greece, the palm-trees of Judea, and the beeches of Italy ; which sang in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, lighted in Strasbourg. He was known to the learned world, under the name of Castalion. At first, Calvin opened his window, and for some time there was heard nothing but sweet concerts, soothing harmonies, aerial melodies. At last, Calvin became wearied of his companion, and drove him away, in order to give the little room he occupied to a lady, by name Vergers, who furnished the theologian a complete household : a wife, children, and a servant. Castalion, after having paid for his board and lodging, went away. After this, the lady's servant chanced to fall sick. Castalion, the compatriot of the valet, was recalled, and the learned Hebraist set to work, dealing out drinks and potions, and also, at night, he watched like a tender mother, by the bedside of the invalid. Will any one believe that Calvin, at a later period, found occasion, in a dispute which we shall recall, to reproach Castalion for the food which he had gratuitously furnished him during a few days ?†

There was one moment of his life, when poverty, with all its bitter agonies, came to visit him : this was after his departure from Geneva, and before his fate had been settled. His misery was so great, that he was forced to sell his books. His writings at that time brought but little ; the whole profit went to the bookseller. The lessons which he gave in the city, to young men of good families, aided him to meet the expense of his correspondence, in the middle ages so costly, when persons were compelled to employ messengers, now on foot, again on horseback.

One day, certain Waldensian brethren came to him to exhibit their confession of faith, which, like Bucer, he seemed not to reject, perhaps because they had retrenched certain articles opposed to the reform-

* Er hatte nicht wie Luther, den ritterlichen und so auch nicht den musikalischen und poetischen Sinn und Geist.—Paul Henry, t. I, p. 378.

† Bayle, article *Castalion*.

ed doctrines.* They were so poor, that he was obliged to lend them a crown (six francs): "I have taken care," said Calvin to Farel, "to recommend them to pay it to you, when they shall arrive at Neuchatel: it will be one upon the account I owe you; the rest I will pay when I shall be able. I am so needy, that I have not a cent in my pocket.† You would be unwilling to credit how expensive it is to keep house."

It seems that Farel, who was aware of the painful situation of his friend, had, at different times, attempted to apply a remedy; but Calvin, whose soul was proud, was unwilling to accept advances which he saw no means of repaying. In a letter which he writes from Strasbourg, he testifies his gratitude to the pastor of Neuchatel:—"Thanks to all my brethren, for their charitable offers, poor souls, who desire to give alms to one still poorer than themselves. This is a proof of love which is very dear to me, and rejoices my heart; but I have promised myself to accept of nothing from you, or from our common friends, until I shall be forced to do so by the greatest necessity. Wendelin, my bookseller, to whom I have sent my *Opusculæ*, will aid me to subsist for some time. The books, which I left at Geneva, will pay my host, until next winter. The Lord will do the rest. Formerly, I had a great number of friends in France, not one of whom would have given me a farthing; I think they might now safely act the part of generosity and open to me their purses, for I would accept nothing. I say nothing, however, of Louis, who wished to give me a loan, but at too high interest; was he not speaking of converting me? For the present, I content myself with thanking you for your fraternal offer. I will accept your favours, when I shall find myself unable to do better; I am sorry, only, for the loss of my poor crown."‡

As his income was insufficient to defray his household expenses, Cal-

* Waldenses, cum adhuc essem Argentorati, miserunt confessionem quæ optimo animo et mihi tunc probata fuit; sed mihi postea ostensum fuit exemplar quoddam in quo nonnulla mihi displicent quæ nollem admittere.--Bullingero, Calv. Junii, 1557. MSS. G.

"The Waldenses had first been named *Lyonnists*, because their chief or master was a rich merchant of Lyons, and also *Insabbatati*, because they observed neither Sabbaths nor festivals."—Crespin. Epist. de l'Eglise 307.

According to Reinerius, who lived nearly about the time of Waldo, it would appear, adds Crespin, that their doctrine was this:—"That it is necessary to believe the holy scriptures only in what concerns salvation, without referring to men; that there is but one only mediator, and consequently the saints are not to be invoked; that there is no purgatory, but that all men justified by Christ go into eternal life; that there are only two sacraments, baptism and communion; that masses are damnable; that human traditions should be rejected; the chanting and recitation of the office, fasts on certain days, and festivals are superfluous; that the see of Rome is the true Babylon, and that the Pope is the fountain of all evils; that the marriage of priests is good and necessary in the church." 330-332.

All Luther's symbol is found in this confession of faith.

† Fratres Valdenses coronatum unum mihi debebant ejus partem à me mutuo acceperant, partem dederam nuncio qui cum fratre venerat, Sonerii mandato. Hunc ut tibi darent jusseram. Si dederint retinebis quo tantumdem ære tuo exonerer. Quod reliquum erit solvam quum potero. Ea enim mea est conditio, ut assem numerare queam.—Mart, 1539.

‡ Ep. 15 Ap, 1539.

vin endeavoured to obtain money by the sale of his works, the manuscripts of which he sold to the printer Wendelin, or to Michel of Geneva. Wendelin was a bookseller, the like of whom is rarely met with, who did not try to drive bargains with his authors, but paid generously for their works, whether or not the writer's name was known at the fairs of Frankfort. He bought the whole edition of the commentaries on St. Paul, for much more than Calvin had anticipated; and, besides the price of purchase, for which he never made the author wait, he gave him also a large number of copies, which the latter sold or distributed among his friends, to be sold. Farel was charged with the task of disposing of them.

We find, upon this subject, certain curious details, in the posthumous letters of Calvin, and especially in a manuscript epistle to the minister of Neuchatel, bearing date the 27th of July.

"There is nothing new, since your departure, except that, on the very day you bid me farewell, and about three hours after you had left me, the regents proposed me an augmentation of my salary; but this will not make me richer. Should amateurs present themselves, who are desirous of purchasing my works, you can let them go at from ten to nine *batzen* (about two francs) per copy, but not lower, unless, however, a great quantity be taken: in this case, you may put them at eight *batzen*. The transportation has cost me very dear, and besides the expenses from this to Neuchatel." . . .*

Calvin's productions, always excepting his Christian Institutes, obtained but little success. It was admitted, in the learned world, that the writer was acquainted with Latin, that his phrase was modeled after that of good authors, that his style wanted neither perspicuity nor elegance; but he was reproached with not having been able, like Luther, to invest his thesis with the slightest degree of interest. At Bale, they imagined themselves still in the year 1521, at the opening of the theological quarrel, when a monk's figure must necessarily be brought into the dispute, in order to be buffeted on either cheek, amid peals of laughter, from citizens and students. Calvin, by rejecting the monk, had consequently deprived himself of a powerful element of success. In default of a monk, no longer in fashion, they would have desired, in Switzerland and Germany, that Calvin should have availed himself of the devil, to account for the obstinacy of the papists; and no one can account for his having voluntarily renounced the agency of the devil, who had rendered such extraordinary services to his predecessors. They went so far as to publish, that he did not believe in the devil, which was a falsehood,† and this did him injury in the minds of the Germans, who would not have given the least of those devils, who sprang from Luther's brain, for the best arguments. Hence it happened that the booksellers, at first so well disposed towards Calvin, grew cold, on finding that his books would not sell like those of doctor Martin. They, indeed, paraded them at the fairs of Frankfort; but persons passed without buying them; and hence arose complaints, which

* 27 Julii 1539. MSS. Gen.

† See succeeding chapter, entitled: *The Devil and the Antichrist.*

wounded the self-love of the author. Calvin, to appease the ill-humour of the bookseller of Bale, wrote to Michel, at Geneva :—"Send me, by means of Farel, the books which, on coming away, I left with you, and also the personal effects of my brother." Michel made a package of the effects and books, which he addressed to Neuchatel; some days previously, Farel had received a note thus worded :

"When you shall have received the trunk which Michel will forward to you, open it, my friend. You will there find books and clothes; sell the books, if you can. Send what may be left to Bale: my bookseller complains, that my work does not take,* and that he has in his store many more copies than he has need of. I wrote to him, therefore, to send you a hundred copies. Tell me whether he has done so?"

Calvin had been unable to find repose at Strasbourg. His heart was rended, by the spectacle of variagated creeds presented by that city, which was open to fugitives of every opinion, where the Zwinglian elbowed the Lutheran, where the Anabaptist marched by the side of the Munzerian prophet, where all religions, except Catholicism, had a right to the same protection. His heart suffered, on beholding all those natures kneaded out of Bucer's clay, who boasted that they had thrown off the old man, while still carrying all the marks of him, visible upon them. He was unable, he said, to take a step, without finding himself entangled in some swaddling cloth of the "papism," which the city still preserved, in order to please the emperor, and from dread to offend the eye of his lieutenants. Around the Protestant temples, there stood a number of stalls, for the sale of reformation pamphlets, of which, some taught and some denied the real presence, free-will, the intimate power of the sacraments, and the necessity of works. Augsburg, Spire, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Hagenau, Worms, Ratisbon, each had there a tent, erected after the fashion of Munster, where each confession of faith, devised since 1530, offered to the passer-by its formulary. Neither the oral theses of Calvin, at the French church, nor his conferences with the representatives of Protestantism, nor his written discussions, had been able to triumph over the apathy and versatility of the people. Vainly did he, at times, seek to galvanize and electrify this carcass, his word was vain: life came not. Then he fell into sadness, and regretted Geneva.

He had been unable to reform his misanthropic nature; after his exile, he still remained what he had been at Geneva: vain, irritable, despotic. Had he dwelt longer at Strasbourg, we have no doubt that he would at length have provoked the anger of the magistrates. He tried, indeed, to repress those carnal impulses, but nearly always without success. At one time, the scene of the refusal of communion, which had occasioned so much scandal at Geneva, was about to be reacted at Strasbourg. A man, whose name he does not mention, and who had opened a house for sporting and drinking, if we are to credit his account, was on the point of approaching the communion table, had he not prevented his

* Conqueritur librum meum non esse vendibilem.—31 Dec. 1540. MSS. Gen.

access.* The guilty person preserved silence. The eye of the exile had been able to see through walls, and to detect the existence of disorders, which Bucer and the other ministers had not perceived. Calvin blames Bucer's laxity.† But who told him that the Jacobin did not here obey his conscience? When Eck proclaimed the necessity of works, Calvin had ever at his service the same argument:—What good works were performed by the good thief? And who told him, that the christian, to whom he refused the Lord's Supper, had not been visited by one of those impulses of faith, which, according to his teaching, efface all our faults? Calvin, at Strasbourg, as well as at Geneva, is ever in contradiction with himself.

One of the stettmasters of Strasbourg was not long in falling into disgrace in the eyes of Calvin. No one could say to what confession he belonged. All that was known was, that he had denied the faith of his fathers. In the morning, seated at the table of an Anabaptist; in the evening, supping with a Zwinglian; but little inclined to disputation by nature, assisting equally at the preaching of Bucer and Calvin; without the least recollection, he listened to the divine word with as little attention as he did to mere worldly discourses. Calvin would have wished to dispute with him; he spread his net, for this sick soul, who, however, with persevering fortune, knew how to avoid being taken. At last, the theologian grew impatient, mounted the pulpit, and poured out upon the head of the criminal fiery coals of all sorts. There was no room for mistake. Calvin himself assures us, that he had so taken his measures, that the magistrate might recognize himself and be recognized by the auditory.‡ What is admirable, on this occasion, is not the indignation of the preacher, but the weakness of power, which observed silence, while it could, with a word, have silenced the orator. Do you think that Calvin will be affected by this lesson of christian moderation? You do not know him. Some days after, the stettmaster left Strasbourg to go to Frankfort, where Calvin meets with him again, pursues him with his wrath, and denounces him to Bucer, as an enemy of Christ, with whom neither peace nor truce can be allowed.

Bucer permitted the magistrate to pass without tormenting him. He did not resemble Calvin. Of an ardent temperament, he was easily irritated, and as easily appeased. Woe to the one who stirred up his bile, as Eck did at Ratisbon! he must look for a torrent of gross insults, cutting, and, in case of need, even poetic; for, to revenge himself, the orator employed the language of the markets, the vocabulary of the Greeks and Romans, and the figurative style of the prophets. Having left the pulpit, in passing before his adversary, he would smile in his face, and often even reach him his hand. Nor could he comprehend that sort of wrath which gave no sign of exterior life, which burned with an invisible flame, and changed neither the language, the figures,

* Ep. Farello, 1539.

† Qui interdum sit lenior.—Ep. Farello, 1539.

‡ Ita ejus impietatem palam et aperte etiam pro concione sugillabam, ut nihilominus aut ipsi aliis dubius esset sermo quam si vel nominassem, vel digito demonstrassem.—Farello, 1539.

nor the mimicry of the orator. He called it the wrath of Cain.* Calvin avowed this defect, and excused himself for it, by touching his head, as if the seat of this malady had been in the brain.—“Yes, I confess it,” did he say to Bucer, “that impatience of the senses, is the most difficult to be overcome of all my faults: I struggle with all my energy to triumph over it; I have not been able, in spite of all my efforts, to crush the head of the beast.”† Vossius adds: admirable avowal, had the struggle been incessant, as Calvin relates, and the beast been vanquished; but the evil continued, and Bucer, afflicted at such perpetual relapses into the same fault, wrote to his friend: “Your judgment is formed according to your hatred or your affection, and you hate or love without reason.”

At Geneva, we shall find him once more, in his political life, exhibiting the same propensities, which, in his christian life, he displayed at Strasbourg: Bucer’s admonition will have been useless. The reason is, that the affection was not, as Calvin pretended, in the brain; for, in that case, it might have been driven away by a few drops of water; but in the whole blood, and in the heart, which it had gangrened: there was no remedy for it.

Historians have found means either to praise or excuse this propensity for which Calvin blushed. Bretschneider, in this choleric trait of character, finds the element of all that was grand in the life of the Genevan, “who,” he says, “with a colder head, might, perhaps, have been a cardinal, but never a reformer.”‡ And Beza, whilst admitting these paroxysms, of his friend, pretends that the Spirit of the Lord so aided Calvin to become master of himself, that his mouth never allowed an expression to escape, which could give offence to the ears of an honest man.§ We have already seen how much the scholar of Vezelay could be blinded by friendship.

The religious man will, at a later period, furnish us a solution for the enigma of the political man. No matter what he did, it was for Calvin a thing impossible, to emancipate himself from his system of predestination; in every sinner, he beheld the child of wrath; in himself, the

* Bucerus non ferre poterat vehementiam Calvini quem optime norat ex quo Argentorati una vixerant, et melius nosse didicit ex quo Genevam revocatus. Accusare igitur ejus, (quo jure, melius me scias,) maledicentiam maximam, et quod dissentientes non ferret, sed dure adeo asperaque persequeretur, sic ut etiam fratricidam, uti lego, nuncuparet.

† Calvinus sic a magno viro increpatus respondere hoc pacto: hæc esse genii potius sui quam judicii, et ut Calvini ipsius verba ad Bucera retineam, sic scribere: ut verum fatear nulla mihi cum maximis et plurimis meis vitiis difficilior est lucta quam cum ista impatentia; neque certe proficio nihil, sed nondum id sum consecutus, ut plane belluam domuerim.—Ep. Vossii Grotio. Ep. Protest. theol., p. 817.

‡ Iene Indifferenz späterer Zeit war nicht der Character der Reformatore; mit ihr wären Calvin und Luther vielleicht Cardinäle, aber gewisz keine Reformatoren geworden.—Cretschneider, p. 19 and 20.

§ Fuit omnino naturæ ipsius temperamento *ozukolos* quod vitium etiam auxerat laboriosissimum illud vitæ genus: iræ tamen sic eum docuerat spiritus Domini moderari ut ne verbum quidem sit ex eo auditum quod viro bono indignum esset.—Vit. Calv.

evangelical doctor, the instrument destined, from all eternity, to glorify celestial justice by the punishment of the guilty. In a royal head, erect predestination into a dogma, a transformation realized in Calvin, and you may look for the most bloody despotism: all the creatures whom the monarch will drive before him with his iron sceptre, will be nothing but creatures predestined to servitude. Calvin is this monarch, without the diadem, but with a crown which he estimates at a far higher price; a crown of life and immortality, since, according to him, it is formed of the very words of Christ or his Apostles. This desolating doctrine is the key to the interior man, when, in the consistory, he shall domineer over the conscience of a nation; the key to the politician, when, in the council, he shall govern the city. 4

CHAPTER XXV.

THE DEVIL AND THE ANTICHRIST.

The devil, in Luther's life, as an instrument of wrath and poetry.—The doctor's temptation.—The devil in the life of Calvin.—Opinions of the Geneva reformer.—Account of one possessed.—The opinion of Calvin concerning epileptics and sorcerers.—The ANTICHRIST of Luther and the Saxon church.—The reformation still at this day teaches that the Pope is the Antichrist.—The Protestant Review of the nineteenth century.—Belief of Calvin.—John de Muller.—Hugo Grotius.

THE DEVIL.

If we except Luther, not one of the reformers exhibited any affection for forms, either as regarded human works, or the wonders of creation. Melancthon sheds tears on beholding Carlstadt prostrating the beautiful statues in the church of All-Saints, but he weeps rather as a christian than as a poet. We should in vain search through the long correspondence of the reformers with each other, for some expressions of grief, forced from their bosoms, at the sight of those material images, the glories of the churches of Franconia, which, without opposition, the peasants are allowed to break to pieces. Not one of them stoops to save some of those relics of stone, which, by a kind of miracle, escaped the hammers of the rabble, in the army of the peasants. On the contrary, you see them, as at Frankhausen, warming themselves by the fires, kindled from the manuscripts of which the convents had been despoiled. If, in reformed Germany, we meet with some fine article of goldsmith's ware, some sacerdotal vestment, a marvel of riches and patience, some bishop's crozier of massive gold; we may be certain that this chalice, purloined from the treasury of a Catholic church, served as a drinking cup for some elector, a friend of Luther; that this sacerdotal cope tapestried his apartment, or, perhaps, that of his mistress; that this pastoral staff ornamented his museum, as a plaything or a token of victory. When Saxony had apostatized, the princes sold to the Jews, the chalices, the ostensors, the cruets of gold and silver, the statues of wood and bronze, the cloths of lace belonging to our churches, and even the very coffins of the dead, in order to support their hunting dogs of the lower court, their parks, their cellars, and their mistresses. Luther often lamented the misery of the Protestant clergy, who were left to perish with famine, on the straw, whilst the princes were making good cheer, at the expense of the Catholic monks and

bishops. But even had Luther cared but little for matter, however beautiful it came forth from the hands of man, the spectacle of the divine works struck him sensibly. It often happened that Bora would surprise him at the foot of a tree, contemplating a sky studded with stars, in an extacy, which she had the cruelty or the malice to interrupt. The sight of a flower, like the sting of remorse, forced from him piercing cries. "Poor violet," he exclaimed, "what perfume dost thou exhale! But how much sweeter still had it been, if Adam had never sinned. Oh rose! how much do I admire thy colours, which would have dazzled with a more brilliant beauty, had it not been for the fault of the first man! Oh lily! whose apparel surpasses that of the princes of this world, what wouldst thou have been, had not our father disobeyed his Creator!"

That world, perfectly golden, which God had created at Geneva, where he had set a lake, and caused a river to flow, where he had placed a mountain of snow and ice, and spread around fields of verdure and light, remained for Calvin a sealed book. See him upon his pathway; he never stoops to cull a flower, that he may soothe the ardours of his brain. From that sun, which each morning came to visit him, in his study-chamber, he stole not a single ray to give warmth to his style.* The birds, which, in the spring, Providence sends in such abundance to Plainpalais, sang not for him, for he never listened to their concerts. Ah! had the Lord dealt with Luther as he had done with Calvin, what beautiful images would the monk have derived from that luminary, which rises and sets behind the Alps, from those mountains, which inhabit the skies, from that cloth of shining water, an azure vestment, spreading out twenty leagues in length! In place of shutting up his great emperor, Charles V., in the tomb, and casting the imperial remains to the worms of earth, he would have brought him, vested in all the splendour of his regal robes, he would have placed him beside one of those lilies of the Waldensian Valley, or upon one of the Saleves, upon which the winds beat, and he would have asked him of what he was so proud, since a flower of the field was more lovely than all his beauty, and a grain of dust more powerful than all his power.

The demon, as representative of the Divine wrath, has, with the two reformers, of Wittenberg and of Geneva, assumed a double personality; a semi-corporal one, with Calvin, a real and tangible one, with Luther. The Genevan devil can, with difficulty, come under the senses; one cannot see his body, his colour, his form. The Saxon demon, such as he has leaped forth from the brain of Luther, can be seen, touched, felt; in a moral point of view, he is the rebellious archangel of Milton, physically, nearly always the Quasimodo of the poet Hugo. Calvin's fallen spirit is sad, inert, without fecundity; Luther's fallen seraph is coloured and poetic; these two creations give us the measure of their respective imaginations. It is known what part the demon plays in the religious drama of Luther, in which he is orator, theologian, pamphleteer; in which he wears the tiara, the diadem, the professor's robe,

* In praise of the created world, Calvin has consecrated but a few very tame lines, in his *Christian Institutes*. lib. I.

the doctor's bonnet, and the monk's cowl. Of all created beings, he is the one, that rendered to Luther the most important services. Does an emperor, like Charles V., take a notion to combat the new gospel, Luther summons the devil, who comes immediately and takes possession of the monarch. Does a prince, like Henry VIII. of England, desire to defend the seven sacraments of the Catholic catechism, satan runs in person, glides into the king's cabinet, steals the pen of his secretary, and sets to work to write down every thing that passes through his head. Behold an apostate, Ecolampadius, who has denied the Saxon doctrines, and, hiding himself at Bale, there sows cockle over the field of the Lord : one morning, he is found dead in his bed ; do you think it was the pest that killed him ? it was the devil, who twisted his neck ; and how can there be a doubt of this ; it is Luther himself who affirms it, and who chants a canticle of thanksgiving. Zwingle falls at Capel, beneath the lance of a Catholic, who has smitten the Sacramentarian, as we are told by the chronicle : but Luther affirms that the chronicle has lied, and that it was satan, who sought out the cursed heretic upon the battle field, in order to deliver the earth from his presence. And he adds, that there may be no doubt of the truth of his testimony : " There is no medium : either Zwingle or Luther must be possessed.* Dost thou understand, thou human breast, insatanized, persatanized, supersatanized ?"† It was this fallen angel that dictated to Accolti his magnificent bull : Exsurge ; that drowned Miltitz in the Elbe ; that held Munzer's hammer ; that spoke by the mouth of Carlstadt‡ that discovered the most destructive argument against the idolatry of the mass, which ever came forth from human head. It could hardly be credited, how much this infernal figure colours the recital of Luther ! what a breath of life it infuses into his smallest writings ! how it inflames his word, and makes his wrath sparkle ! At the moment you least expect it, in a purely theological discussion with Latomus, or with some monk of Cologne, you behold the phantom appear suddenly, unveil his presence by a torrent of insults, of dumb show, of sallies, of mimicry, which give relief to the argument, and seemingly invest it with a body and a form.

Calvin believed in a fallen angel, the breath of the Divine anger, the tempter of the first man, the enemy of Adam's posterity, and damned for all eternity. The demon is not, in his eyes, a mere *mythos*, but a personality, whose part in the drama of human life he diminishes. He defines satan : " An enemy, prompt and bold in enterprise, active and dilligent in execution, potent and robust in energy, cunning and skillful in stratagems, obstinate and indefatigable in his pursuits, furnished with all sorts of weapons and machines, and finally, very expert in the art of warfare."§ He admitted, as Luther did, the existence of a rebel angel, and desired that all should reject the error of those who thought

* Ich oder der Zwingel musz des Teufels seyn, da ist kein Mittel. Op. Luth. Jen, t. 3, f. 379.

† Habet enim insatanasiatum, persatanasiatum, supersatanasiatum pectus.

‡ Coll. Mens. fol. 497.

§ Inst, liv. I, ch. XIV, § 13.

the demons nothing else but "agitations and troubles, that excite in our souls the evil affections which are suggested to us by the flesh." But he abridges the demon's part, and uses him but rarely: when, for example, there is question of the Pope or of an obstinate Catholic. He never, like Luther, beheld him in flesh and bones.

All are aware, by what temptations the Saxon monk was assailed. If we are to judge from these, satan left him repose neither day nor night; at night, he sent him dreams, in which the divinities of Olympus came to seat themselves on his pillow; reveries of voluptuousness, which covered his brow with sweat. At other times, he glided thoughts of pride into his mind, and then the doctor of Wittenberg beheld all the crowns of the world at his feet, and believed himself greater than monarchs and pontiffs. Satan also endeavoured to throw him into despair, by presenting to him in his sleep, his beloved Germany, torn by factions; the Anabaptists raging in the temples of the Lutherans; the Zwinglians seducing the minds of the people; his brethren abandoning him, and his work expiring amid waves of blood, which flowed like the waters of the Elbe. Then the monks resumed their cowls; the stinking Babylon, Rome, was swept by numerous red robes; the Pope strutted upon the beast of the Apocalypse; the nuns left their ravishers to seek the cloister once more; Eck, Campegio, Miltitz, and all the clergy, those whom he called (*pretraille Romaine*) the low Roman priesthood, laughed at his impotent wrath, and his fruitless labours. It was important for him, therefore, early to accustom himself rigorously to repulse the assaults of the evil spirit. The anchorites of Thebais had found in prayer an efficacious remedy against the rebellion of the old man; he tried prayer, and was not satisfied with it. Now, here is his own remedy, a serious remedy, since he advised his friends to resort to it: "Poor Hieronimus Weller, thou hast temptations; it is necessary to get clear of them: when the devil comes to tempt thee—drink, my friend, drink freely, get drunk, and make thyself a fool, and sin out of hatred to the evil spirit, and to annoy him. If the devil says to thee:—Wilt thou not cease drinking? answer him:—I will drink freely, because thou forbidest me; I will drink copiously, in honor of Jesus Christ: imitate me. I never drink so well, I never eat so much, I never enjoy myself so greatly at table, as when I do so to vex satan. I would be glad to discover some new sin, that he might learn to his sorrow how I mock at every thing sinful, and do not think my conscience burdened by it. Away with the decalogue, when the devil comes to torment us! If he whispers in my ear:—But thou sinnest, thou art deserving of death and of hell. Alas! my God, yes! I am but too well aware of this: what dost thou wish to tell me?—But thou wilt be damned in the next world.—It is false; I know one who has suffered and satisfied for me: he is called Jesus Christ, son of God; where he is, there shall I be.* If the devil departs not, I cry to him: In manum sume crepitem ventris, cum istoque baculo, vade Romam.†

* 6 novembre à Jérôme Weller. In Weller. op. p. 208.—Leberecht de Wette, Dr Luther's Briefe, t. IV, p. 188.

† Tisch-Reden.

Luther, in his writings, often recurs to this magnificent antidote, and, in the most serious manner in the world, to silence the devil's bawlings, he counsels drinking, eating, good cheer, taking good care of the belly and head, filling the latter with the fumes of good wine, and the former with exquisite meats: "A large glass of wine full to the brim, behold," said he, "when one is old, the best ingredient for appeasing the senses, inducing sleep, and escaping satan."^{*}

This poor Weller still suffered, and still continued to lift up his hands towards Luther, imploring him to deliver him from his temptations, and Luther never indicated to him any other penance except that boisterous joy, those orgies of the senses. "Dost thou see," he again said to him, "God is not a God of sadness, but a God of joy; does not Christ say, I am the God of the living, and not of the dead? What is it to live, if not to rejoice in the Lord? Thou canst not prevent the birds from flying over thy head, but thou canst prevent them from building their nest in thy hair."[†]

Calvin, in several of his writings, speculates upon the influence of the evil spirit upon the destinies of the new gospel, but never, like Luther, with that faith which would almost communicate its terrors. His theological system is designed, in advance, to give confidence to him who listens to it. He taught that the devil, who was able to make the soul of the sinner succumb, was impotent to trouble the soul that believes in Christ the Redeemer. He did not, like Luther, admit the exorcism of children, and of our exorcizing priests he said: "They do not understand that they are themselves possessed: they act as if they had power to operate by the imposition of hands; but they never will convince the devil that they have this gift; first, because they produce no effect on the sick, secondly, because they themselves belong to satan; scarcely is there one of them who is not indeviled."[‡]

Calvin believed in possessions: in one of his manuscript letters to Viret, we find the account of a carrying away, operated by the devil, at a short distance from Geneva.

A man, whose name he does not tell us, was living under his roof of straw; wicked, the frequenter of bar-rooms, a drunkard, and a real worthless fellow, who openly made sport of Calvin, and said to those who reproached him with not going sufficiently often to hear the French minister: Heh! the devil! I am not hand-in-glove with master John. He fell sick, and was suddenly seized with a burning fever. His nurse held him down, and recommended him to pray; the impious man exclaimed: What need have I to pray? I belong to the devil, and care no more for God than I do for my old slipper.[§] On the next morning a little after sunrise, he had a new paroxysm, sprang from his bed, as if lifted by a violent wind, leaped over hedges and walls of great height, and fell upon a vine, which he stained with his blood. They

^{*} *Mihi oportunum esset contra tentationes remedium, fortis haustus qui somnum induceret.*

[†] *A Weller, 19 juin 1530. Op. Weller, p. 204.*

[‡] *Inst. I. IV, ch. 19, § 24.*

[§] *... Quia jam diabolis esset adjudicatus neque Deum majori sibi curæ esset, quam calcei laceri vilissimam partem.*

sought in vain for his body, the devil had carried it away. Some ministers belonging to the council, maintained that this carrying away was a fable; but on the following Sunday, says Calvin, I ascended the pulpit, and I vehemently castigated the incredulity of those who refused to credit the miracle; I went so far as to exclaim: For two days, I have desired death at least twenty times, that I might not be a witness of such unbridled impiety:* and in order to convince and strike them, I cited the two following circumstances:

— One day, and it was Sunday, a drunkard went to the drinking-house, asked for wine, made a false step, fell upon the point of his sword, and died instantly.

— During last September, a day of communion, a drunkard, who was trying to enter a *brothel* by the window, fell, and broke both his legs.

Calvin believed in sorcery and witchcraft; but he did not, like Luther, endow the demon with the creative faculty. He thought that the devil could not change matter, but only delude the eyes. Thus, the rod of the magicians (2 Moses, 7, 12,) changed into a serpent, still remained a rod; † only the spectator's eye, deluded by the devil, saw an organized being in a body which had not changed its substance. Picot asks himself, how Calvin allowed himself to condemn so many sorcerers to death, during his dictatorship at Geneva; and he explains the conduct of the reformer by the age in which he lived. Calvin has just informed us that the devil had no power, except over the reprobate: possession being, in his eyes, a sign of eternal reprobation, how could he have attempted to rescue a sorcerer from the flames?

He read the divine wrath, even upon the brow of the lunatic or epileptic, whose condition he could not understand, except by calling in the intervention of a secret agent of the Creator's will. "The scripture," said he, "does not indistinctly characterize those possessed, by the name of demoniac; it calls by this name those who, by an avenging decree of the Omnipotent, are delivered over to satan, who comes and takes possession of them, soul and body. The lunatic is one whose malady increases or decreases with the different phases of the moon, as the epileptic, for example. These maladies are not to be cured by ordinary remedies; God, in driving them away, displays the omnipotence of his divinity." ‡

* Vireto, Geneva, 14 Nov. 1546.

† De prestigatoribus tibi citra dubitationem assentior, nihil eos in suis corporibus veræ conversionis pati; non enim aliam in ipsis metamorphosim cogito, quam in virgibus magorum, quæ cum serpentum faciem præ se ferrent, vocantur tamen ideo virgæ apud Mosem, quo intelligamus impostores illos magis illuisse spectantium oculos, quam aliquid verum exhibuisse. Pignæo Veliensis eccl. ministro. Cal. Oct. 1538.

‡ Dæmoniacos scriptura vocat non omnes promiscue qui a diabolo vexantur, sed qui æreano Dei vindicta Satanæ mancipati sunt, ut eorum mentes et sensus possideat. Lunatici vocantur in quibus augecit vis morbi et decrescit pro lunæ inclinatione, quales sunt qui comitiali morbo laborant et similes. Quum sciamus ejusmodi morbos naturalibus remediis non esse curabiles sequitur testatam fuisse divinitatem Christi, quum eos mirabiliter sanavit. Harm. Evang. p. 127. Comm. ad Math., 23.

M. Gallee has ranked with the possessed, Catherine of Sienna, St. Bridget,

THE ANTICHRIST.

Near the church of All-Saints, at Wittenberg, stood the drinking-house, which Luther frequented every evening, in order to drink beer, and discourse with his intimate friends. These table conversations have been gathered by his disciples, and published in German and in Latin. In our history of Luther, we cited some fragments of them, and soon had to repent of our courage, for we know that certain ears have been offended by that crudity of language, of which Petronius alone had been able to furnish a model. We thought that it was important to make the reformer known, and perhaps, also, the shamelessness of his pupils, who said to us, by the mouth of Mathesius: Luther was the enemy of cynic speeches; never, whilst I was living with him, did I hear from his lips a word which could make a maiden blush.”*

Well, Luther, seated by the side of Justus Jonas and Aurifaber, had caused the conversation to turn upon the Pope.

“My friends,” said he, “remember this well: the Pope is the Antichrist: should he even consent to cast aside his triple crown, to descend from his seat, to renounce his fabulous primacy, and to confess with joined hands, that he has sinned, blasphemed, and shed innocent blood; you ought not to recognize him as a child of God, as a member of the church of Christ: he would not the less remain the Antichrist foretold by the prophets.”

Since that day, for many of the Saxon churches, it has been an article of faith, that the Pope is the Antichrist, in flesh and bone: this article of the new symbol was put forth in Latin and German verses. The children, in chorus, sang:

The Pope is the Antichrist;
 What by him or canon law is taught,
 Comes from the devil himself.
 If to satan you would not belong,
 Then renounce the Pope.†

After Luther's death, the church of Wittenberg seemed for a moment to abandon the doctor's symbol. It is worth while to see how Wigand, Gallus, Judex, and Armsdorf aroused themselves against this intellectual falling off! Wigand sets to work, and, at the end of a few weeks, produces an octavo volume, in which the doctrine regarding the Antichrist of Rome, is sustained by near a thousand scripture texts.‡

St. Hildegarde, and even the virgin de Vaucouleurs.—See Servati Gallæi dissertationes de sibyllis earumque oraculis. Amstelodami, apud Henricum et viduam Theodori Boom, 1688, in 4to.

* Mathesius, XII, Predigt, 137.

† Tisch-Redon.. Eisl. fol. 416, 6.

‡ Der Papst, der ist der Antichrist;
 Sein Lehr' und jus canonicum
 Ist des Teufels Lehr' in einer summ:
 Drum willst du nicht des Teufels werden,
 So fliehe ian hie auf Erden.

Nicod, Frischlinus in Phasmate: voy. Huttenus delarvatus p. 269.

‡ Synopsi antichristi Romani spiritu oris Christi revelati.

Mathew Judex appears in the name of Christ himself, to declare war against the see of Rome, and to damn the Wittenbergers, who refused to inscribe in their symbol, that Leo X. is the Apocalyptic beast of St. John.* Afterwards, arises a host of Protestants and reformed preachers, to proclaim this truth: There are M. Beumler, Arn. Cheffreus, Lambert Danes, Andr. Willet, the English professor Conrad Grasser, the professor Albert Grawer, Henry Hammond, James Heerbrand, the reformed theologian Samuel Maresius, who, in his *Antichristum Revelatum*, becomes angry with Grotius for seeing nothing but a bishop in the Pope; then come, And. Mengilet, Joh. Georg. Siegwart, Joh. Conrad Danhauer, Fred. Balduin, Joh. Hoepsner, the Anglican bishop Abbot, Nicholas Hunnius, Theo. Thummus, Dorsch, and still many others; and, at a later period, John Fox, Whitaker, Fulke, Willet, the great Newton, Joseph Mede, Lowman, Towson, Bicheno, Henry Kett (interpret. of prophecy, pref.); the Anglican bishops Fowler, Warburton, Newton, Hurd, Watson; the Lutherans, Braunbom, Sebast. Francus (de Alveg. stat. Eccl.), Napier in his commentary on the Apocalypse, Beza (in conf. gen.), Flemming, Bullinger, (in Apoc.), Junius, Musculus, Wisthon (Essay on *Revelations*), the preacher Alix, Faber, Daubenay (*The Fall of Papal Rome*), etc.

Bishop Halifax was right: one of the articles of the Protestant symbol is, that the Pope is Anticrist. It is one still at this day taught in the reformed church.

Two years ago, there appeared at Paris, a monthly review, entitled, PROTESTANT EUROPE, the special mission of which was to prove that Gregory XVI. is the beast of the Apocalypse. We must cite an extract from it, for perhaps our word would not be credited †:

“We could not admit any kind of compromise between light and darkness, Christ and Belial. Those holy men, those intrepid men, ‡ whom it pleased God to raise up to be the liberators of nations, and to free them from the chains of darkness, with which papal Rome had loaded them, in their struggle with spiritual wickedness in high places, in their powerful contest, made use of all the weapons of the sanctuary. In those noble defenses of the truth, included in their confessions, they do not confine themselves to a justification of the reformation, by proving a perfect harmony of its doctrines with the word of God; we behold them carry the war even into the camp of the enemy. Armed with the mirror of truth, they present it to papal Rome, they raise it up before its face, denouncing that church as the *Babylon*, as the *mother of harlots*, and the Pope, as the *man of sin*, and the *son of perdition*, who dares seat himself, like God, in the temple of God. In the last,

* Gravissimum et severissimum edictum et mandatum æterni et omnipotentis Dei, quomodo quisque christianus sese adversus papatum, nimirum antichristum gerere et exhibere debeat. See further.—Joannis Seldeni Papatus, irreconciliabilis, 1646.—Isaaci Schoockii Desperatissima causa papatus, 1638.—M. Flaccus, Antwort auf die Expedition der Wittenberger, 1560.

† Protestant Europe, No. XII. Signs of the times; prophecies of the Apocalypse and their fulfilment, p. 18, seq.

‡ See the appendix to the pamphlet of M. Cuningham, entitled: *That the church of Rome is the apostacy, and the Pope the man of sin.*”

as well as in the first part of this testimony, they were equally unanimous; with them, there cannot be found a single example of hesitation as regards the character of papal Rome.*

"I know," says Luther, in his treatise concerning the Babylonian captivity of the church, "I know, and am certain, that the papacy is the kingdom of Babylon, and the power of Nimrod, the strong hunter. *Scio et certus sum papatum esse regnum Babylonis, et potentiam Nemrod, robusti venatoris.*"

Throughout, in his reply to the book of Ambrose Catharin, he applies to the Pope that prophecy of St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, (ch. I. v. 1 to 12.) and he says:

"Is it not seating himself in the temple of God, to announce himself as the supreme regulator of the whole church? What is the temple of God? Is it of stone or of wood? Has not Paul said, that the temple of God is holy, and that you are this temple? To seat oneself, what is it, but to reign, to govern, to judge? And who, then, from the commencement of the church, has dared arrogate to himself the title of head of the whole church? Who, except the Pope alone? Not one among the saints, not one among the heretics, has ever dared bring forward this blasphemy of frightful pride. Paul, speaking of himself, entitles himself the doctor of the Gentiles, he who teaches them the faith and the truth, and not the doctor of the church."

In another place, Luther says, that, "when Daniel saw the frightful beast with ten horns, (which all the commentators agree to regard as the figure of the Roman empire), he also saw another little horn, which came forth in the middle of the ten others. That little horn," adds he, "is the papal power, which rises up in the midst of the Roman empire."

Let us also behold Melancthon, in his dissertation on marriage, making allusion to the fourth chapter, v. 1, to 3, of the first to Timothy: "But," says he, "since it is certain that the pontiffs and monks have

* It is unfortunate that the organs of Protestantism so often are destitute of science. Here we have a grave man affirming, that a single example of hesitation, as regards the character of papal Rome, would be vainly sought for among the reformers.

-1st. A student of Bonn would quote for him the preface of the Epistle to the Thessalonians, from the Protestant bible, printed at Stuttgart, by P. Treuen, and in which is read: "It is false that the Pope is Antichrist."—*dasz der Pabst nicht der Antichrist sey*, etc.

2dly. Christ. Math. Pfaff, chancellor of the University of Tubingen, has caused to be printed, by J. George and Christ. Gottfried Cotta, a Bible, where we read, "that I. Joh. ii., 18, 22. IV. 3, Joh. 7., do not furnish the least proof in the world that the Pope is the Antichrist."—*dasz nach dem Verstand dieser Sprüchen der Pabst zu Rom nicht der Antichrist seye*, not more than XXIV, 24. St. Math. and Mark XIII, 22.

Nothing is more true, especially in regard to absurd opinions, than this old maxim: *nihil novi sub sole*. A quarto volume has fallen into our hands, which has this title: The judgments of God upon the Roman Catholic church, from its first rigid laws for universal conformity to it, unto its last end, &c., in explication of the trumpets and vials of the Apocalypse, upon principles generally acknowledged by Protestant interpreters, By Cressenex, D. D. London, 1689. Now, it is from this work that M. Cuninghame has derived all his silly things against the papacy.

"prohibited marriage, it is most evident, it is beyond doubt, that the Roman pontiff, with all his hierarchy and his kingdom, is *the Antichrist himself*."—Thus, again, speaking of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, chapter II. Paul "says, in clear terms, that the man of sin will govern in the church, erecting himself against the worship of God, etc. : but it is manifest that the popes reign in the church, and under the title of church, (*in Ecclesia et titulo Ecclesiæ dominari pontifices*), sustaining idols and the worship thereof. I affirm, therefore, that there never has arisen, and never will arise, any heresy, which these words of St. Paul will suit, and to which they will adapt themselves in a manner more exact and more true, than this papal kingdom."

"It is also to the Antichrist that the prophet Daniel refers these two circumstances, to wit : that he will erect an idol in the temple, and that he will honor it by offerings of gold and silver ; and that he will not honor women. Now, who does not clearly see, that both these things regard the Roman pontiff? Evidently, the idols are the mass, the worship of saints, and those statues of gold and silver which they present to the veneration of the faithful."

The English reformers were not less unanimous concerning the character of the papacy. "As to the Pope," says Cranmer, when ready to ascend the pyre, "I reject him, as the enemy of Christ, and as the Antichrist, with all his false doctrines."—"I confess," says *Latimer*, before the commissioners who tried his cause, "I confess that there is one Catholic church, to the decisions of which I shall remain attached : but this church is not the one you call Catholic, and which rather ought to have the name of diabolic." And in his second conference with Ridley : "What is there in common," exclaims he, "between Christ and Antichrist? It is neither just nor lawful to bend under the same yoke with the papists. *Go out from among them, separate from them*, says the Lord." See in what terms Ridley expresses himself, in a farewell letter which he wrote before being led to punishment : "The see of Rome is the see of satan ; and the bishop of Rome, who supports its abominations, is evidently the Antichrist in person. And, *for the same reasons, this see is to-day the one which St. John*, in his Revelations, *calls* Babylon, or the harlot of Babylon, and in a spiritual sense, Sodom and Egypt, the mother of the fornications and the abominations with which the earth is filled."

John Knox, the great leader of the Scotch reformation, in a public discussion between a priest and John Rough, to an argument of the theologian of Rome, concerning the supreme authority of the church, replied in these terms :

"As to your Roman church," he says to him, "in its actual state of corruption, and as to its authority, upon which you ground your hope of victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of satan, and that its head, who is called the Pope, is the man of sin, of whom the Apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ has suffered by the iniquity of the visible church of Jerusalem."

But here are the most curious lines of the dissertation : let us not forget, that they were written at Paris, in 1840.

“By these citations, we perceive what was the language of the reformers, and that they were men of God, whom God sent to purge the Catholic church of its errors, and bring it back to its primitive simplicity and purity; we see no motive for holding a language different from theirs, or to speak as courtiers and flatterers concerning *a church, which, in our opinion, is nothing else than the Antichrist himself.*”

It is not necessary to say, that Calvin saw in the Pope, the Antichrist of Daniel and of St. John. On this subject, he expresses himself freely :

“We say,” he writes, “that Daniel and St. Paul have foretold that the Antichrist would seat himself in the temple of God: we say that the Pope of Rome is the chief and prince of this cursed and abominable kingdom. . . . We say that he has profaned the church by his impiety, afflicted it by the inhumanity of his domination, poisoned, and put it to death, by false and pernicious doctrines, so that Jesus Christ is there half-buried, the gospel suffocated, christianity destroyed, piety proscribed, the worship of God almost abolished.”*

He adds :

“To some persons, it seems that we are too bitter, when we call the Pope the Antichrist; but those who entertain this sentiment, do not then see that they accuse the Apostle St. Paul of the same crime, after whom we speak, and from whose mouth we have learned to hold this language? . . . As if they doubted what kind of christianity the popes and the college of cardinals have professed for so many years past, and of which they still at present make profession? The first article of that secret theology which prevails among them is, THAT THERE IS NO GOD; the second, that all that is written, and all that they preach regarding Jesus Christ, are but lies and impostures; the third, that all things contained in the scriptures, regarding eternal life and the resurrection of the body, are but fables.”†

John de Muller shrugged his shoulders, while reading Calvin's lines, which, at best, are worthy of a Crespin,‡ and asked if it were not more probable that the Antichrist should find himself in a seat, which has ended by denying the Divinity of Jesus, and by seeing in the Christ but a human being?§ And H. Grotius said, laughing: “I excuse not the faults of the papacy; but I am certain, that, if the Antichrist has appeared, he has shown himself not only on the banks of the Tiber, but

* Inst. liv. IV, chap. III, § 12.

† Inst. liv. IX, ch. VII, § 25-27.

‡ Crespin, bookseller, binder, writer, and disciple of Calvin, is the author of a work entitled: *Estat de l'Eglise avec les discours des temps depuis les apostres jusques au présent*, petit in-8, 1581: libelle furibond, où il soutient—que Paul III entretenoit 45,000 paillardes, p. 479;—qu'il estoit astrologue, magicien et devin (471);—que les papes avec Arius et Mahomet ont enseigné que Jésus n'est pas le fils de Dieu;—que les moines qui commencèrent sous Paul, premier hermite, ont nourri et maintenu cette mesme hérésie en leurs diverses façons de vivre (457); que la papauté périroit en brief á cause des mechancetez énormes et detestables qui se commettoyent en icelle (456).

§ Johann von Muller. *sämmtliche Werke*, t. VIII. p. 256. f. Grotius had made the same reflection as Muller. See the *Antichristum revelatum* of Sam. Maresius.

on the shores of lake Leman."* It is probable that Grotius beheld him, not on the end of the eleventh horn, of which Luther speaks, but through the smoke and flames of the funeral pyre which consumed Servetus.

We now perceive whether the written word is dangerous : it is in the scriptures, that the reformation has discovered that the Pope is the Antichrist, and that the Pope and cardinals are atheists.

* *Ego paparum vitia non excuso..... antichristus autem non ad Tiberium tantum sed et ad Lemanum et alibi apparuit. Op. theol. t. III, p. 499. Amst., 1679.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SCRIPTURES.

Opinion of Pighius concerning the value of scripture and tradition.—Heinrich Bensheim of Hagenau.—His vision.—Luther and Calvin before the supreme tribunal. Cotta, the woman according to the heart of God.—Calvin opposed to Calvin.—Avowals of modern Protestants.

PIGHIUS has censured the monks for having accepted the struggle according to the terms imposed by the reformers. "Undoubtedly," says he, "the scripture, which their adversaries wished to constitute sole judge of disputes, is a word, the inspiration of which was recognized by both sides; but the exterior or material sign, with which it was bound to invest itself, could not possess for all the same degree of clearness. This sign could be obscured by pride, vanity, and all perverse instincts. Has not Luther written: When, in the Bible, thou shalt find: Do works, read: Do no works?*" Has he not been often forced to confess, that, in order to comprehend the ancient Testament, one should have lived with David, Jeremias, Isaias, and the prophets; and that, to understand the evangelists and apostles, it would be necessary for a person to have passed his days with St. John and St. Paul? Had Carlstadt the same degree of intelligence as Melancthon? Did Munzer understand Hebrew and Syriac like Luther? Ecolampadius or Zwingle, Greek, like Aleandro? The dispute cannot be comprehended, if the sign be not the same for all those who seek to explain the idea which it involves. And even were this phonetic sign identical, it would still be necessary, that the intelligences which it addresses, should be of equal value. But if this conformity of images does not exist in the physical world, how could it be found in the intellectual world? If one ray of the sun does not resemble another ray, how should the rays of intelligence be the same? The theologians, therefore, without abandoning scripture, should, in order to interpret it, appeal from it to authority, the only torch, which, since the days of the Apostles, shines with an absolute clearness. The reformation, then, had either to deny this torch, which was impossible, or to refuse to Catholic interpreters the gifts with which it illumined every one of its own exegetists. They should have said to it: "This word, which you cite, is divine: it came from the mouth of God, or of men whom He inspired. We accept it, we adore

* Disz soll dir ein gewisse Regel soyn, darnach du dich zu richten hast, dasz, wann du Schrift befehlt, und gebiethet gute Werke zu thun, da es also verstehest, dasz die Schrift verbietet, gute Werke zu thun. Tom. 3, Witt, lat. fol. 171. t. 2 Alt. fol. 606, in der Auslegung des fünften Psalms.

it: our fathers also adored it, but they understood it differently from you; it is not possible that they were mistaken; for God, in that case, would have abandoned his church; and where then should truth be found?"

Wieland has expressed the same idea as Pighius, but with more colouring.—The bible cannot, in matters of faith, decide in the last resort, if, like a treatise of geometry, the signs which it employs have not, in all eyes, an equal signification.* Krug, the philosopher, is, perhaps, more poetic:—Thou sayest that God has spoken, and that his word is the wing which is to bear thee up to heaven; and thou dardest interpret it! and what if thou deceivest thyself! Should you tell me that you rely on a collective interpretation, I might agree with you: but then the Catholic church is right.†

In the year 1560, there dwelt at Hagenau a poor monk, who had belonged to the order of Dominican friars, driven away from Strasbourg at the time of the reformation. He called himself Heinrich Bensheim. He acknowledges himself, that, up to 1540, the epoch of Calvin's arrival at Strasbourg, he had studied the scriptures but superficially,‡ being content to follow with docility the voice of his superiors, and entirely occupied in prayer and meditation. But when he beheld the sectaries take possession of the convents, and drive away the monks, he wished to become acquainted with the spirit of the new gospel and the work of its apostles. His study was long and conscientious: he read and annotated all the writings of the Saxon, Swiss, or French reformers, then went to work. His opinion was that of Pighius. He revered the scriptures; but he believed that tradition was the only path then open to bring back the honest heretic to the truth. "Let us first," said he, "seek an authority in the reformation, and see its symbol." The Saxon church offered him multiform symbols, in which the word of two evangelists presented a double signification, and then he said: "The Saxon church has not the truth, and is not inspired, for the Holy Ghost has but one breathing." He interrogated the Helvetic church, which responded to him with the same confusion of tongues; and he said again: "The star of life shines not upon Zurich." He passed to Geneva, and thence to France, where the evangelical communions were equally divided in their doctrines.

His book was completed: he wished to place in relief these confused teachings. Then, he imagined a drama, the elements of which he found in the bull of Leo X. against Luther, or, perhaps, in the poem of Math. Palmieri, called *la cita di vita*.§ Bensheim, like Accolti, opens his heaven, which is quite resplendent, with seraphim, archangels, and apostles; but the monk places the scene at the end of time, and he supposes, what the Roman cardinal would not have accorded him, that the souls of heretics have slept until the day of the final judgment.

* Wieland, *Bermischte Aufsätze*, t. I.

† Die katholische Kirche hat ganz Recht hierin. Dr. W. Krug. *Philosophisches Gutachten in Sachen des Rationalismus und des Supranaturalismus*, 1827.

‡ *Christliche Erinnerung*. Mayence, 1610.

§ *Niceron.*, t. XI, p. 83.

The angels, then, have sounded the trumpet, to assemble the dead : the dead, who belong to the reformation, arise. You first behold the doctor of Wittenberg move aside the stone of his tomb, and appear with the gospel in his hand. The Sovereign Judge, with the cross of Golgotha by his side, cries out to the Saxon monk :

“Luther, what hast thou done with my blood?”

LUTHER. “Lord, I have taught that it was corporally in the Eucharist.—In my writings to Froschauer, the printer, I have said that I was unwilling to have any intercourse with the Sacramentarians of Zurich, to receive, or to read any of their books, seeing that they were out of the church of God, miserable men, damned, and forcibly destined to hell, and because I was unwilling to participate in any manner in their damnation and blasphemous doctrine; moreover, whilst I was living, I made war upon them, both by prayers and books.*

“And, in my epistle to the duke of Prussia, have I not written : There should be no treaty with the Sacramentarians, for they are opposed to the common faith of all the christian world, concerning the truth of the sacrament, and are divided among themselves into eight contrary and entirely false interpretations? Therefore, I beseech your grace not to allow them to live in your country, if you would have quiet in your soul and peace in your province.†

“And in my book : *Quod verba Christi stent*, I have written against the Huguenots and Calvinists :—Let him who refuses to believe that the bread of the Lord’s Supper is the true and natural body of Christ, which Judas and the wicked received as well as St. Peter, depart from me, and not communicate with me, neither by letters nor by other writings, nor by words, and let him expect no peace from me, for he would lose his pains. And it is of no avail for these phrenetics to babble so loudly about spiritual communion, or to believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, since, with blasphemous mouth, they deny this article of faith.”

And the angel, a second time, sounded his trumpet.

And the dust was agitated to form again the body of Bullinger, of John Lasco, a Calvinist minister in Poland, of Thomas Naogeorgus, of Ambrose Wolff, of Œcolampadius.

And all these shades, in passing by Luther, cast angry words into his face.

BULLINGER. Is it thou I behold, oh! Luther, a man full of errors, who hast not rightly walked in the way of the gospel? ‡

JOHN LASCO. Avaunt! thou rustic and ignorant man!

THOMAS NAOGEORGUS. Withdraw, thou choleric, envious man, who hast invented a new doctrine, contrary to holy antiquity; who hast sought only thy own honor, and not that of Christ! §

AMBROSE WOLFF. Shame on thee, who hast written controversies, without reason, without conscience, without argument, and contrary to the sentiment of the whole ancient church? ||

* Schlüsselburgius, lib. 2 Theolog. Calv., art. 12, fol. 133.

† Rescius, p. 2.

‡ L. contra Brent.

§ In Psal. 26.

|| Lib. contra form. concord.

ÆCOLAMPADIUS. God will judge thee; thyself and thy followers, through thy inconstancy and false wisdom, divided into sixty-two different opinions.*

And the angel, a third time, sounded the trumpet, and Calvin beheld Christ face to face.

And Christ asked him as he had Luther :

“What hast thou done with my blood?”

CALVIN. “Lord, I have defended the truth against the falsehoods of thy enemies, the Lutherans, infected with so many errors that their oldest theologians do not even understand what little children learn in their catechisms. They knew not what the Lord’s Supper signified, nor what was its end. They were brutal men, not having an idea of honest shame, cavillers, uttering the hyperboles of their Luther, solicitous only how to enchant the people and please the world; and careless of the judgment of God and his angels: impetuous, furious, light, and inconstant men, dealers in fibs, blinded men, drunkards, full of doggish impudence and diabolical pride.”†

And, a fourth time, the angel sounded the trumpet, the dust was once more agitated, to form again a visible body, and Heshus was seen to appear.

HESHUS, who at first was seized with trembling at the sight of Calvin, began to exclaim :

“Liar, who, in all thy veins, hast not one drop of the faithful christian or honest man; how will thou and thy preachers evade the horrible judgments of God, you, who bear yourselves so boldly and treacherously in divine things pertaining to faith, that no one can recognize the least sign of the spirit of God? Were you not then guided by that Calvinistic, phrenetic spirit, the despiser of God and of his word, disguising your wicked cause, in terms so well devised, in order to deceive simple souls with all fraud, artifice, and cheat? Now, I protest that I have never agreed with you in doctrine, or in faith, but have held you to be false teachers, blasphemers, disloyal and wicked Sacramentarians.‡ You have endeavoured, and especially thou, oh Calvin, the sophist, to abolish a sentence, by your darkness and mists, quite contrary to the words of the Son of God. With impudent mouth, you have blasphemed, and spoken irreverently of the flesh of Christ, jugglers as you are, destitute of the spirit of truth, and replete with the spirit of falsehood; cunning players of pass-pass, you have persecuted the Saxon churches.”§

And **FRANZ STANCAE** came, and jostling Calvin, who turned his head round, said to him :

—“Thou shalt understand me, blasphemer of Christ; thou! whom I hold guilty of the ancient heresies of the Cainites, Arians, Eutychians, Apollinarists, Acephali, Theodocians, and Macarians. I have maintained, that Peter Lombard, called the master of sentences, should be esteemed as worth more than four hundred Melancthons, three hun-

* *Æqua Respons.*

† *Admonit. ultima ad Westphalum.*

‡ *Epist. ad quemdam ex præcipua nobilitate.*

§ *Def contra Calv., lib. de præsent. Christi.*

dred Bullingers, and five hundred Calvins, from whom it would be impossible to extract a single ounce of true theology, should all of them together be pounded and mixed in the same mortar.”*

And the angel sounded the trumpet a fifth time. “Then,” says Heinrich Bensheim, “I heard a frightful clattering of bones, which were investing themselves with human flesh. These were the sectaries generated by the reformation, and who were again assuming life and speech: Osiandrists, Stancarians, Majorists, Flaccians, Synergists, Adiaphorists, Mansfeldians, Misnians, Wittenbergians, Ubiquitists, Substantiarrians, Accidentarians, Swenkfeldians, Calvinists, Melancthonians, Carlstadians, Zwinglians, Ecolampadians, who began to insult each other, to reproach each other for the souls they had destroyed, for the blood they had poured out, for the tears which they had caused humanity to weep!”

And a voice cried out :

“Have you a symbol?”

And no one answered.

Then the angel, for the sixth time, sounded the trumpet, and a woman, vested in black, approached.

And the angel asked her : “Who art thou?”

—“I am Cotta,” answered the soul ; “it is I, who, at Madgebourg, to a poor child, who asked me in the name of God, gave bread to appease his hunger, and water to quench his thirst, and a prayer book, that he might pray.”

And Christ said to her :

“Come, beloved of my father : I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat ; thou hast, in the simplicity of thy heart, believed what the church taught thee ; thou hast resembled the lily of the field, which asks not whence comes the rain that falls from heaven : thy humility of heart shall be rewarded.”

And Bensheim awoke. But his drama was not yet completed. There was another tribunal, before which he desired to summon the reformers : this was his own. His book ceases to be poetical, the monk has re-appeared, and put on his scholastic robes, in order to judge the heads of the new churches. His memory seems truly prodigious. He knows by heart all the writings of the new doctors, whom he opposes, not to each other, but to themselves. Calvin’s confession is curious.

CALVIN.

I would have for ever buried such names as Trinitarian, Divine Persons, co-essential, and co-eternal. Utinam hæc nomina sepulta essent. Inst. lib. 1, c. 13, † 5.

CALVIN.

Such terms are very profitable to the church of Christ, as well to express the true distinction of persons as to exclude the evasions of heretics, and I protest that I embrace them freely. Ep. p. 240.

CALVIN.

As to the simple permission of God regarding sins, I call it falsehood, ter-

CALVIN.

The temptations which assail us are not fortuitous, but from the devil, by

* Rescius, p. 26, 27. Stancar, de Trinitate et Mediatore.

giversation, fiction, a solution too cold, cavilling. Inst., l. 1, c. 8, §§ 1 and 2. L. 2, c. 4, §§ 3, 4, 5.

God was the author of the murders, massacres and outrages, committed by the Chaldeans and Sabians against Job, his servants and possessions. *Scelesti latrones ministri fuerant, Deum fuisse autorem colligimus.* Inst., l. 1, c. 18, §§ 1, 2.

CALVIN.

The name of God, in its excellence, belongs only to the Father; after the general judgment, the Son, according to his deity, will be subject to the Father. *Ad. Valent. Gentilem.* Inst., l. 2, c. 14, 3. In consideration of his person, the Son cannot be called Creator of heaven and earth. *L. adv. Val. Gentil.* The Son of God, by reason of his office, and even according to his deity, is less than the Father. *Ep. ad fratres Polonos.* The Son is of himself, not of God the heavenly Father; he has a splendour of his own, not engendered of the Father. Inst., l. 1. c. 8, §§ 19, 25. In c. 1 Jo., v. 9.

CALVIN.

Christ had an ignorance in common with angels and men. In c. 24. *Math.* In cap. 2 *Luc.*

From the Son of God, a desire inconsiderately escaped, which he had forthwith to renounce. In cap. 11, 12, *Jo.* He asked of his Father a thing impossible; his desire had to be chastised and revoked. His prayer was not well meditated, but extracted by the force of pain, also it had to be corrected. In cap. 26. *Math.*

We were more than once assailed by doubt, while perusing Heinrich Bensheim; we were unable to credit these incessant transformations of a word, which they announced to us as an echo of the divine word, and which, in truth, resembles the vessel of the Argonauts, so often repaired, that no fragment of its primitive frame-work remained. Then,

* Francis Fev-Ardent has exhibited the contradictions of the Calvinistic and Lutheran doctrines, in a work which made a great noise in the sixteenth century, and which is entitled: *LES ENTREMANGERIES ET GUERRES MINISTRALES*, in 12mo. This stanza of four lines is found at the head of the book:

Comme sus le Printemps la neige va fondant
Aux rayons du soleil, quand son cours renouelle,
Ainsi de iour en iour dedans ce FEV-ARDENT
Se brusle peu á peu ceste secte nouvelle.

the permission of God. God permits his word to perish in some. He had permitted Judas to betray, the Jews to seize Christ, and to cry: his blood be upon us, and upon our children. The fathers were right, in attributing to the sole permission of God, the blindness and obstinacy of the wicked, and not to his operation. *Comm. in Math.* c. 4, 8, 9, 26, 27; in *Joh.*, c. 10, 14; *Joel*, 10 and 14.

CALVIN.

The Divine essence is entirely communicated to the Son, by the Father, who is the principle and the fountain of deity: this is confirmed by the text of *St. John*, 6., where the Son attributes to the Father all that he has of divinity. Inst., l. 1, c. 8, §§ 23 and 25. *Servetus*: thou art constrained to admit that Christ acknowledged himself to be from the Father, and for this was truly his Son.

CALVIN.

Christ knew what was hidden from men, viz: the interior of hearts. *Comm.* in cap. 3 *Jo.*

The affections of Christ were never vicious, but were always moderated and conformed to the service of God: no passion in him exceeded due measure; there was none without good reason and judgment, for he always held himself under the will of his Father. In cap. 11 *Jo.**

with an impulse of incredulity, we proceeded to search for the texts cited by the monk of Hagenau, and we found them at the page which he had indicated. And we asked ourselves, whether that light, which the reformation brought us, was truly a light of life and truth; whether, like the light spoken of by the Apostle St. John, it enlightened all those who walked in its glare.

We again took up Bensheim's book, and read these prophetic words:

“And the day will come, when the reformers themselves shall acknowledge the insufficiency of individual sense, to interpret the word of God.”

That day has come: for it is the reformation which has penned the following lines:

——“Why has a dead letter been substituted for a living authority, if, to understand the scriptures, you oblige me to study the languages of the past? It is a burden which you impose upon my reason.”*

——“With Luther's maxim, that the scripture is the only rule of faith, it was impossible for the Protestant school to preserve the doctrines of the Saxon master. If the monk abandoned the Catholic teaching because it did not rest on the scriptures, could the Saxon symbol be preserved, when it was found not to be in harmony with the word of God?”†

——“Prove to me, by scripture, that my doctrine is false, and I am ready to renounce it. It is thus thou spoked, oh! noble Luther, at the Diet of Worms, and thou didst triumph. We will follow thy example, and say: prove to us the truth of Luther's doctrine, and we shall deny our own, for we do not believe what he believed.”‡

——“The Protestant church, which takes the scripture for a doctrinal foundation, is built upon the sands.”§

* Prof. Dr. von Schelling, Vorlesungen über das akademische Studium.

† Plank, Ueber den gegenwärtigen Zustand und die Bedürfnisse unserer protestantischen Kirche. 1817, p. 24.

‡ D. Pape, Distichen in der a. K. Z., 1830, No. 171.

§ Dr. F. F. Delbrück, Philipp Melanchthon, der Glaubenslehrer, 1826.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CALVIN'S CATECHISM.—1541.

The Catholic catechism.—Catechisms of Luther; the doctrines contained in them.—Calvin's catechism, old and worn out.—The reformation has not a church, but churches.—Father Athanasius of Stantzadt.—That Catholicism only can have a catechism.—All the truths of the gospel affirmed and denied by the reformation.—Various proofs extracted from Protestant works.

THE Catholic catechism* of Geneva was a book almost as ancient as the oldest chants of its church, of an admirable simplicity, essentially milk and honey; and, moreover, it was like all the other catechisms of our church. It was nearly the same that Bossuet, "admonished by his gray locks," expounded to his little children, and that Vincent of Paul caused to be recited by the peasants of Chatillon on the Chalaronne. It was in the form of a dialogue. The priest asked: What is God? the child answered: God is an infinite spirit, &c.; in such sort, that it was not necessary to apply to a philosopher, in order to know the symbol of faith. The young maiden, on the point of making her first communion, knew as much as was known by Thomas a Kempis.

Luther, struck by this simplicity, preserved the little book almost entire. He retained the dialogue, the simple expression, the purplish colouring, in fine, the form: but, with his breath of innovation, he corrupted the groundwork. In the Catholic catechism, the priest disappeared behind the divine word, of which he was but the interpreter: in the Saxon catechism, the man stands forward as the king of creation, and the child, who is able to read, learns to know him who is charged with distributing to him the celestial manna, before he has even touched it. Do you comprehend that this monk has nailed upon the head of his large and small catechism, a preface, in which he finds occasion to insult Catholics? In the preface to his large catechism, he, for a moment, forgets the papists, who, although he long since sang their downfall, still prevent him from sleeping, and he pounces upon the reformed ministers. "Fallen beings, who think only of their bellies; keepers of dogs, rather than pastors of christian souls, who, quite glad to be disburdened of their breviaries, find it too fatiguing to

*Christi domestici et fratres dicebantur græce katechoumenoi, cæterum qui eos viva voce erudiebant, katechistai, et eruditio ipsa katechesis, universum vero negocium hoc appellabant katechismos.—Præf. Wicelii in suum catechismum. Col. 1554.

read, each morning and evening, a single page of the New Testament, and fall down exhausted, when they have recited the Lord's Prayer."* We have searched to find whether Luther had placed calumny in the catalogue of sins, and we have found it noted down as an offence against God and the neighbour. It is not probable, therefore, that he was willing to lie against his conscience, in drawing for us so sad a portrait of the ministers of his church, renegades, whose loss Catholicism has no reason to deplore, and whose conquest the reformation has no reason to chant. Luther's golden volume, *Liber aureus*, for a long time ranked among the symbolical books of Saxony, has seen its time: advanced Protestantism no longer, at this day, admits human words as dogmatic, but it still continues grossly to insult our articles of belief. Has it not, in our time, reprinted "the Papistical Catechism" of John Frid. Mayer? a miserable pasquinade, in which the child is asked to recite the first commandment of God; and in which the child answers: "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, Mary, the holy angels, the saints and their relics, the figure of the cross, the cross, the holy father, &c."†

In 1536, Calvin, probably with the assistance of Farel, published a French catechism, for the use of the church of Geneva, which he translated into Latin, and had published at Bale, by Robert Winter.‡ In his letter to Sommerset, he thus establishes the necessity for a catechism:

* Qui scientiæ opinione inflati, aut ventri indulgentes non docent plebem, digni utique ut canum custodes (Hundeknechte) sint potius quam animarum custodes.—Liberati a molestissima Breviarii recitatione, unam tamen alteramve singulis diebus mane, meridie et vesperi ex catechismo, novo testamento aut alio scripturæ sacræ libro legere gravantur, aut orationem dominicam pro se et auditoribus suis recitare.—Seckendorf, comment. historicus.... de Lutheranism. Lib. II, sect. 17, † 41, p. 146.

† Du sollst den Herrn deinen Gott nit allein anbetten, sondern neben ihm Mariam, die H. Engel, die vetstorbenen Heiligen, ihre Reliquien, die Figur des Kreuzes, das Kreuz selber, den heiligen Vater Pabst und vil andere mehr.

Mayer's Papistical Catechism had great success in Germany. Published for the first time (we think), in 1679, it was reprinted at Frankfort, on the Oder, in 1717, under the stamp of that entirely Catholic city, Cologne: a lie on the title page, and a lie on each page of the work.

‡ Basileæ 1538. Catechismus sive ch. rel. institutio ecclesiæ Genev. vulgari prius idomate edita nuncque postremo latinitate etiam donata. Joan. Calvino autore: Omnes homines ad religionem esse natos.—Quid inter falsam ac veram religionem intersit.—Quid de Deo nobis cognoscendum.—De homine.—De libero arbitrio.—De peccato et morte.—Quomodo in salutem ac vitam restituumur.—De lege Domini.—Exodi XX. Ego sum Dominus (explicatio Decalogi).—Legis summa.—Quid ex sola lege ad nos redeat.—Legem gradum esse ad Christum.—Christum fide a nobis apprehendi.—De electione et prædestinatione.—Quid sit vera fides.—Fides donum Dei.—In Christo justificamur per fidem.—Per fidem sanctificamur in legis obedientiam—De penitentia et regeneratione.—Quomodo bonorum operum et fidei justitia simul convenient.—Symbolum fidei.—Credo in unum Deum etc. Explicatio Symboli apostolici.—Quid sit spes.—De oratione.—Quid in oratione spectandum.—Orationis dominicæ enarratio. (Explicatio orationis dominicæ).—Orandi perseveratio.—De sacramentis.—Quid sacramentum.—De baptismo.—De cœna Domini—De ecclesiæ pastoribus et eorum potestate.—De traditionibus humanis.—De excommunicatione.—De magistratu.—Sequitur: "Confessio fidei in quam jurare cives omnes genevenses, et qui sub civitatis ejus ditione agunt, jussi sunt, expressita e Catechismo, quo utitur ecclesia genevensis."

“ True it is, that it is meet and expedient to obviate that levity of fantastical minds, who allow themselves too much license, and also to close the door upon all curiosity and new doctrines; but the good and proper means for doing this, is such as God points out to us. It is, first, to have *some determined summary of doctrine, which all ought to preach, which all preludes and pastors should swear to follow, and that no one should be received to the ecclesiastical office, who does not promise to maintain such union.* Afterwards, that there be a common formulary of instructions, for little children and ignorant persons, which may render good doctrine familiar to them; so that they may discern it from falsehoods and corruptions which might be introduced to the contrary. Believe, my Lord, *that the church of God never will preserve itself without a catechism*: for this is as the seed to prevent the good grain from perishing, and to make it increase from age to age. And as you desire to erect *an edifice which shall endure long, and not soon fall to decay,* cause the children to be instructed in a good catechism, which briefly manifests to their little minds in what consists true christianity. This catechism will serve for two purposes, viz: as an introduction to all the people, to enable them to profit by what shall be preached to them, and also, to aid them to discern if any presumptuous person teaches a strange doctrine. However, I do not say that it is not good and necessary to restrict pastors and curés to the keeping of a written form, as well to supply the ignorance of some, as also the better to manifest conformity and concord among the churches. Thirdly, to cut short the progress of all curiosity and new invention, on the part of such as might be inclined to extravagances.”

In his catechism for children,* Calvin has not pursued the same plan as Luther, who defines and explains the law, then exposes the dogma or creed, and afterwards comes to prayer. Calvin's progression is more rational. Behold how he proceeds :

— What is it truly to know God ?

It is to know him in order to honor him.

— What is the true manner of honoring him ?

It is, first : to place all our confidence in him ;

2dly. To serve him, by complying with his will ;

3dly. By invoking him in all our troubles, centering in him our hopes, our salvation, our present life ;

* Le catéchisme, c'est-à-dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfants en la christianité, fait en la manière de dialogue, où le maistre interroge et l'enfant répond.—Op de Calvin, p. 200.

“ Calvin composed this catechism in French, in the year 1536, and published it at Bale, in Latin, in 1538. He changed its form in 1541, reducing it into a good method, by questions and responses, to be more easy for children: whereas, in the other, the matters were treated by way of summaries and short chapters.” Beza.—Calvin afterwards made a Latin translation, which was printed at Strasbourg, in 1545: this edition was copied at the end of the Latin edition of the Institutes, printed at Geneva, in 1549, in quarto.

The edition of 1538 must be very rare, since it was not reprinted, and there are grounds for believing that Calvin wanted to suppress it. David Clement, Bibl. Cur. t. VI, p. 96, note. The catechism has been translated into Hebrew.

4thly. By confessing, with heart and lips, that every good comes from him.

The principle of true faith consists in the contemplation of God in Christ; from this ascetic vision, he deduces the apostolic symbol formed by four representations: the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and the Church.

From faith, he proceeds to consider works, repentance, the law, and the ten commandments; then what he calls "the service of God," which consists in doing his will.

From the law, he passes to prayer; for man has need of divine assistance, in order to do the will of God.

The Lord's Prayer serves him as a text for glorifying the Lord, who is the source of every good, and who has given his holy word and the sacraments to the church.

At the head of his formulary, the reformer has placed these insolent lines.

"To instruct little children in christian doctrine, is a thing which the church has always held in singular esteem. And to do this, in ancient times, they not only had schools, and commanded every one carefully to indoctrinate his family; but also, the public orders were held bound to examine the little children upon points which should commonly be known to all christians. And that they might proceed with method, they made use of a formulary, called the catechism. Since, the devil, by dissipating the church, and making horrible ruin, of which the marks are still to be seen in most parts of the world, has destroyed this holy policy, and has left nothing but some sort of relics of this custom, which can only serve to engender superstition without in any wise conducing to edification; they call that confirmation, which is a mere mummery, without the least foundation."

We must here imitate Calvin's frankness, and tell him that he deceives his reader. At the moment he was accusing our church of leaving children without spiritual nourishment, our presses in every country were labouring to reproduce, under various titles, of *Articuli fidei*, and *Rudimenta fidei*, in Latin, in French, and in German, this little book, which already bore the name of catechism.* There was one at least which he should have known, we mean that which Erasmus published, under the title of: *Dilucida explanatio symboli*.†

Calvin's method met with little sympathy in Germany. Ursinus and Olevian changed the pedagogical form of the two reformers. It is man in all his misery, fallen through sin, that the child first learns to know. But this man has been freed and resuscitated by his faith in Jesus Christ. What is this faith? Olevian furnishes its formula: Man, made free, owes his love and gratitude to his Saviour, and the christian soul learns

* Who knows not the catechism of Wicel, translated from the German into Latin verses, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the catechism of Edmund Auger?

† This little work, which obtained the approbation of Sadolet, (Sadol. ep. 5. lib. 4.) appeared in 1533. (Ep. Er. ep. 43, l. 29.) It is in the form of a catechism. Vie d'Erasmus par Burigny. t. II, p. 353.

in what this love consists. If he loves, he must live in a holy manner, and obey the principles of the divine law. Then comes the exposition of the ten commandments and of the Lord's Prayer.

Calvin revised his French work, in 1545, and changed its method. In the new edition, he proceeds by dialogue, and deduces faith before the law. The Genevan synod ranked the catechism among the symbolical books, and received it as an enchiridion of christian truths, written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The synods of France decided that the reformed churches should receive it, without changing any thing in it. But it has encountered the fate of Marot's rhymes: the worm of time has gnawed it, and Vernet, the rationalist, has taken the place of Calvin.

Thus, in the reformation, spirit and matter, signs and ideas, every thing dies. Could it happen otherwise? Behold these books, which were designed for childhood, and in which all the light the reformation had poured forth; there is not one of them which includes identical doctrines. Upon the title, was written: for the use of the Protestant churches. What churches? Those of France, of Switzerland, of Silesia, of Denmark, of Sweden, or of England? The reformation is right: Let it still leave upon the title page of its catechisms: *for the use of the Protestant churches*. In this stands recorded its own sentence. It has not a church, but churches; and this decree has been drawn up by a writer of the reformation.*

Not long since, in visiting the church dedicated to St. Nicholas-de-Flue, at Stantzstadt, in Switzerland, we saw a capuchin, with silvered locks, teaching the catechism to some peasants.

— "Who are the beloved of God?" asked the monk of a little girl.

"Those who know their catechism well," responded the child, without hesitation.

The father smiled.

— "She is right," said father Athanasius to me, in the evening: "is not the whole sacred chrisom of the divine word contained in this little book? Some few drops may also have fallen into those little books which Protestants place in the hands of their children, but mingled with the water of rain and snow."

— "You would speak of their catechism?" said I, in reply.

— Or of their manuals, to which they give this name, rejoined the monk; for, as there is only one God, there can be only one catechism. Do you wish me to give this name to compilations, in which creed changes like the temperature of our mountains, at every thousand fathoms? The catechism of Geneva is not like that of Neuchatel; the catechism of Neuchatel is different from that of Zurich. Hear me, added he, and be not in dread of this cowl, in which Luther has lodged the seven capital sins, without even having shown favour to the one borne by our holy liberator, the hermit Nicholas de Flue. Let us seat ourselves before this beautiful lake of Lungern, the surrounding fields of which have been made fertile by monks, and I will cast aside my

*Planck, G. J., Ueber die gegenwärtige Lage der katholischen und protestantischen Parthey. 1816.

cow and wallet, and we shall see whether any sins will fall out of them.

We went and seated ourselves on a little mount, which sloped down in verdant undulations, whence our eye could behold Mount Pilate to the north, the Misenberg to the south, the valley of Obwalden in front, quite studded with beautiful trees, thick forests, and green hills, which relieved the angular projections of the rocks.

— “I am all attention, father,” said I to the monk, “I am waiting for you to shake the tree of knowledge, for here we are in a real terrestrial Paradise.”

— “It is error herself, and not I, that shall shake the tree of knowledge.”

“The dogma of original sin, as that of man’s regeneration by the blood of the Redeemer, is an article of faith.”

It is Walch who speaks.*

“The dogma of original sin is to-day abandoned, for it is not grounded on scripture: it would be prejudicial to the development of the human mind.”

It is doctor Hase who thus expresses himself.†

Think you, that Walch and Hase can teach the same catechism?

“Baptism confers grace, and makes us the children of God.”

This is the doctrine of Melancthon.‡

“Baptism is but a symbol: it is the figurative representation of our entrance into the christian church.”

This is the teaching of Dr. Thomas Balguy.§

Do you believe that these two doctors should put the same catechism into the hands of their children?

“The body and the blood of Jesus Christ are really and truly in the sacrament of the Eucharist, under the species or appearances of bread and wine.”

You are aware that this is the doctrine constantly maintained by Luther.||

“Jesus took the bread, and brake it, and said: this is my body, that is, the image of my body;—this is my blood, that is, the image of my blood, which shall be poured out like wine from the chalice.”

This is the interpretation of Jacobi.¶

Will Jacobi put into his daughter’s hands the catechism, which Luther had composed for his little Margaret?

“Man resembles the statue of Lot, a knight holding by the crupper of a restive horse, which carries him whither it pleases.”

Luther tells us this.

* Prof. J. G. Walch, *Einleitung in die polemische Gottesgelahrtheit*, 1754, p. 312.

† Dr. Karl Hase, *Lehrbuch der evang. Dogmatik*. 1826.

‡ Augsburgur Confession, 1530. Art. IX, des Glaubens und der Behre.

§ D. Thomas Balguy, *Discourses, dedicated to the King*. 1785, p. 298.

|| Augs. Konf. Art. X.

¶ Dr. J. A. Jacobi, *Die Geschichte Jesu für denkende und gemüthvolle Leser*. 1816.

"Whoever says that he has not received free-will from God, is the lazy servant, who buries his talent in the ground."

So teaches Schulz.*

Schulz is right, in rejecting the *kleine Katechismus* of the Saxon monk.

"We have stripped the demon of his personality: in our days, we can laugh at him as a fiction."†

You have just heard Treschow, who is reckoned to be one of the luminaries of the reformation.

But you will not long listen to him. Here comes Reinhard, a man of great science, of an eloquence which entrances the heart, who, in his dogmatic teaching, maintains:

"That to deny the existence of the devil, as an absolute, identical being, is to attack scripture, which, at every instant, proclaims the devouring activity of this fallen angel."‡

Hence, therefore, if Treschow admit the necessity of a christian manual for children, it is not to Reinhard, a Protestant like himself, that he will entrust its preparation.

When, before admitting a child to the holy communion, I ask him to recite the creed, the child obeys me; and the creed which he repeats here, in our little country church, is the same that you will hear in France, Italy, Germany, and in all Catholic countries.

The child says, every where: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church, in the resurrection of the dead," &c.

Should I ask the Protestant Kœhler, whether our bodies will rise again? he will answer:

"Yes, Christ, at the end of the world, will resuscitate the bodies of men; that is, the bodies will be again united with their souls. After the resurrection will come the last judgment."§

But Ammon will say:

"Since the notions of resurrection and judgment do not flow from the New Testament, the books of revelation have therefore only a purely historical value."||

— Do me the favour to listen to me, said father Athanasius: I want to bring before you, one by one, the principal truths of christianity; you shall behold those which will enter into the reformed symbol.

The scriptures teach us that, at the great day of judgment, Jesus will appear in all his power, and will say to the good: Come, the blessed of my Father, the kingdom of heaven is yours; and to the wicked: Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire. Our children have learned this in their catechism.

Hasenkamp is brief in his sentence.

"Down with the dogma of eternal punishments, and the poisoned vapours of the abyss!" ¶

* Was heiszt Glauben? 1830, p. 147.

† Dr. Treschow, *Der Geist des Christenthums*, 1828.

‡ Reinhard, *Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik*, 3d edition, 1812, p. 195.

§ Kœhler, *die Hauptsätze der christlichen Religion*, 1829, p. 22. 23.

|| C. F. Ammon, *Biblische Theologie*, 2d. edition, 1813, t. III, p. 367.

¶ Hasenkamp, *Die Wahrheit zur Gottseligkeit*, III, p. 309.

And Walch is still more precise :

“The eternity of punishment is established by the scriptures.”*

Here are two catechists, who could not meet each other in the same temple, without laughing.

Kœhler says to the child :—“The Holy Ghost is the third person of the Holy Trinity.”†

Ewald draws near, and overhearing him, exclaims : “No, nothing can prove to me the personality of the Holy Ghost ; I do not find it in the Bible, and I believe nothing but what I read in the Bible.”‡

“Is Jesus Christ God?”

Our child answers : “Yes, he is God.”

And if I ask doctor Ammon’s little girl : Is Jesus Christ God ?

The minister’s child will answer : “Yes ;” and the father will add : “If Jesus Christ is God, if he is our Mediator, our Saviour, his doctrine is holy.”§

But what will the son of Cludius say ? He will answer : “No, Jesus is not God ; for, in the scripture, he never announced himself as any thing but a missionary of God. His doctrine has no connection with his person.”||

I must read you a fine passage of a moralist :

“Since Jesus has taken upon himself the sins of the world ; since he has offered himself in sacrifice to redeem the human race ; since he has satisfied his Father’s justice, by suffering in his own flesh ; God, in virtue of the merits of the blood of his Son, can well pardon repentant sinners, remit to them the penalties incurred by their disobedience, and place them in his glory. Without faith in the blood of Christ, the soul cannot hope for salvation in eternal life.”||

— Beautiful and noble words, said I to father Athanasius.

— Very fine, as you have remarked, and for which I return my thanks to doctor Kraftt ; but listen to doctor Paulus.

“How can such ideas, so little biblical, as those of satisfaction, reparation, and redemption by a bloody expiation, ever be admitted by a christian ?”¶

To which of them would you present your children for instruction ?

And these are two glorious intelligences, who, with their very powerful imaginations, could not write a dialogue of two lines concerning the christian symbol ! Bring before me all the Protestants in the world, I will non-pluss the whole of them, by demanding from them a page of catechism for my little children. And yet, they will say to me that they have found the truth, and they cannot define what the truth is.

Father Athanasius, after a moment’s silence, added :

* Walch, loc. cit., p. 488.

† Kœhler, loc. cit., p. 16.

‡ J. L. Ewald, nöthiger Anhang zu der Schrift: die Religionslehre der Bibel. 1814.

§ Ammon, die unveränderliche Einheit, 1827, III, p. 21.

¶ G. H. Cludius, Uransichten des Christenthums, 1808.

|| Dr. I. C. G. L. Kraftt, Christus unsere Weisheit. Vier Predigten, 1829, p. 33.

¶ Prof. Dr. H. E. G. Paulus, Das Leben Jesu als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristenthums, 1828. (preface).

— Do you see yon little tower? It was there dwelt Nicholas de Flue. I occupy the little chamber, where, each morning, on rising with the sun, he prostrated himself to adore in spirit Him, who gives fertility to our fields, who gives life to our flowers, water to our rocks, nourishment to our birds, material bread to our labourers. I said to myself, sometimes: this poor hermit, who believed the doctrines he was taught, walked well in the way of the Lord. Is it a misfortune for him, not to have beheld the light which the reformation pretends to have caused to shine upon the world? Then all the reminiscences of my former reading, (for I was long harrassed by doubts), came thronging and buzzing in my head, like those insects which the setting sun causes to gather round us.

And Zschockke exclaimed:—"Let Protestantism march onward, even if it be destined to plunge into a bottomless abyss!"*

And Wolfarth said:—"If the evangelical church desire to maintain her ground, let her unfurl the standard of the crusader, let her be faithful to this Teutonic motto: Hurrah! onward!"†

And Kleuker cried:—"Come, courage; let us protest against the protestations of the new Protestantism!"‡

And Berger said:—"What must one do to obtain eternal life? There are as many answers to this question as there are Protestants."§

And, declared Rambech:—"We are in a very Babel: Babel, in Hebrew, is *confusio*, that is, *confusion*, that is, *confession*."||

And Fischer said:—"Give me a mile square, and I shall find for you five or six pulpits, in which the pastors preach a different gospel. . . . The people, in their simplicity, believe that truth is one, and they cannot comprehend how each minister can be in possession of a dogma which is his own peculiar property."¶

But lo! God has given to figures a more powerful voice than ever was that of the dissenting reformers: I will cause you to hear it.

In 1823, the Presbyterians, whose churches are most numerous in the south, the west, and the centre of the United States, had 1,214 pastors, and 136,473 members; the Congregationalists, whose hierarchy, since 1708, occupies a middle ground, between the Presbyterians and the Independents, had 720 ministers and 960 churches; the Baptists, 2,577 ministers; the Episcopal church, 11 bishops, 486 ministers, 24,075 members; the Wesleyans, 3 bishops, 1,405 ministers, and 382,000 members; the Quakers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, 750,000 members; the German Protestants, 90 pastors, and 30,000 members; the Dutch Reformed, 150 ministers, and 40,000 members; the Lutherans, 200 ministers, and 800 congregations; the Swedenborgians, 50 preachers, and 100,000 members; the Universalists, 140

* J. H. D. Zschokke, Ueberlieferungen zur Geschichte unserer Zeit. 1817, oct., p. 28.

† Dr. A. Wohlfarth in der all. Kirch. Zeit., 1830, No. 593.

‡ Dr. J. F. Kleuker, Ueber den alten und neuen Protestantismus, 1832.

§ Berger, Einleitung zur Religion in der Vernunft.

|| Dr. J. J. Rambach, Historische Einleitung in die Streitigkeiten zwischen der evangelisch-lutherischen und römisch-katholischen Kirche. t. I, p. 201.

¶ Dr. Fr. Fischer, Zur Einleitung in die Dogmatik der evang. protest. Kirche, 1828.

pastors, and 5,400 members; the Presbyterians, 60 pastors, and 60 congregations;* the Free-Will Baptists, 242 ministers, and 12,000 members; the Six-Principle Baptists, 20 ministers, and 1,500 members; the open-Communion Baptists, who are not Anabaptists, 23 ministers, and 1,284 members; the Sabbatharians, 29 ministers, and 2,862 members; the Marionites, 200 ministers, and 20,000 members.†

One fine day, some Protestant missionaries, with the Bible under their arms, alighted upon this land, already agitated by so many sects, and, at their breath, were seen to be born new Baptists, Methodists, Hernhutters, Calvinists, rigid Lutherans, Presbists, Rationalists and Suprationalists.‡ The sun is not more fertilizing, upon our mountains in the month of May, than is the word of these evangelical pilgrims; except, that the herbs, flowers, and grain, which it causes to grow and mature, all chant the same canticle; whilst the souls begotten by the reformation, have each a different canticle.

“And now permit a page of the catechism of one of these communions to fall amongst them, and you may be certain that not one of these sects will divine to what church the page belongs. But let the wind bear upon its wings a leaf of ours, and drop it beyond Mount Rose, and the first priest that shall pass along the borders of lake Major, will stoop to lift it, and, on reading it, will say: ‘This is a fragment of a Catholic book.’”

* We presume the author here refers to some particular sect of Presbyterians.—*Tr.*

† Burnier, *Revue Britannique Religieuse*, or a selection of articles extracted from the best Religious journals of Great Britain and the United States. Geneva. 1829.

‡ Aeuszerung eines “sehr verständigen Mannes” gegen Riomeyer. S. dessen Beobachtungen auf Reisen. t. I, p. 102.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CALVIN'S RECALL.—1541.

Causes of the recall of Calvin.—Miserable condition of the reformed church at Geneva.—Letter of J. Bernard to the exile.—Menaces of Berne.—Mission of deputies to treat of different points in litigation.—Their return to Geneva.—The Calvinistic party excite the population against the patriots who signed the convention with Berne.—The Articulants.—Punishment of the Captain General of the militia.—Division of minds.—The councils think of recalling Calvin.—Letters of the Syndics.—The reformer's refusal.—New measures of the councils.—Adjuration.—Calvin yields.—Departure for Geneva.—St. Ignatius and Calvin.

WE must now examine the causes which led to the recall of the exile.

On his arrival at Geneva, Calvin, in his ill disguised designs of absolutism, had sought a point of support somewhere independent of the people, and had found it in the inferior councils: but the people, with admirable good sense, had divined the plans of the theocrat, and, in a moment of wrath, had driven him away. The wound still remained: Geneva was divided. The aristocracy wished to effect a political revolution, by proposing, that "nothing should be brought forward, in the council of the two hundred, which had not first been discussed in the small council, nor be proposed in the general council, before having been treated of, as well in the small council as in that of the two hundred."* The people saved the liberties of Geneva, by avoiding the snare into which, thirty years later, they were to fall.

The popular party was neither fortunate nor skillful. It continued to lampoon the exiles, to make them the subject of ale-house mockeries, and of low buffooneries. It thus revived the memory of names which should have been permitted to sink into oblivion: this was at once a want of tact and of generosity. It exiled obscure college preceptors, who refused to commune with unleavened bread. Geneva lost Saunier, Mathurin Cordier, and other emigrants, who raised the cry of intolerance. Mathurin Cordier was a pedagogue, who had rendered services to elementary instruction. Calvin had still warm partisans among the French exiles, expelled from Paris, Meaux, and particularly from Lyons.

He has taken care to portray the preachers, who had succeeded to

* J. Fazy, *Essai d'un précis sur l'histoire de Genève*, t. I, p. 252 et suiv.

the ministry of the word :* “The Franciscan, who had been converted to the gospel in the arms of a woman, a debauchee monk, a scamp loaded with leprosy and superstitions :—the actor, who enacted sanctity of manners, as one would a comedy ;—the upholder and frequenter of wicked places ; three intruders, who had usurped the ministry, which they publicly prostituted.” If these portraits be likenesses, the Geneva church was very guilty, in not interdicting from preaching, such creatures, who merited the lash and pillory. But if Calvin has calumniated them, it is an act of baseness, which must brand his name for ever. And the proof that he lied, they say, is found in the prayer he makes to Bullinger, to keep from every eye, the secrets which he confides to the discretion of a friend.† We know not whether Bullinger was silent ; but it is to be presumed that Calvin’s objurgations emboldened his partisans, who observed no moderation, and publicly denounced the morals, the faith, and the science of the preachers. The Calvinists called them papists, intruders, ignorant fellows. To the reproach of being papists, they replied by exhibiting their wives ; to the reproach of intrusion, by demanding to see the letters of vocation belonging to the son of the scribe of Noyon ; to the reproach of insufficiency, by citing the names of the ministers whom Berne, after the victory of Lury, had taken from the bar-rooms, in order to transform them into apostles, by the imposition of hands. The struggle increased in violence ; the refugees insulted the ministers in the streets, laughed loudly at their sermons, and refused to receive the communion at their hands. Did the syndics interpose their authority, the Calvinists accused them of a tendency to idolatry : disorder reigned through the city. Did a dogmatic question arise, there was no one found among the clergy with sufficient light to decide it : and the names of Farel and of Calvin came to the memory of the people. The ministers, discouraged, asked to be allowed to resign. This was refused them.‡

Then James Bernard took upon himself to write to Calvin, a letter worthy of an unfrocked monk. “Come, come,” said he, “my father in Christ, a true father to us all, come ! all hearts long for your return. You shall see, with what joy you will be welcomed ! You will learn to know me. I am not such as I have been portrayed by lying reports ; but a faithful and sincere friend, a devoted brother. Delay not ; hasten to contemplate again, to behold Geneva, that is, a whole people, renovated by divine grace. Farewell ; deign to hasten to the aid of our church, if you do not wish the Lord to demand from you an account of our blood and our tears.”§

We were looking for some lines in reply, from Calvin, but there

* See chapter XVIII.

† Obstentur vos, fratres, caveatis ne huius epistolæ publicatio nobis sit fraudi. Familiarius enim in sinum vestrum quidvis deponimus quam promissæ simus narraturi. Vestræ itaque fidei hæc secreto commissa meminertis.

‡ Picot, *histoire de Geneve*, t. I, p. 369 et suiv.

§ Veni ergo, venerande mi pater in Christo.... Cognosces me insuper non qualem hæctenus relatione quorundam, sed pium, sincerum ac fidelem fratrem ac amicum tuum.... Volo, ecclesiæ nostræ digneris succurrere, alioqui requireret de manu tua sanguinem nostrum Dominus Deus. Tuus Jacobus Bernardus, minister evangelicus. Genevæ, 6 Feb. 1641.

were none. We must pardon his silence, or, perhaps, laud the prudence of those who collected the reformer's letters, and who shall have read his response. How did he manage to praise an intruder?

Each day, the field of intestine quarrels was enlarged. Berne, which had confiscated the country de Vaud, coveted that of the Genevese; this would have been its brightest jewel. The lands of the chapter of Saint Victor were enclosed in the bailiwicks of Terni and Gailard, the proprietorship of which it contested. Its language, at first, affectionate, grew bolder and more menacing. The republican pride was aroused: the patriotism of a whole people cannot be assailed with impunity. The council, dreading to irritate the Bernese oligarchy, by a rejection of their claim, deputed three of its citizens to treat with Berne, concerning the points in litigation. This choice was fortunate. John Lullin, Amedee de Chapeaurouge, and John Gabriel de Monathon were good patriots. John Lullin belonged to one of the oldest families of Geneva; ambassador, with Besançon Hugues, John Philippe, and Ami Gerard, to the league, in 1530, he had been named syndic, in 1538. Ami de Chapeaurouge, or, as he signed himself, Ami de Chapeau-Roge, was member of the council in 1529, 30, and 31. John Gabriel de Monathon was also of an ancient stock. It was, with reason, expected that they would courageously defend the rights of the city. But whether it was that the deputies had secret instructions, or that they desired, by prompt measures, to avert an armed invasion from their country; they signed a treaty, in which the rights of Berne to the chapter and boundaries of St. Victor, were formally recognized. The population of Geneva, excited by the Calvinist faction, received the returning deputies with murmurs and insults. They cried out: Give way for the *articulants*! The fanaticized populace, on a sudden, forgot a life purely occupied in public duties, the signal services which had been rendered to the country, a nobleness which had never proved untrue to itself, either on the field of battle, in the affairs of administration, or in the domestic sanctuary. It was not merely a trivial pleasantry, which the faction cast into the face of the deputies, but the cry of treason. The inferior councils were alarmed, and refused to ratify the articles of the treaty; and as the murmurs of the partisans of the exile continued increasing, they took the resolution to sacrifice the patriots. This was an act of base cowardice.

The *articulants* had numerous partisans, as well as infuriated enemies. What most contributed to injure them, was the protection of Berne. The inferior councils endeavoured to have them incarcerated, on the 27th of January, 1540; but at the general assembly, on the first of February, they succeeded to prove their innocence, and confound their calumniators. This was a noble victory, but they abused it. As it was important for them to have a pledge of future security, they succeeded, with the aid of the influence of Berne, to place at the head of the city militia, a man of resolution, John Philippe, the enemy of Calvin. The struggle grew more envenomed. The Calvinists regarded the deputies as nothing but traitors, sold to a foreign power, and meditating the oppression of Geneva.

The little council, which did not allow itself to be controlled by the

vote of the general council, continued silently to urge on the process of the deputies. The *articulants* became fearful, and committed an error in leaving the city. They were condemned; and the people, by their silence, sanctioned the decree of death. One Sunday, the two parties met each other, at a bird-shooting. Philippe sought for some pretext to chastise the insolence of his enemies. The struggle commenced with insults and abuse; but blood was wanted. The irritated captain unsheathed his sword, and smote to the heart an unfortunate man, named Daberes, who belonged to neither faction. The cry was raised: *au Moulard!* The place, thus named, was soon filled with combatants; the blood of Daberes called for vengeance: the murderer was sought for; he had taken refuge* in the stable of the tower de Perse, where he was soon discovered, seized, and dragged to prison, amid the clamours of an infuriated populace. There was but one head that could appease its anger, and that was the head of John Philippe, but recently its idol. The syndics pronounced the sentence of death against the captain.

“We, the syndics, judges of criminal causes in the city, having seen the process drawn up in form, at the instance of M., the lieutenant, with specifications against thee, John Philippe, and the answers which thou hast voluntarily placed in our hands, and which thou hast often reiterated, by which it is to us apparent and proved, that, on Sunday last, thou didst assemble a large number of persons, and excite a great tumult, in which there were several murders committed, and many persons wounded; a case of crime incurring grievous corporal chastisement.—Therefore, after having consulted our citizens and burghers, according to our ancient customs, sitting in the place of our predecessors, having the book of the holy scriptures before our eyes, saying: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.—By our definitive sentence, which we here render in writing, we condemn thee, John Philippe, to be taken to the place de Champel, and to have thy head severed from thy shoulders, even till thy soul be separated from thy body, and the said body to be affixed to the gibbet. Thus shall be ended thy days, to give example to traitors, who might be tempted to commit such crimes.—And we commend and command you, M. the lieutenant, to put in execution this our present sentence.”†

The head of John Philippe having fallen, the populace was silent. The punishment of the captain general, and the death of Claude Richardet, who had killed himself, in his desire to escape from the hands of justice, both of whom were violent enemies of Calvin, were regarded by certain fanatics as instances of divine chastisement. Beza and the historian Roset, have, of the executioner and of chance, made two immediate instruments of the anger of heaven. The inferior councils should profit by this moment of stupor, to recall the exile. Religious authority was in hands incapable to sustain such a burden. The reformed churches of Switzerland could cite some names more or less celebrated: Lausanne had Viret; Zurich, Leo Judæ; Neuchatel, Farel. But

* Fazy, t. I, p. 256.

† Cited by Picot, History of Geneva, t. I.

what was to be thought of Geneva, where the spiritual administration was entrusted to one La Mar, who said, in the pulpit, that "Christ had gone to death as rapidly as man ever went to be married?" Calvin's name had been greater, since the period of his appearance at the diets of Worms and Ratisbon. Though the French doctor had cut no figure in the debates of the diets, it was known, that when brought face to face with Melancthon, at that epoch the eagle of the scene, his knowledge had not suffered much from the approximation; it was even said, that Philip had conferred on him the name of theologian. The political power, which in vain sought support and aid from the priesthood, was disregarded. The councils needed some name to elevate them in the eyes of the multitude; but if they knew of any such, they were names belonging to the patriot party, to the libertines, who were too well acquainted with the exile to consent to his recall. There was neither unity nor cohesion in the councils. They presented a strange medley of beliefs and opinions: Catholicism, Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Anabaptism had representatives there; Calvin and John Philippe also, had their partisans. At first, an attempt was made to draw over Farel and Viret; but neither of these was willing to undertake the administration of a church, in which Calvin had failed. There remained but one recourse.

Calvin must be recalled. "Therefore, for the increase and advancement of the word of God, it was ordained to send to Strasbourg to seek for master Johannes Calvinus, who is very learned, to be the evangelist of the city of Geneva."* This was a measure rendered necessary, by the degradation of all authority and power.

Calvin desired an act of popular justice, real or apparent. He ought to be contented. The council recalled "the man whom Providence had sent to Geneva to extend the kingdom of God."

The syndics and council wrote to him:

"Sir, our good brother and excellent friend: in recommending ourselves to you very affectionately, inasmuch as we are perfectly assured that your desire is only for the increase and advancement of the glory and honor of God and of his holy word, on the part of our small, our great, and our general councils, (which all have earnestly urged us to do this), we pray you very affectionately to be pleased to come to us, and return to your former post and ministry; and we hope, with the assistance of God, that this will be cause of great good and fruit for the augmentation of the holy gospel. Our people are very desirous to have you. And we shall so arrange matters with you, that you shall have occasion to be satisfied.—Geneva, 22d. October, 1540.

Your good friends,

The Syndics and Council of Geneva."†

Power here caused the voice of the people to speak, and yet it had not once been lifted up in favour of the exile. Had they been desirous for his recall, they might have used Philippe's scaffold for a tribune to

*Fragm. biog. extraits des registres du 20 novembre 1540.

† Cited by Paul Henry, pièces justificatives, p. 77, t. I.

demand it. The historian, who has rummaged all the archives of the city, has not found a single testimony in favour of the professor of Strasbourg.*

Calvin was making preparations to go to Worms, when he received the letter of the council of Geneva. Bucer and certain refugees were desirous to answer it. Their language is noble. "We sincerely congratulate you," they said to the Genevese, "on the good thought which has struck you, to recall your worthy pastor. If, to maltreat and drive away his ministers, be an offence against God, it is an unequivocal sign of wisdom to recognize that Christ shines again in your glorious martyr. Calvin has never had but one thought, the solicitude for your salvation, even had he to pour out the last drop of his blood....† To-morrow or the day after, he sets out with us for Worms. If the religious conferences, which are to take place there, lead to no reconciliation of parties, we have to look for serious commotions. Should religion be tormented in Germany, it will also be done elsewhere: this is to be dreaded. It is not then probable, that Calvin would despise the divine will, which sends him on a mission to the colloquy."

Jacob Bedrottus, professor of Greek at Strasbourg, gave to this mission an entirely human motive, more probable than the intervention of the Divinity: this was, that the exile understood and spoke the French language.‡

Calvin imagined that his word would be more potent than it had ever been before. He was mistaken, as we have seen already: and perhaps it was this hope of worldly glory, which induced him to refuse to set forth immediately for Geneva; probably, also, he did not consider the offence offered to his dignity sufficiently expiated by the letters of recall: he desired a more striking reparation. His response to "the puissant seigniors and gentlemen, the syndics and council of Geneva," is dry, ambiguous, and embarrassed. Through a phraseology sparkling with expressions of humility, Calvin is very glad to show his enemies, that he is the man whom Providence sends to the diet to represent the interests of the divine word.

"I pray you, therefore," he says to them, "as not long since I wrote to you, to consider always that I am here to serve, according to the slight abilities God has given me, all the christian churches, in the number of which your church is comprehended; and hence, I cannot abandon such a vocation, but am constrained to await the issue which the Lord will please give us. And though I be nothing, it should suffice for me, that I am appointed to this by the will of the Lord, to devote myself to every thing which he shall be pleased to entrust to me; and although we do not see matters disposed for success, yet it is neces-

* *Notices généalogiques*, t. III, art. Perrin, p. 403.

† *Vero enim Christus contemnitur et injuria afficitur, ubi tales ministri rejiciuntur et indigno tractantur. Bene itaque nunc habent res vestræ dum Christum in hac præclaro ejus organo rursus agnoscitis.* MSS. Gen.

‡ *Si nescis, legatos miserunt ad senatum nostrum, tum ad Calvinum, Genevensos, hujus revocandi gratia. Responderunt nostri se nunc valde opus habere Calvino ad colloquium, partim propter linguæ gallicæ cognitionem.* Argent., 24 nov. Sturm. Antip.

sary for us to use all dilligence, and to hold ourselves on our guard, the more so, that our enemies are seeking to surprise us unawares, and what is worse, as they are full of cunning, we know not what schemes they are machinating.”*

Calvin feared the hostile dispositions of the people. Viret, who had been for some time at Geneva, endeavoured to encourage him. Calvin answered him :—“ Truly, I can with difficulty peruse your letter without laughing : Return to Geneva! Why not crucify me ? It would be better for me to die right off, than to expose myself to be tortured continually, in that fiery chamber.”†

Viret exhibited the letter to the syndics.

Then the political power was seen to abase itself even to entreaties, to humble itself before the exile, to blast the city, by representing it, since the banishment of the minister, as a prey to disputes, debaucheries, seditions, factions, and homicides,‡ and to glorify the exiles, as servants of Christ, victims of the brutality of an ungrateful populace, which at once had forgotten their glory and their services. Calvin and Farel, who had insulted the citizen magistracy from the pulpit, who had three times disobeyed the will of the national representatives, are now holy ministers of the gospel, whose return is the only means of again introducing order into the country.

The sovereign council placed itself in this attitude, in making its supplications before the consistories of Berne, of Bale, of Zurich, and of Strasbourg.

The letter having been written, the sentence of banishment was repealed, and the ancient syndic, Ami Perrin, sent as deputy to the senate of Strasbourg, to solicit the recall of Calvin. Ami Perrin ought to have refused this mission, as, until then, he had shown himself the enemy of the exiles, and the leader of the faction of the libertines. He was a generous patriot, who feared Berne, and dreaded the subjection of his country. In the return of Calvin, he saw nothing but a means of escaping the schemes of an ambitious canton. The historian must give him credit for his devotedness. Ami Perrin forgot even the insult which the Calvinist party had quite recently offered his wife, who was too fond of those pleasures, for which a rigorous puritanism censured her as for crimes.§

* MSS. de Geneve.

† Cur non potius ad crucem? Satius enim fuerit semel perire, quam in illa carnificina iterum torqueri. MSS. Gen.

‡ Inique profligati, magnaue ingratitude rejecti fuerunt, præteritis plane ac oblitis gratiis et beneficiis haud sane vulgaribus, quæ a Domino horum ministerio obtinuimus. Ab ea enim hora qua ejecti fuerunt, nihil præter molestias, inimicitias, lites, contentiones, dissolutiones, seditiones, factiones, et homicidia habuimus. Clarissimis principibus, D. consuli et senatui urbis Basiliensis, vel Argentincnsis, aut Tigurincnsis, amicis nostris integerrimis. Maio 1540.

§ Men, women, and children, who have danced, are thrown into prison. 1st. Nov, 1540. P. M. V., who danced last Sunday with the wife of Ami Perrin, the wife of said Marquiot, and the hostess of Mortier, shall be punished according to the ordinances. The Sieur J. Coquet imprisoned because, on the day of the target shooting, he said to certain persons that they might dance, and made the usual proclamations concerning dances, songs, and other things, which come under the preceding penalties. 13 Juno, 1540.

Calvin still resisted. Beza relates that Bucer, to overcome the opposition of his friend, had recourse to an expedient which was ever successful. To compel the reformer to consent, he invoked the name of God and the example of the prophet Jonas. This expedient was by no means new; it had already been tried four times, and always with the same success.*

The senate was desirous to give the air of a triumph to the minister's return. A herald at arms was sent to him, at Strasbourg, to accompany him on his journey.† This herald, who took with him a saddle-horse, was commissioned to hire a carriage for the wife of the professor, and a wagon for their effects. The house destined for Calvin, was prepared beforehand; it was located at the upper part of the street des Chanoines, at a point, whence the eye could contemplate the chain of the Jura, the two Saleves, Mount Blanc with its snows, the waters of the lake, and the hills of Savoy, which sloped off in gentle undulations to the very ramparts. The council had called to mind Luther's love for flowers, for the songs of birds, and for verdure, and in front of Calvin's dwelling, it had taken care to have a little garden full of verdure, flowers, and birds. The cottage of the pastor, simple, but in good taste, was but a few paces distant from the church of St. Peter, of which they had removed the chief gallery, and lowered the pulpit, that the minister's voice might the more easily reach the ears of the faithful.‡ Along each side of the church, they had arranged benches for divine service. An annual sum of five hundred florins was assigned the minister, with a dozen cuttings of grain, and two tuns of wine.§ This was a manifestation of generosity, if compared with the salary of the syndics—who had only twenty-five florins, without other perquisites,—or with the income of the ancient bishops of Geneva. Anthony de Champion, that model of every virtue, who, in 1493, felt the necessity of reform among the clergy of his diocese,|| often, in winter, was destitute of fire to warm himself, for he gave every thing he had to the poor. Luther, burdened with children, received scarcely the half of Calvin's salary; and, besides, the elector did not always pay the pension; and this compelled the doctor to make sale of the silver goblets, which he had received as presents from the princes.

After three years of exile, Calvin once more beheld Geneva. The people did not go forth to meet the minister, nor utter any acclamations

* *Censuit tandem Bucerus illorum precibus esse ad tempus concedendum, quod tamen a Calvino, non nisi interposita gravi divini judicii denunciatione et proposito Jonæ exemplo, fuit impetratum.*

† 22d of July, 1541.—‡ 36. To our mounted herald, who shall go for M. Calvin, preacher, who is at present at Strasbourg. Also, resolved to send after his wife. September 16th, moreover, resolved to send for his household effects, and ordered that money, and men, and all other things necessary under such circumstances, be placed at his service. September 17th, paid 12 florins to M. James Desarts, for having brought his effects to M. J. Calvin, preacher.

‡ 21 Aug. 1541.—That the temple of St. Peter may be more convenient for preaching, it has been ordained that the grand gallery of the choir should be pulled down, and a fine suitable pulpit be made, and benches arranged in the most convenient place.

§ Picot, *Histoire de Geneve.*

|| Senebier, *Histoire littéraire de Genève, t. I.*

of joy; they manifested no testimony of surprise or gladness. Soon after his arrival, Calvin presented to the council letters from Strasbourg and its preachers, "and also from Bale, which were read aloud. Afterwards, at length, he gave his excuses for the long delay he had made; then, prayed that order should be established in the church, and that this order should be drawn up in writing, and that persons of the council should be selected, with whom he might confer, and who should make report to the council; and, as to himself, he offered himself to be for ever the servant of Geneva."*

At the moment Calvin re-entered Geneva, there to extinguish the last sparks of the faith of his fathers, one of his old fellow disciples at the University of Paris, Ignatius, was leaving France, to travel to a new world, in order to conquer, for Catholicism, millions of souls. God blessed this heroic pilgrim, who, after a life of trials, of patience, of sorrows, and evangelical triumphs, slept in the Lord; and who, three centuries after his death, forced, as also did his companion, Francis Xavier, this cry of admiration from a Protestant: "Ah! would to God that thou wast seated in the midst of us, with thy crown of virtues!"†

* Reg. de la ville, 13 septembre 1541.

† Wollte Gott dasz, so wie Du warst, Du einer der Unserigen wärst, ober gewesen wärst. Baldäus, Geschichte von Indien.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GENEVA BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

Manners of the Burghers of Geneva, at the epoch of the reformation.—Character of the merchant.—Commerce, the source of wealth and nobility.—The people.—The jurists.—The physicians.—Calvin, a stranger to the institutions and life of the city.—The Libertines.—Calvin, and those infected with the pest.

IN order to estimate the action of Calvin upon the religious or political administration of Geneva, it is necessary to study the manners of the burghers of the city, at the time of the reformation.

In the sixteenth century,* Geneva was a city of mercantile enterprise, resembling the other commercial cities of that epoch, in the noise and bustle that resounded through its streets, and differing from them, in the individuality of its industrial habits. Located at the foot of the Alps, it received from Italy, silks, spices, soaps, fruits, perfumes; from France, cloths, tissues, wool, books; from Savoy, honey, grain, fruits; from Germany, iron, copper, wood and engravings; articles of merchandise, which it bought, or obtained by barter, in order to sell again, or export. The Genevese merchant was the very type of merchants: none, more active, honest, conscientious, and frequently, none richer, could be found any where. There were braziers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, masons, perfectly able to dwell in palaces, but who were content to live in cottages, ornamented with small gardens, quite blooming with flowers; for master and workman loved flowers passionately. The Fruggers of Augsbourg, those great bankers of the middle ages, against whom Luther so mercilessly closed the gates of heaven, did business with Geneva; and not one of their drafts was protested. "The word of a Genevese," did they often say, "is worth all the gold of a Saxon elector." And they were right. An Italian, who came from Venice, Ferrara, or Milan, to introduce some new trade into Geneva, was in admiration at the noise of hammers, files, scales, with which, at every hour of the day, the city resounded; at the cleanliness of the streets, and the elegant simplicity of the public edifices. He could not dissemble his surprise, on comparing the marble palaces, inhabited by the merchants of the maritime cities of Italy, with the very modest dwellings of the Genevese merchants. Bonnivard, Pocolat, Berthelier, disdained not to arrange the accounts of their butchers, or work with

* Notices généalogiques sur les familles genevoises, depuis les premiers temps jusqu'à nos jours, par J. A. Galiffe, in 8vo., t. I, Introd.

their masons; they went to market for their family provisions, descended into their cellars, to take care of their wines, pruned the trees of their orchards, and watered the flowers of their parterres.*

Commerce was the life of Geneva. Most of the great families, the names of which were cited with pride, had enriched themselves by trade: these families were almost all of foreign origin. Genevese blood was mingled with Italian, French, and German blood. The Genevese, necessarily, from this cross of races, borrowed the manners of the people with whom they formed alliances. The Genevan resembled the Frenchman, in his love for dances, the pleasures of the table, for blustering mirth on Sundays, and games of hazard; the German, in his inclination for rural pursuits; the Savoyard, in his probity; the Italian, in his passion for independence. From the republican of Pisa, he had borrowed certain municipal institutions. At Pisa, as at London in our day, and as was the case at Geneva at the period of the reformation, no one could obtain civil offices who was not a member of some trade. At Florence, Mathew Palmieri, ambassador to king Alphonsus, the poet of "the city of life," belonged to the body of apothecaries.† It was not rare to see the most illustrious citizens, add to their title, that of apothecary, of furrier, or rope-maker.

The wife of Tudert, Camilla Burlamachi, of a blood almost royal, placed her son, John Tudert, as apprentice with a clockmaker, and her other son, Louis, in the employ of a merchant of Nuremberg, named Abraham Pierrot. The son of the syndic, the first magistrate of the city, swept the counter or shop of his master; only, as a mark of distinction, care was taken to affix a red ribbon to his broom. At that time, domestic employments were not degrading, when it was but a chastisement of a blind chance; the abandoned orphan girl, served as chambermaid in the house of her uncle or relative. But shame upon the sluggard, who was seen begging alms through the streets! the merchant and patrician turned from him without pity: *live by your labour*, was the ordinary motto.

Commerce was the foundation of glory, of gain, and of honors. The naturalized foreigner, the citizen burgess, could acquire titles of nobility, have himself called seignior, and assume a coat of arms. The apothecaries were nearly all nobles. It was they who sold the candles which were burned before the nich of some saint, the wax tapers of the churches, or the torches borne by those who attended funerals. Some were found at the same time selling drugs and pastry, when the widow, whom they married, was heiress of a shop well patronized by customers. There was one street, called "the Street of the Shoemakers," whither persons resorted from many leagues distance, to supply themselves with shoes. At the fairs of Lyons, of St. Pierre and St. Jean, the shoes of Geneva were piled up in the form of pyramids. These Genevese shoemakers had a reputation throughout France and Germany: moreover, they were extremely rich. When they died without heirs,

* Galiffe, t. I, Introd.

† Nicéron, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres, t. XI, p. 77.

they bequeathed their fortune to an abbey, to a convent, or an hospital, under consideration that the legatee should recite a certain number of *Paters* and *Aves* for the repose of the testator's soul. The reformation, by destroying the monasteries, put an end to the prayers of a grateful piety.

But our Genevese merchants have still other titles to glory. When the liberties of their country were menaced; when the stranger attempted, with his sword, to touch the franchises of the city, or violate the privileges of the corporations; then braziers, carpenters, shoemakers, masons, tavern-keepers, seized cloak and halberd, to defend their liberties: Geneva rose up in mass. The people, as cunning as they were brave, commenced laughing, when they heard the heralds of the duke of Savoy proclaim through the streets, that he consented to re-establish the fairs, on the sole condition that he should be named their protector. The snare was skillfully laid. But the Genevese did not allow themselves to be caught, and they exclaimed, with one voice:—Liberty is worth more than riches.* These merchants were ardent patriots, who joyfully shed their blood for their native city. History has lately undertaken to ransack the archives of families; she has stirred up the ashes of the artizans of the middle ages; she has shaken their coffins, and under the unpretending slab which covered them, she has found names which, in our day, they have the hardihood to repudiate, but which she, who knows no fear, has nailed upon the coat of arms of our modern patricians. Previously to the reformation, these patriots dreaded to offend the ear by aristocratic titles: the d'Eysieres were called Desire, the d'Entands, Dantand, the d'Aciers, Dassier.† How many merchants there are, of the street du Rhone and the place du Moulard, who descend in right line from the celebrities of the ancient days of the republic! Let them search well, and they will find their titles of nobility in some ancient study of a notary. Then will they have the right to wear a sword by their side, like those de Configons, who are reduced to till the ground, though descended from the knights of the thirteenth century.

After the Devil and the Pope, Luther most cordially hated the jurists. There is not a page of his *Tisch-Reden*, (*Table-Talk*), where he does not amuse himself with worrying them. One day, he makes long and very crooked claws shoot from the ends of their fingers; another, he hangs pendent to their backs a tail, like that which his friend Lucas Cranach gave to satan; another time, it is a very dirty monk's cowl, which he had met with in some secularized refectory, that he casts over the head of their leader. And then, listen to the peals of foolish laughter, the droll sarcasms, the libertine sallies, which come from the doctor and his friends!‡ The jurists, dishonored, exposed in the pillory of the Wittenberg bar-room, at length lost patience, and let loose their goat Schwenkfeld against Luther. This goat had horns, teeth, and claws;

* Fazy, *Essai d'un précis de l'histoire de Genève*, t. I, p. 87.

† Galiffe, *Introd.*, p. 21.

‡ See, in the *Table-Talk*, the chapters which are entitled: *Juristen böse Christen.—Juristen-Unwissenheit—Juristen wissen nicht was Kirche ist—Juristenkunst—Juristen wenig, aber viel Procurores*, etc.

he was a veritable fabulous animal, and he employed against the Saxon monk all the arms which nature had given him. The combat was long and furious; and, even on the avowal of Lutherans themselves, the goat gained the victory. He gored master Martin to the very blood, who, at first, began screaming, like one possessed, but the goat released not his hold; then, Martin fell to asking pardon and mercy, which were allowed him, on condition of a truce of several months, signed by both parties.

The jurists, less numerous at Geneva than at Wittenberg, were important personages on both shores of lake Lemán. Luther could not have restrained himself from laughter, had he beheld these men of the law, transformed into noble seigniors, largely paid, leading a joyous life, sitting in the most honorable places of the council, and sometimes invested with the title of syndic, without even having acquired the right of citizenship.

In 1457, the council deputed two doctors and two syndics to Chambery: the doctors received, per day, a crown, two florins, or two francs and twenty centimes, of our money; the magistrates only six sous; the doctors had the title of Dominus, or Seignior; the syndics that of Sir, or Messire.*

In Calvin's contest against Genevese liberties, the jurists showed themselves cravens and cowards: not one of them undertook the defense of the oppressed; not one of them dared cast in the theologian's face the blood of the victims; not one of them gathered a coal from the funeral pile of Servetus, to set fire to the minister's robe: they were afraid, and probably they had reason. Who knows? perhaps, had they troubled the sleep of the despot, Calvin, less patient than Luther, instead of calling for the devil, who does not always come when he is called, might have sent the executioner, who would have run, as he did for the punishment of Gruet. The student of Noyon had a more penetrating glance than the Saxon monk. Luther read the face, Calvin looked into the soul. A few month's sojourn at Geneva had sufficed to make him know the jurists; souls, accustomed to the sweets of life, to a tranquil sleep, to the pleasures of the table, to worldly joys, and ready to obey any one who could exercise open force: and Calvin was determined to search for the light. He would have entertained much greater dread of a babbling student than of a jurist, nailed, by his very nature, to a dead letter, the understanding of which the reformer had reserved to himself.

The sun of the reformation, in Saxony, had hatched out a myriad of doctors, who had descended like hawks upon the word of God, to tear it to pieces. At Geneva it had remained sterile. Calvin has taken pains to give us the portraits of the ministers who had succeeded him in the evangelical pulpit: one of them had found his commission as preacher in the arms of a prostitute; another, changes his religion as the serpent changes his skin; a third, scarcely knows how to read; embryo doctors, whom, in case of need, Calvin could crush with his heel, or with the nib of his pen. How often, in Saxony, did Luther

* Picot, *Histoire de Genève*, p. 139, t. I.

behold his path obstructed by a host of theologasters, who wished to rob him of his tune! The monk was forced to ply the lash lustily, in order to drive them away. And if some of them, like Carlstadt, with face and back bruised, dared again present themselves before him, doctor Martin seized the sword of the nearest elector, and drove the unhappy wretches before him, to perish with famine in some unknown village. Calvin, as you perceive, was more favoured by heaven. On his return to Geneva, scarcely did he find some two or three unfrocked Carmelites, who knew enough Latin to be porters at a convent gate. Luther's task was entirely more painful! Popes, cardinals, kings, emperors, electors, monks, devils, jurists, even physicians thronged around, in order to torment the unhappy man. At Eisleben and Jena, the physicians themselves took part in theological disputes. It was not enough for them to slay the body; they must also kill the soul.—“Little ones,” said Luther to them, in his Table-Talk, “I do not amuse myself with giving physic to your patients, let me then evangelize my own. At the great day of judgment, God will not ask you an account of the souls, but of the bodies, which, under the sanction of your diplomas, you shall have run through, cupped, slashed, tortured.” But those physicians, possessed by the devil, listened not to the voice of the doctor, and, with scalpel in hand, treated the Bible like a real carcass. Some of them had tried their hand upon the *touto* of the Eucharistic institution, with a faculty so grotesque and absurd, that Aurifaber laughed at it for days together. See how much more fortunate Calvin is at Geneva! One would say, that society there had been expressly constituted to suit him: number the physicians, who might be able to annoy him by their babbling; with difficulty can you find some two or three. “When, at this epoch,” says M. Galiffe, “a person was sick, he called the barbers, who were nearly always surgeons,” and who, in consequence, played a far more important part than they do in our day.* Hence, there was one germ the less of opposition: for we cannot suppose that Calvin could have had any dread of a barber.

If the various elements of Genevan society, considered in their individuality, were not menacing for Calvin, we are forced, on a careful study of them, to avow that the public spirit was hostile to him. His exile had appeased the popular wrath; his return had been hailed by no token of joy, notwithstanding all the efforts made by some of the syndics!

A stranger to the institutions of the city, to the governmental manners of the country, to the actual life of the citizens, Calvin was but the representative of a religious opinion, unrelieved, and destitute of form, which the population had adopted, less from conviction, than through a spirit of independence, and that, by a change of religion, they might emancipate themselves from the house of Savoy. The revolution having been effected, the national character still remained the same; it is not so easy for a people to strip themselves of their nature as of their faith. Do not expect from a mercantile population, that noble devotedness which leads to martyrdom: when such a people

* Galiffe, t. I, *Introduct.*, p. 14.

seize their arms, it is nearly always in behalf of material interests, and if they consent to renounce their faith, it is because they are recompensed for their apostasy. The Genevan did not divest himself of his personality, in adopting the symbol of Farel. Before, as well as after the banishment of Calvin, he had continued to lead his habitual life; calm and simple, during a portion of the day, that is, during the hours of labour; loquacious and noisy in the evening, at the bar-room, the ordinary rendezvous of the burgher. This semi-nocturnal existence, the sweetest portion of German life, is still found in most of the circles of Germany. Not long ago, at the tavern of the Black Eagle, in Wittenberg, they exhibited the table upon which Martin had so often leaned his elbows, the benches upon which he sat, and the glass which he had filled with the sparkling beer of Thorgau. Enter: you are sure, at this day, at the same hours, to find the same guests of three centuries: students, jurists, merchants; only the theologians are fewer in number. In its contact with the German people, Geneva had acquired this taste for tavern enjoyments, grown even stronger since the reformation, an epoch, when numbers of French emigrants had come to bring to their co-religionists the reckless joys of the Gallic bar-room, the censorious tone, the self-importance and vanity peculiar to the inhabitants of large cities. By degrees, beer had been abandoned for wines and liquors, and the German dance, so entirely modest, displaced by French dances, sometimes ardent, even to wantonness.

When bishop Charles de Seyssel made his entry into Geneva, the people received him like a veritable prince of the church, with the sound of bag-pipes and trumpets, and danced the whole evening in token of joy. To honor the bishop, a monk composed a history, which met with great success on the theatre, and which to the writer was worth a florin, as the reward of authorship.*

This propensity for tavern life was particularly prevalent among the libertines. In them, it was allied with an expansive character, an ardent love of country, a pride easily excited, as we have remarked already. The libertine is the purest expression of the national type: Genevese, from sunrise to sunset, that is, laborious, sober and discreet; Frenchman, in the evening, till bed-time, that is, loquacious, censorious, loving to rail at all superiors of every class,—at the bankers, nobles, ministers, and especially at their wives. If, in searching the registers of this epoch, you find a burgher reprimanded by one of the councils, you may be certain that this burgher was a libertine; if Geneva be menaced in its independence, and blood must be shed, this blood will be that of a libertine, a man of no discretion, but ever ready to sacrifice himself for his country. It is this patriotism, of which he has exhibited such frequent proofs, which makes him so proud. It must be admitted that Genevan legislation fell into an affected scrupulousness that was ridiculous. It punished, by imprisonment, the lady who had arranged her hair with too much coquetry, and even the chambermaid who had assisted her; the merchant, who played cards; the peasant, who reproached his oxen in too acrid terms; the burgher, who had not

* Fazy, Fessai, etc., p. 83, t. I.

extinguished his lamp at the hour appointed. Geneva at length began to resemble a school, governed by some village pedant.

The libertines had reason to protest, in their ballads, against an exotic puritanism, which was essaying to change the national character. We can comprehend their wrath against this preacher of Noyon, who never knew the delights of family happiness; an ungrateful son, a dry student, who carried his dark humour with him, from land to land; a man without country, without affection, without any tie of the heart, and who wanted to smite with his anathemas the unrestrained gaiety of the fireside, the indiscretions of the bar-room, the noisy rejoicings of the inner sanctuary of families, and even the very national customs. Sick, from an asthma which frequently nails him to his arm-chair, the noise of the streets or of public assemblies, irritates his nerves; the dance prevents him from sleeping, and the clatter of glasses gives him the headache. The image of those banquets, at which they amused themselves at the expense of the gloomy policy of the theocrat, where they permitted themselves to laugh at his nasal tones, at his cadaverous figure, at his half-dead eye, and withered hands, re-appears in his sermons, at every instant. They would speak of him as of a Spartan, fed only on black broth. Listen to the orator: his accusations are vague, his strokes are dull and undecided; we see clearly that it is not blasphemies against the gospel, scandals against morality, or attacks on modesty, which he has undertaken to denounce.

“When they are there,” says he, “how many frivolous discourses do they hold. There, where they should eat as if in the presence of God, and rejoicing with his angels, will be found vanities which, in such sort, will transport men, that to many it appears they have no good cheer, without they are made gay, I know not after what sort: I speak even of good persons. . . . If there be question of a banquet, how do they commence? Is it by invoking the name of God? Oh! this would seem a matter of melancholy: therefore the name of God must be buried; for, should they think on God, it seems that all the pleasure they take in banqueting would be changed into mourning; and then every restraint will be removed, so that there will be question only of treasonable and malicious propositions; there will be nothing novel, except to tear the neighbour to pieces; and a continual machination will take place against this person, and that person. Behold, what things prevail at these banquets. Hence, then, since men are so much inclined to vices, it is impossible there should be no fault, even if the bridle of restraint be not entirely relaxed. I pray you, then, must there not be, as it were, a gulf of hell there, where those persons assemble to plot all sorts of malice and treachery?”*

Calvin's panegyrics have taken these impulses of a sickly organization, for evangelical transports; but they radiated rather from the head than the heart. For, we must guard ourselves from trusting to those declamations, used, at the coming of Luther, against Catholic morals: bar-room speeches, engendered amid circulating pots of Munich beer, by nuns, escaped from the convents, and monks, who knew but these

three words of the Old Testament : *crescite et multiplicamini*,—increase and multiply.* The Franciscan who, after Calvin's exile, thundered in the pulpit most loudly against the disorders of Catholics, was precisely that Bernard, who had found "the Lord in the arms of his own maid servant."

Before the reformation, Geneva was a pious, charitable, christian city ; its priests were nearly all men of intelligence and good morals ; its bishops, the very models of wisdom and patriotism. Protestantism has been able to reproach the last prelate, Peter de la Baume, for pusillanimity of character, and perhaps for a somewhat too lively inclination to advance the interests of the house of Savoy, but it has respected the virtue of the bishop. It was Adhemar Fabri that confirmed the municipal liberties of the city. One of the articles of the episcopal charter imported, that the citizens had the right of judgment, in all cases of blood ; another, that no one should be subjected to the torture, without the authorization of the people ; a third, that from sunrise to sunset, the guardianship of the city should be confided to the burghers, and that during this interval, neither duke, bishop, nor inferior agent, should exercise the slightest power : and a fourth, that to the burghers belonged the election of the burgomasters.† We shall see what Calvin will do with these liberties.

At the moment when this Genevese community, constituted of such various elements, was yielding to its nature, oblivious of the past, and indifferent to the future, God descended to visit it. The pest, after having desolated Italy, and ravaged part of France, had just pounced upon the banks of lake Lemman. Throughout all the streets of this mercantile city, there went up a cry of fear and terror.

"On the 26th of October, the ministers mount the pulpits, and set forth "how the christian churches are greatly molested by the pest, and for this cause we are bound to pray to God for one another ; that it would be good to return to God, with humble supplication, and to pray for the augmentation and honor of the holy gospel, and that on Sunday next, 30th of October, they could be able to announce the holy supper of the Lord for the Sunday following.—One day, during the week, the sermon was announced by ringing the large bell, to assemble the people, in order to pray God that he would please, by his grace, preserve us, and that the Sixty, CC. and the heads of families might be admonished.—The preachers have repeated beautiful remonstrances, as in ordinary council, that communion should be announced next Sunday, for the Sunday following ;—that prayers should be said one day during the week ; that, on that day, the shops should be closed, and that the citi-

* With regard to the state of morals, after the triumph of the reformation, the reader may consult several of the Postillæ of Luther ; 1st and 2d Sundays of Advent ;—Melancthon, Ep. lib. IV.—Capito, ep. ad Farellum :—Burnet, History of the Reformation, part 2.—Motives of Good Actions, by Stubbs, London, 1596 ;—and L'Eglise Romaine, defendue contre les attaques du Protestantisme, 8vo. 225–233.

† Hottinger, Histoire des Eglises de la Suisse. Bretschneider.

zens should be admonished, in order to cause them to assist at the sermon."*

These prayers did not avert the scourge, which raged terribly. We were desirous to contemplate the reformed ministers under this trial. We remembered the beautiful words of Calvin to Sadolet : †

"Even had I no regard for the church of Geneva, from which I cannot distract my mind, which I cannot love less, but hold it dear as my own soul; granted that I had no affection for it; there, where I see defamed my ministry, which I have, as it were, known to be from Christ, I must, if need there be, even maintain it at the price of my life.—God, once having appointed me to Geneva, has obliged me always to yield it faith and loyalty." ‡

The ministers concealed themselves. †

And then, a man, still youthful, who loved the muses passionately, Bastien Chatillon, better known under the name of Castalio or Castalion, § presents himself, and says : "I am ready to go to the pest-house, although many of the preachers have said, that they would sooner go to the devil, than go there." ||

And Chatillon went courageously to visit those infected with the pest, in company with another Frenchman, by name, P. Blanchet, who died a victim to his zeal. ¶

Then, say the state registers : "Ordained || that the ministers assemble to elect the most proper person, and that the council order him to go there. And as to the election to visit said hospital, that *M. Calvin be excluded from those who may be chosen, because there is need of him for the church.*—The ministers presented themselves with Calvin, and set forth how they had advised amongst themselves, that, to visit the pest-hospital, it is necessary to be firm, and not timid, and that they had found one, who is of France, a faithful person; wherefore, should their lordships find him suitable, they present him. Although their office be to serve God and his church, as well in prosperity as adversity, even to death, they confessed they did not do their duty, in this conjuncture.—Resolved, to give them a hearing, always understanding that M. Calvin is not comprehended with the rest, because he is needed to serve in the church, and to respond to all passers, who may wish to consult him.—The said ministers having entered without Calvin, have confessed that God has not given them the grace to have strength and constancy to visit the hospital, praying, therefore, to be held excused.—M. de Geneston, offered himself, provided the selection were properly made, according to God, saying that he was ready, if the lot fell on him.—Resolved to *pray to God* to give them greater constancy for the future." ¶

Lots were not cast, and Calvin kept himself concealed from all eyes,

* Registres du conseil d'Etat de Genève.

† Opusc. fr., p. 166.

‡ See the chapter entitled: CASTALION.

§ Registres, 1 mai 1543.

|| Registres, juin 1543.

¶ Ib. ib.

¶ Fragments historiques, extraits des registres du conseil d'Etat de Genève, page 10.

in his own dwelling, allowing the scourge of God to pass, and those souls to die in despair, for whom Sadolet would have given his life : the reason is, because Calvin was not the legitimate pastor of Geneva.

In 1510, the pest came to desolate Wittenberg. Luther had pronounced his vows : he was all love. He has no fear of the scourge, but writes to his friend, Lange, "Fly, do you tell me ! My God, no ! the monastery is not lost because one monk is cut down. . . . I am at my post ; I shall remain there, through obedience, until I am ordered to leave it, and then I will fly from the pest through obedience. Not that I have no fear of the pest, for I am not an Apostle Paul, but a reader of the disciple of Jesus, who will deliver me from fear."*

This is the language of a good shepherd, a language quite evangelical : but wait awhile ; the monk now calls himself doctor Martin, and has thrown aside his surplice and burned his letters of ordination. We are in the year 1527, at the moment when the dread of death is driving millions to the table of communion.—What is to be done ? Send them away, says Luther : "It is quite enough that they publicly receive the body of Christ four times a year. The church is not a slave ; to give the sacrament to all who would approach the holy table, especially in the time of the pest, would be too weighty a burden for the ministers."†

* De Wette, Luther's Briefe, t. I. Lango, 26 oct. 1516. Op. Luth. t. XXI, p. 561. Edit. de Walsh.

† Michelet : Mémoires de Luther, t. II, p. 342.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CLERICAL SYSTEM.—1541—1543.

What the reformation would have been, had Calvin been born at Eisleben.—Hierarchical ideas of Calvin.—The ecclesiastical order.—Pastors.—Elders.—Doctors.—Deacons.—The Consistory.—Examination of the hierarchical system of Calvin.—Absence of unity.—The Elder, an informer, a judge, a pope.—Tardy return of Calvin to Catholic ideas, concerning the necessity of the episcopacy.

HAD God placed the birth of Calvin at Eisleben, the Saxon reformation would not have been accomplished; for the son of the scribe of Noyon had not received from heaven sufficient power to operate a revolution. One should be like Luther, in order to agitate masses: he should have lightnings in his eye, and thunders in his voice, in order to fascinate, by glance and speech. Now, Calvin's word was soft and timid, and his glance without power. Luther took possession of the theological world, after having lived with the labourers of the mines, whose gross songs he had listened to, while drinking troubled beer and eating black bread. From his childhood, he had wrestled, body to body, with a society, which refused him the alms he was demanding from door to door, through Magdebourg. At night, in his lodgings, he slept upon straw, and in the morning aroused himself at cock-crow, to resume his pilgrim life. Each hour of sleep that he enjoyed, was a conquest over the hard hearts of his fellow citizens; each crumb of bread which he ate, up to the epoch of his entrance into the convent, had cost him either a tear or a prayer; even the knowledge, with which he had filled his head, he had stolen from books which he was not rich enough to purchase. To humanity, which had repelled and contemned him, he owed nothing but hatred and anger. When, therefore, the day came that he was to measure arms with an ungrateful world, he brought to the combat a soul, exasperated by privation, hardened by all sorts of afflictions; without pity for the griefs of others; irritated against the insolence of the great, the pomp of prelates, and the ignorance of monks.

The moral and physical conditions of Calvin's life were very different; his father was under no necessity, like Martin's father, to exile a child from inability to feed him. Gerard had been able to give material bread to his well beloved John. As soon as the child knew how to read, the abbé d'Hangest had broken to him the bread of immaterial life. Calvin had no reason to reproach humanity, which had proved a veritable mother to him; the only difference was, that in the bosom of

the Picardian, nature had placed a boundless pride, instead of the passionate instincts of Luther. Martin Luther, therefore, was formed and fitted to shake to pieces and destroy, and John Calvin, to settle down amid ruins already made, fix himself there, and, in case of need, build up for himself a throne or a pavilion. Place Luther, at Geneva, on the benches of the consistory, and revolt, left to itself, will not be able to invest itself with a visible form, because Luther does not, like Calvin, possess that organizing instinct, which makes even disorder prolific. "One," says M. Paul Henry, "has the genius which kills, the other, the genius which gives life; the Saxon is suited for war, the Genevese for order; Luther loves the tempest, Calvin, the house built upon the rock."* But the work of John of Noyon, according to the words of the Psalmist, was destined, sooner or later, to perish, because the Lord built not with him.

A spectacle, which had ever filled Calvin with wonder, was that of the Catholic hierarchy. There can be no religion without a hierarchy; and one was needed for the Genevese church. In collecting together the elements of a new theocracy, the genius of Calvin was particularly conspicuous. Had the reformation been abandoned to the impetuous instincts of Farel, it is probable it would have assumed the Zwinglian form, or, after long struggles, would have been absorbed by Catholicism; in any case, it could with difficulty have elevated itself to an individuality: Geneva would not have had its own church.

This work of reconstruction is the idea which occupied the mind of Calvin, from the very first moment of his return to Geneva. The system of predestination, which, at Strasbourg, he agitated in his books, in his oral sermons, in his discourses, is but the crowning of the edifice, which he undertook to construct, as soon as he had conceived the idea of a reformation. The theocracy which he was desirous to found, was modeled after the ancient theocracy; except that he excluded the monarchical element, to substitute a form rather aristocratic than republican. Instead of the episcopacy, which had charge to watch over the integrity of doctrines, he organized a consistory; a tribunal, numbering among its attributes of authority, the police of consciences. In his system, the church is intimately united with the state; they are two powers which lend each other a mutual support: the state has the right to select ministers; the church, in the consistory, watches over the evangelical word. But, at a glance, the pre-eminence of the Catholic form can be seen. In the Roman hierarchy, above the episcopal power, hovers a personality, living in the life of Christ, and which, in case of disputes on doctrines, judges in a sovereign manner, and without appeal, thereby preventing all religious collision: this is the very ideal of unity. In Calvin's system, the authority of the word, so to speak, belongs to each member of the consistory. Suppose differences to arise in the church; who shall regulate the common creed? who shall define the dogma? who shall give authority to the contested word? Then,

* Das Losungswort des Einen ist Krieg, des Andern Ordnung; der Eine läuft Sturm, der Andere baut die Burg Gottes aus.—P. Henry, Das Leben Johann Calvins, t. II, p. 4.

one of two things must take place : either the consistory will be absorbed in some powerful being, whose slave it will become ; or the consistory,—a veritable republic,—will recognize no master but individual sense. In the first supposition, you will have to undergo all the fantasies of despotism ; in the second, all the disorders of anarchy. If the despot be organized after the fashion of Calvin, and have recourse to cunning and brute force, to sustain his dominion, the state necessarily falls into servitude : tyranny, and even sacerdotal tyranny, wields the sceptre. Follow Calvin.

In the state registers, we read, under the date of the 13th September, 1541 :

“ Calvin has prayed that order be introduced into the church, and that this should be drawn up in writing, and that persons of the council should be appointed to hold conference with them (the ministers), who shall make report in council.”

And September 16th :

“ In pursuance of the resolution of the great and small councils, it has been anew ordered, that the seigniors, the preachers, with the seigniors, the six deputies, should follow the ordinances concerning the order of the church, with a rule of life, which, before every thing, shall be supervised by the small council, then by the Two Hundred and general council, to the end that it may be known that each one shall conduct himself according to God and justice.”

And on the 29th of September :

“ They have continued to read all the articles of said ordinances, some of which have been accepted and some rejected ; however, it has been thought that it would be proper to ordain and establish a rule of life for each one.”

And November 20th, 1546 :

“ In general council, Sunday, the ordinances of the church have been passed without contradiction.”

Here we have the Genevan church organized : the constitution is the one which has long since been conceived by Calvin, and the idea of which is found in his Christian Institutes. In this church, the ecclesiastical order is thus constituted.—The minister or pastor.—The doctor.—The elder.—The deacon.

The pastor is chosen by the ecclesiastical order, the council confirms the election, and the commune controls the nomination through the syndics.* The pastor takes an oath, to obey the civil and religious constitutions of the state : “ In so far, as these do not prejudice the liberty which the servants of God have, to teach as the Lord commands in his word.”† The first guarantee of the pastoral election is interior vocation ;‡ the visible sign of this vocation is an exemplary purity of morals : the Lord alone is judge of interior dispositions. The minister, before being clothed with the priesthood, which is conferred by im-

* Instit. chrét., liv. IV, 3 ; Lév., VIII, 3, 4. Comm. Tite, V, 8. Philipp., l. I. Hébreux, V, 4. Ord. eccles., titre I, 4.

† Inst., liv. IV, chap. 20.

‡ Inst., IV, 3. Comm. Rom., l. I. 1. Cor. 11. Ord. eccl., t. I, 5.

position of hands,* must, for a long time, have meditated upon the treasures of the divine word.† To be a priest of the Lord, one must be exempt from any corporal infirmity, capable of exciting contempt or ridicule.‡

Each week, the pastors of the city and of the country places, in turn, make a discourse upon some chosen text of scripture. The discourse having been pronounced, the ministers assemble to examine the doctrines of the orator. If, in the assembly, there arise some difference of opinion concerning the teaching of the preacher, an appeal is made to the elders, who give their opinion, with their reasons for it, and then refer the matter to the council.

The pastor confers baptism, which can only be administered in the temple : the illegitimacy of the child must be revealed to the pastor. Marriage, preceded by three publications, takes place at the church, on any day except days for communion. At the Lord's Supper, the pastor presents the bread ; the elder and deacon present the chalice ; the christian, before receiving communion, must have presented himself before the pastor, to recite his act of faith. The child at catechism should do the same. Each year, the pastor, accompanied by an elder, visits the families, and receives from each citizen a profession of faith.§ Every sick person is obliged to summon the pastor. The minister, followed by a member of the council, visits the prisons.

The *doctors*,|| directors of the church, give oral lessons on the Old and New Testaments, expose and defend the truths of the gospel, and bring back unbelievers to the truth.

The *elders* watch over the morals of the community, are designated by the pastoral body, and elected for a year, by the small council : ten should belong to the council of the Sixty, or of the Two Hundred, and two should be members of the small council. The commune has the right of *veto*. In entering upon their office, they take the following oath :

“ I swear, in accordance with the charge given me, to watch all scandals, to hinder all idolatries, blasphemies, dissoluteness, and other things contravening the honor of God and the reformation of the evangelical church. When I shall know any thing worthy of being reported to the consistory, to do my duty faithfully, without hatred or favour, but only to the end that the church be maintained in good order, and in the fear of God.”

The *deacons* are of two kinds : some take care of the sick and poor, others distribute regular alms.¶

All these different powers are made dependent upon the consistory : an institution, which leaped in its maturity from the brain of Calvin, for the misfortune of his fellow citizens ; a fiery chamber, destined to

* Inst., IV, 3. Comm. Gal., I, 1. Ord. eccl. tit. I, 11.

† Inst., IV, 3. Comm. 1. Cor. XII, 7. Ord. eccl., t. I, 6.

‡ Comm. Tite, I, 7. Tim., III, 1. Ord. eccl., t. 1, art. 5.

§ Ord. eccl., 27.

|| Inst., IV, 3. Comm. Eph., IV, II. Ord. eccl., art. 2.

¶ Inst., IV, 3. Ord. eccl., t. III, art. 4, 7 et suiv.

cost the country so many tears; a tribunal of inquisition, through which so many patriot souls had to pass, in order to go into exile, or ascend the scaffold.

The consistory is composed of six pastors and twelve elders;* it assembles every Thursday, and summons sinners before its bar. If the fault have remained secret, the offender is admonished; if he relapse, he is banished from the holy table.† If the scandal have been public, the sinner is reprimanded, if he do not repent, he is excommunicated, then interdicted; if he refuse to recognize the right of malediction, he is denounced to the civil power, and exiled for a year from the territory of the republic. The name of the criminal is published and placarded: the sinner must be marked on the forehead with the sign of revolt, that, in pursuance of the precept of the gospel, all intercourse with a soul that has prevaricated should cease.

We need but repeat the admission‡ which has escaped the pen of Calvin's historian:—that the genius of the reformation, powerful for destruction, has not the same energy for building up again. Calvin has himself acknowledged "the defects of his institutions," which he attributes to the "infirmity of the times."§ This is the common lot of all those who have been sent to overturn the Catholic edifice; all had the same mission; to make ruins, and then to build upon these ruins. Here it was, that God wished to manifest their utter nothingness to these men of the world. Behold Calvin engaged in this work, an intellectual work. Matter can be reorganized very easily; with a little wood, he has raised up again the prostrate pulpit; with a little plaster, he has concealed the exterior mutilations of the iconoclasts; with a little marble, he has repaired the altar-tables; this was the work of human hands. But it is difficult to reconstruct the work of God, once it has been destroyed.

Hence, you must perceive, that, in Calvin's work, the corner-stone is wanting—the Pope, or unity. What is a consistory, where the spiritual is absorbed by the political element,|| where the church is represented by laics or elders,—popes in citizen's dress,—who, before ascending the doctoral chair, are subjected to no probation; who will impose symbols, draw up formularies, curse, raise up their hands and excommunicate? Who, then, has given them the gift of tongues, the evangelical commission, the science of interpretation, and the knowledge of ecclesiastical law? You are aware how terrible is the right of

* Porro scire opera pretium est non solos verbi ministros sedere iudices in consistorio, sed numero duplo majorem, partim ex minori senatu ex delectis senioribus esse, ut vocant, partim ex majori deligi; ad hæc unum fere ex ipsis syndicis præsidere.—Ep. 167.

† Inst., VI, 3, 4. Comm. Actes, IV, 3. Ord. eccl., t. IV, 156 et suiv.

‡ Dasz er im Umstürzen glücklicher ist, als im Aufbauen.—Paul Henry, t. II, p. 115.

§ Nunc habemus quaecumque presbyterorum iudicium, et formam disciplinæ qualem ferebat temporum infirmitas. Ep. 35, ad Myconium.

|| To assist with the preachers in the consistory, are elected a syndic, two counselors, and eleven other persons, including the secretary and a chanter, the last not being of the Two Hundred, though the others should be. 9, Feb. 1543.

excommunication in the Catholic church, and with what prudence it is exercised. The Genevan bishops, sometimes had recourse to it, but it was when some despotic prince had usurped the privileges of the commune, that is, the most precious possession of the citizen, and after the priest had vainly employed, prayers, tears, and supplications. At Geneva, a dozen laymen will assemble together, on a fixed day, some of them just out of their shops, others from their fields, others from the bar-room, and will meet to decide if this person should be reprimanded, that person interdicted, this subjected to fine, and that other sent to the council, in order to be exiled. But who has told them that the speech which has escaped from the lips of the accused, is an offence against God? We Protestants, remarks Langsdorf, have not a pope, but what is worse, popes.* Behold what a wound has been inflicted upon the popular principle! In the primitive church, the restoration of which was the favourite dream of the patriots, it was the people assembled that elected the bishop. In the Calvinistic legislation, the elder issues not from the people, but, by an entirely aristocratic apportionment, he comes from the councils; ten are selected from the Two Hundred or from the Sixty, and two only from the small council. These elders, intellects which have been subjected to no trial, have a twofold power: as spiritual judges, they, in the consistory, admonish obstinate sinners, whom they punish as secular judges, when seated in the council.

What security has the accused, before a sovereign tribunal, formed out of pastors, and elders designated by the pastors, and from the judgment of which he can make no appeal!

It is curious to study the part played by the elders. In entering upon their office, they swear to report to the consistory, "every thing worthy to be recounted."

Each year, in company with a minister, they introduce themselves into families, to exact formularies of faith.

The elder, consequently, has a twofold employment: he is at the same time inquisitor and informer. In vain do they tell us that these are pious and enlightened laymen.† Before all, they are men, and when they pass from the consistory to the council, in order to chastise a citizen, whose fault they have spied out and denounced, how shall the offender be able to count on the impartiality of judges, who cannot acquit him without perjuring themselves! Hence, this very Venetian office, which the constitution, as a privilege or mark of honor, conferred upon some chosen men, began soon to weigh heavy upon their consciences: the police of morals suffered in consequence. Then, Calvin created employments for subaltern informers, who were paid either by the state, or by the criminal. There were guardians of the city and guardians of the country, whose whole duty was to take note of sins committed against God or against the state, and to denounce them to the authorities. The tariff had been established beforehand:—Who-

* Zwar haben die Protestanten keinen Papst, aber was vielleicht noch schlimmer ist, sie haben Pöbste.—Blößen der protestantischen Theologie, 1830, p. 448.

† Jean Gaberel, Calvin à Genève, p. 69.

ever blasphemed, in swearing by the body and blood of Christ, was condemned to kiss the earth, to be exposed in the pillory for an hour, and to pay five sous fine.—Whoever seduced his companion or friend to go to the tavern, was condemned to the same penalty.—In the country, whoever did not assist at the church offices, paid three sous.—Whoever arrived after the commencement of the preaching, was at first admonished, afterwards subjected to a fine, if he fell again into the same fault. But there remained some money in the coffers, inasmuch as the informers did their duty conscientiously. Then a member of the council demanded :—“What recompense the seigniors assisting at the consistory shall have for their trouble?” Consultation was had, and it was decided, “that all fines should be put in a box together, and from this, to each one, two sous per day should be given.”*

We remember Calvin, when in France, lamenting the punishment inflicted on certain obstinate fanatics, who openly insulted the national religion. His heart, moved to pity, then refused to the secular magistrate the power to judge consciences. To-day, Calvin is, at Geneva, magistrate and minister, and his language is very different.

“What shall be done,” does he ask, “with christians, who, after having been banished from the holy table, mock at the judgment of the church?”†

Calvin proposes this question to himself, and soon finds an answer to it :—The elders should denounce them to the magistrates, and require an exemplary punishment.

The motive for this transformation is shameful : “If he have deviated from the principles set forth in his Institutes, it is because he was under the necessity of repressing the insolence of a hostile population.”‡

It is manifest, that Calvin, in constructing his system, was desirous to assume the government of the Jewish race for his model. He may be reproached with having sacrificed the prerogatives of the episcopacy to the interests of his own personality, which could only be sustained by means of force. The state, by an addition of a double number of lay persons to the consistory, becomes a tribunal of faith, in which the worldly element is predominant, in place of the spiritual element, which only is adequate to the decision of doctrinal questions. The pastors are there, at once in a numerical and a social minority; for they receive from their colleagues the bread which they eat, and the garments with which they are clad: it is the state that feeds the church. However, Israel, with its schools of prophets, was independent of the kings; and in the primitive church, the discipline of which Calvin is ambitious to revive, the faithful supported their priests. The new church, being destitute of possessions and endowments, was compelled, in all questions of a fiscal character, to consult and follow the advice

* Registres de l'Etat, 12 dec. 1541.

† Qui suspensi a sacra cœna proterve judicium ecclesiæ respuunt, hæc sua contumacia declarant se extraneos, ac proinde nihil senioribus restare video, nisi ut magistratum exstimulent ad eos durius coercendos.—Ep. 278.

‡ Wahrscheinlich ist er von dem richtigen Princip, welches er in den Institutionen aufstellt, nur abgewichen, weil ihn die Halsstarrigkeit des Volkes, mit dem er es zu thun hatte, dazu zwang.—Paul Henry, t. II, p. 119-120.

of the council; this was a state of servitude created by Calvin. A spirit, so enlightened as his, could not thus have subscribed to the degradation of the priesthood, without having been constrained by some exterior force, which we must endeavour to ascertain.—Catholicism once destroyed, had to be replaced by a religion, which, for its very existence, needed the support of power. Calvin, therefore, placed the church under the tutelage of the council, and made a priest out of the councilman, by investing him with psychological attributes, that is, with authority to examine and determine questions of faith. Thus did the state find itself interested in supporting the religious reform, in which it intervened with a double representation. But thus constituted, this bastard priesthood, at the same time civil and spiritual, could only develop itself by the assistance of a superior intelligence, which, in itself, should personify the minister and the citizen. Now, this phenomenal duality was found strongly reflected in Calvin. Powerful, because of his scripture knowledge, his habit of speaking, his activity of body and mind, Calvin only was capable of infusing some life into the new creation. Should he be removed from Geneva, the republic will necessarily be compelled to cast itself into the arms of Zwinglianism: now, Geneva, made Zwinglian, would soon become the property of Berne. It can only be independent in proportion as it shall have a distinct religion. Seek through all Switzerland, you will at this moment find but one single man capable of conferring upon the city a religious individuality, and that man is Calvin. This has been understood by the syndics and councils, in procuring his recall; and this, unfortunately for Geneva, was also well understood by himself. We must wait awhile, to behold the reformer translating this necessity into a providential fact, to justify his oppression of all who shall not recognize him as an instrument of the Divinity. What does it matter, then, that he feigns to subject the church to the state, if he have so combined the powers, that the state cannot touch the church without suicide, and that the church, as well as the state, must be lifeless, except inasmuch as both shall derive their being from the breath of the high priest? And it was so truly a theocracy, which he thought of founding for his own profit, that he refused to institute the synodal administration, where the minister is representative of the communion; where all intellectual superiority is effaced, before the christian equality of the members who compose it; where questions of doctrine are settled by the ecclesiastical judges. He wished no such tribunal, independent of a power for which he received no salary. When Henry IV. was desirous to enfeeble the Protestant communion, which had developed itself in France, thanks to the synodal principle, he gave to this communion a political existence, which caused its ruin, under Richelieu and Louis XIV.

It was for want of having sufficiently studied Calvin, under this twofold symbolism, that M. Gaberel could be offended at those who maintained that the reformer had placed the clergy above the state, in obedience to those Catholic ideas, with which, in spite of himself, he was impregnated.*

* Calvin á Genève, p. 73.

Calvin wished to borrow nothing from Catholicism; this is certain: he is the creator of a politico-religious system, where, theoretically, the popular element seems to predominate, whilst, in reality, it is neutralized and absorbed by the psychological or sacerdotal element. It is a theocrat, that, at some street corner, has assumed the vesture of a labourer, to induce the impression that he is at once priest and citizen.

Calvin, in accusing "the infirmity of the times," that he might justify himself, could not conceal from himself that his disciplinary creation had only a borrowed vitality, which would soon become extinct. Then, just as did Melancthon, he reverted to the Catholic system, and dreamed of a Genevan episcopacy, which he would bequeath to his successors, in default of power to leave them his own genius as an inheritance. In fact, he thought himself bishop of Geneva, with a power such as had never been possessed, during the middle ages, by an Avitus or a John of Savoy.—"M. de Beza has often said to me," relates Casaubon, "that master Calvin, who had thrown aside the episcopacy, was, in fact, bishop of Geneva, and that, a little before his death, he had proposed to M. de Beza to make him his successor; but that M. de Beza was unwilling, because he was aware of his own strength, and that he could not accept the dignity of the dying man, except under benefit of inventory."* The ministers themselves, as can be seen from the state registers for 1580, had truckled under the despotism of Calvin, and feared lest this despotism should be made an hereditary office.

It was in one of those moments, when public opinion, replenished with courage from the bar-room,—that last tribune which Calvin tried to snatch from the people,—is revolting against the tribunal of censure, that the reformer commences to regret having abolished the episcopal dignity. Then, as in 1554, he writes, addressing Sigismond: "The ancient church had instituted the patriarchate, and given its primates to each province, that this bond of peace might more strongly bind all the bishops together. I would desire for Poland an archbishop, not to exercise a despotic domination or consecrated rights, but to preside over the synods, and to maintain a holy unity among his colleagues. In the provinces or in the cities, I would desire to have bishops to perpetuate harmony in the christian church."†

Thus, then, did Calvin, towards the end of his career, like the well beloved disciple of Luther, comprehend, that a christian society must have a hierarchical constitution, in order to live in the future. Both were driven to unity: Melancthon, by a view of the miseries of that human word, which had been emancipated by Luther, and Calvin, from very weariness of the oppression, which he had caused to weigh upon that word which he was desirous to enslave.

* *Epist. præst. virorum*, Amst. 1684, p. 250.—G. Brandt, *Histoire de la réforme des Pays Bas*, t. I, p. 397.

† *Si hodie Pol. regno unus præesset archiepiscopus, non qui dominaretur in reliquos, vel jus ab illis ereptum sibi arrogaret, sed qui ordinis causa in synodis primum teneret locum et sanctam inter collegas foveret unitatem. Essent deinde vel provinciales, vel urbani episcopi qui peculiariter ordini conservando intenti forent.*—*Ep. Cal. Ed. Amst.*, p. 87.

The word was soon to assume the offensive, and to destroy even the very form of the reformer's work.*

* "The general council no longer exists, and the constitution of Geneva is different from what it was formerly. The electoral corps,—composed of all the citizens who have reached 25 years of age, and who pay seven florins direct contribution,—elects the representative council: this chooses, within itself, the state council, consisting of twenty-five members. The representative council possesses the legislative power under the initiative of the council of state, to which the executive power belongs. The four syndics are chosen from the council of state, and nominated by the representative council; they preside over both councils. The counselors of state are elected for eight years, and at the end of that term, can be re-elected.

"The two bodies at the head of the national church of Geneva, are the *company* of pastors, and the *consistory*. The company consists of all pastors, whether in or out of service, joined with certain professors of the academy: it numbers at present fifty members, for the most part ecclesiastics. It has the management of all ecclesiastical affairs, nominates pastors and professors of theology, consecrates ministers, has under its inspection students of theology, draws up, when there is need, the liturgies and catechisms; all under the sanction of the council of state. The consistory is composed of all pastors in actual service, fourteen of the city, fourteen from the country, and fourteen laics, of whom two are counselors of state, named by the council of state, in union with the company of pastors, an auditor (a magistrate of justice and of police), chosen by the council of state, and eleven elders, named by the council itself. The constitution of 1814 has preserved to the consistory all the attributes which it had under the ancient republic, except with regard to affairs of marriage: but, in fact, since it no longer pronounces censures and excommunications, its functions are almost reduced to a general supervision of morals, and to a discussion of the reports rendered each year by the pastor of each parish, concerning the religious and moral condition of his flock.

"The company and consistory united, elect, each year, a moderator and vice moderator, selected from among the pastors, and who preside over both bodies; some years ago, the moderator was changed each week: each city pastor became moderator, in his turn. The company meets each Friday, the consistory every Thursday."—M. Lefort, cited by M. Paul Henry.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CHURCH AND THE PRIEST OF CALVIN.

What is the church?—How is it to be recognized?—The ecclesiastical ministry.—Twofold vocation.—Spiritual authority.—Discipline.—Excommunication.—Civil power.—Society.—Examination of Calvin's hierarchical system.—Insufficiency of the marks of the true church which are indicated by the reformer.—The reformation could not appeal to the scriptures, the highest signs of which are denied by Protestants.—Proofs in support of this.—Luther in opposition to Calvin, concerning the legitimacy of pastors.—Beautiful avowal of M. Ernest Naville, a Protestant.—The liberty of private judgment and its abysses.—Provisions of Calvin.

CALVIN has declared, with the prophet: "The heavens chant the glory of God;" but, in his view, the spectacle of nature, however marvelous it may be, is not the surest way to conduct man to a notion of the Divinity. He brings him to faith, by revelation entirely contained in the inspired books.

"The authority," he says, "which, in Catholicism, endeavours to prove the truth of the Bible, is but a human testimony. There is an interior voice, which speaks in the depths of our hearts, far more magnificently than human words; this is the inspiration of the Spirit.

"By the scripture, and the church, born of its breath, all questions of doctrine and discipline should be decided in the christian community. The church holds her powers from Christ, who holds them from God: the church of Christ is the church of God."

It is in his Institutes, that Calvin has furnished us a definition of the church.

In the first chapter of the fourth book, he calls it:—The society of the predestined, known only to God, who could, by his sole will, have been able to sanctify them; but who has willed that they should reach heaven through the visible church. The scripture also gives the name of church to that communion of mortal beings, who are united on earth in the same faith in God and in Christ. But how is the faith of each member of this holy army to be recognized? By charity,* which causes us to hold all as brethren, who, with us, confess the same God and the same Christ.

"In the doctrinal confession, unity should reign. There is one God, Jesus is the Son of God, and is himself God; it is through Jesus that

* Quoniam fidei certitudo necessaria non erat, quoddam charitatis iudicium ejus loco substituit.—Ch. I, § 8.

we arrive at salvation : behold truths of faith. But the church contains sinners : therefore, in it contradictory opinions can be taught, provided these do not attack the essence of christianity.

“But how is the church to be recognized? By two signs, which God himself has revealed to us : there, exists the church, where the divine word is announced, in its primitive purity, where the sacraments, instituted by Jesus, are received and revered.”

In the second chapter, Calvin treats of the true and false church. “There, where fraud and falsehood reign,” says he, “the church could not exist : it is with this twofold character, that he invests the church of the papists. The Pope cannot represent unity ; he is the personification of the Antichrist, he is the Antichrist himself.* In vain do the Catholics invoke the long chain of the successors of St. Peter : an argument of no worth, if they have abandoned Christ and his doctrine. They should not accuse the reformed church of schism : nor does the reformation maintain that the church is entirely extinct in the papism.”

The third chapter is consecrated to the ecclesiastical ministry. “Christ has appointed apostles, prophets, evangelists, preachers, and doctors.† Bishops, priests or elders, preachers are equal in office and dignity. All those who preach the word are bishops. The elders, chosen with the bishops, have, in the church, censure and discipline in their functions. Thus each church possessed, in the beginning, a senate invested with spiritual jurisdiction. The deacons watched over the poor, some distributed alms, others took care of the sick. St. Paul, in his epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, (Rom. 12, 7 ; 1 Cor. 12, 28) speaks of employments which only concerned the relief of the poor.

“There are two sorts of vocation, the one interior, which is that of St. Paul, the other, exterior ; both indispensable to those who aspire to the ministry. For the sacerdotal election, the priest concurs with the people. Paul and Barnabas named the elders, but the people, raising up their hands, consecrated those elected.” Calvin is desirous to preserve that ancient usage of the primitive church, the imposition of hands. “The imposition of hands, used in conferring the priesthood, is not a vain thing, says he ; it is a sign of spiritual grace.‡” If he does not make it a sacrament, the reason is, because he does not attach to it any grace.

Calvin then passes to the authority of the church. “The church has the right to teach, which pertains to the office of preacher. The interpretation of scripture belongs to the synod. The scripture is sole judge in matters of faith. The truth lives eternally in the church, which, in this sense only, is infallible. The Holy Ghost can illumine the christian assembly or community, but also he can fail to do so.

* See chapter entitled : THE DEVIL AND THE ANTICHRIST.

† Autos edoke, tous men apostolous, tous de prophetas, tous de euaggelistas, tous de poimenas kai didaskalous.—Eph. 4, 11.

Pastores instituit ac doctores Deus quorum ore suos doceret, eos autoritate instruxit, nihil denique omisit quod ad sanctum fidei consensum et rectum ordinem faceret.—Inst., l. IV, ch. 1, fol. 370.

‡ Inst., l. IV, ch. 19.

We adopt some of the decisions of councils, and reject others which are contrary to the scriptures.

“The minister is bishop, and has the right to accomplish the sacred mysteries, (ch. 3, § 6). His office embraces the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. Should a soul lose itself, the Lord will ask of him an account of it, (ch. 3, 18).

“The right of election belongs to the commune, assisted by the ecclesiastics. Without the assent of the people and of the civil power, the ministers cannot name to sacerdotal functions; the civil power cannot make any choice without the concurrence of the spiritual power, nor displace and divest the priest, without the sanction of the commune. . . .

“The church, according to scripture, regulates the police of the temples, and the external ceremonies; but she cannot constrain conscience, which is above the reach of civil and religious laws. The Lord is the only legislator of conscience.

“The church is a spiritual government, and one as regular as that of the state. She has the power of the keys; from this power, emanate the rights of instruction, of preaching, of the remission of faults, and of excommunication; she binds and looses, but her jurisdiction is entirely spiritual; she has not the power of the sword; she cannot inflict corporal punishments, fines, the prison, exile. The censures of which she makes use, to be lawful, must be pronounced by a constituted body, and not by an individual.

“Of all chastisements, excommunication is the greatest which the church has the right to use.”

Calvin establishes this right in the fourth book of his Institutes.

“Without discipline, a family, any more than a church, cannot exist. The doctrine of Christ is the soul of the church; discipline takes place of the nerves which keep the members united together: to destroy discipline is to kill the church. Discipline is the bridle, which subdues the rebellious soul, the spur, which excites the lazy will, the paternal rod, which gently chastises the indocile child. Jesus has said, (Math. 18, 15, 16): “He who, after two reprimands made before three witnesses, shall not amend, shall be brought before the tribunal of the church, which shall publicly reprimand him.” If the reprimand shall be ineffectual, he shall be expelled and driven away from the society of the faithful. If there be question of crimes, it will be necessary to exhibit greater severity. Paul excommunicated, and delivered over to satan, a man who had profaned the sanctity of marriage. When the people abuse the sacraments, the pastor should assume energetic measures; it is his duty to prevent God from being outraged in the Lord’s supper. Hear how zealously Chrysostom speaks against those priests, who were unwilling to drive away the unworthy rich from the table of communion. “This blood will be re-demanded of you. If you fear men, God will despise you; if you fear God, men will respect you. What are kings to me? I know one greater than all of them; he is the king of heaven: sooner than suffer such a scandal would I abandon my head to the knife and my blood to the earth.”

“The diadem should not shelter a royal brow from the thunders of the

church. Kings, bow down your heads, and humble yourselves before Christ the Lord, king of kings. Take it not ill that the church judges you! You, who hear nothing but sweet concerts of flattery, need to hear the severe word of God from the lips of his ministers! You should even desire that the priest would not spare you, that hereafter you may find in God a more compassionate judge.”*

At first, Luther had imagined an independent christian society, where each member, like the child which has been baptized, should have no other sign but that of his celestial origin, and not be made to depend on a being created in his own likeness; and in which no papal, episcopal, or royal power could impose laws or regulations: an Utopia, which the peasants were soon to transform into a terrible reality.†

Calvin has different ideas. “As in man there are two elements, spirit and matter, says he; so in the world there are two powers, one which governs matter, the other, spirit. The church is as necessary to the state, as are bread, air, and sunshine. The state should not only support the organic life, the liberty, the fortune of man, but sustain in this world the religious element, against the perverse instincts or scan-

* The following is the formula of excommunication, for a long time used in France and at Geneva :

My Brethren, after having so long borne with N., after having besought, exhorted, adjured him to be converted to God, he perseveres in his impenitence with hardened obstinacy, rebels against God, tramples under foot his word and the order which he has established in his church, glorying in his sin, he is the cause why the church has so long been disturbed, and the name of God blasphemed. We, the ministers of God's word, armed with spiritual arms, powerful through God for the destruction of the fortresses that are erected against him : to whom the eternal son of God has given the power to bind and to loose on earth, declaring that whatever we shall have bound on earth shall be bound in heaven ; desiring to cleanse the house of God and to deliver the church from scandals, and in pronouncing anathema against the wicked, to glorify the name of God : In the name and by the authority of the Lord J. C. with the advice and authority, of the pastors and elders assembled in colloquy, and of the consistory of this church : We have cut off, and we do cut off, from the communion of the church, the said N., we excommunicate him and separate him from the society of the faithful, that he may be to you as a *pagan and a heathen*, and an *anathema* and *execration* amongst the true faithful, that *his haughtiness be esteemed contagious*, and that his example, seize your minds with horror, and cause you to tremble under the powerful hand of God, since it is a horrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Which sentence of excommunication the son of God will ratify and make efficacious, until this sinner, confused and abashed before God, give him glory by his conversion, and being delivered from the bonds of satan which envelope him, he lament his sin with tears of repentance. Pray to God, well beloved brethren, that he have pity on this poor sinner and that this horrible judgment, which, with regret and great sadness of heart, we pronounce against him by the authority of the son of God, may serve to humble him, and bring back to the way of salvation a soul which has wandered from it. Amen. Cursed is he who shall do the work of the Lord negligently. If there be any who loves not the Lord Christ, let him be Anathema, Maranatha, amen.”

† Sicut parvuli baptizati qui nullis studiis, nullis operibus occupati, in omnia sunt liberi, dico itaque : neque papa, neque episcopus, neque ullus hominum habet jus unius syllabæ constituendæ super Christianum hominem, nisi id fiat ejus consensu : quidquid aliter fit, tyrannico spiritu fit.—Luth. de captiv. Babyl., p. 286.

dals of the wicked." The civil power possesses no episcopal right, and cannot make laws to govern conscience. Moses, at one time, was priest and magistrate; but the social condition of the Jewish people was not then organized; at a later period, he had to give up the sacerdotal functions to his brother.

"There are three sorts of government: monarchy, aristocracy, democracy: the aristocratic form is that in which power is administered by chosen men; this is the happiest fiction. It was the aristocratic form that God chose for Israel, till the coming of king David. All these forms, adds Calvin, come from God, and have been instituted by his supreme providence. It is a crime to revolt even against the authority of a despot: however, we must remember that all magistracy owes faith and homage to the holy word, and that every citizen ought rather to obey God than men.

"The church and state have the right to punish heretics: they ought to combine to correct the vices of society.*

"The church has no right to wield the sword: † coercive measures belong to the state, which ought to resort to them in behalf of the interests of God. It is by appropriate punishment that it anticipates the intervention of the power of the keys. This shall be rendered more clear. In a well governed city, the drunkard is punished by imprisonment, the libertine by more severe penalties. The law is satisfied: but it may happen that the guilty person, in place of repenting, will utter murmurs; then the church has her chastisements ready: she debars the criminal from approaching the table of communion."

EXAMINATION.

Let us pause here a moment to consider this constitution, imagined by Calvin, and which was to take the place of our ancient Catholic charter. We have gathered the avowal which escaped the pen of his able panegyrist:—that the reformer was more skillful in destruction than construction. ‡ Moreover, this was the destiny experienced by Luther himself: he also has been successful in subverting the Catholic edifice, and when he has to build up a new house for the Lord, workmen offer themselves.—Carlstadt, Zwingle, Schwenkfeld,—who exclaim while passing by:—Take away that stone which has been reprobated by God; here is one that is of more value. Melancthon has something to say like the rest, and the work makes no progress, because the Lord does not build the house.

Like Luther, Zwingle, and Ecolampadius, Calvin desired to ground his doctrine on the inspired word; but here were the difficulties. To

* In corrigendis vitiis mutæ debent esse operæ. Voy. Inst., ch. XI, § 3 et 4.

† Neque enim consentaneum est ut qui monitionibus nostris obtemperare noluerint, eos ad magistratum deferamus, quod tamen necesse foret, si in vicem ecclesiæ ille succederet.

A magnificent mockery! as if he had not written, that the elders, the exacting portion of his council, ought to require against obstinate sinners the severity of the laws!

‡ Dasz er im Umstürzen glücklicher ist, als im Aufbauen.—Paul Henry, *Calvins Leben*, t. II, p. 115.

this question :—what is the word of God? we are aware that he has his response quite ready; it is that which God has revealed in the holy books. But in what language? If he present me his bible, in virtue of the principle of private judgment which he has glorified, I have a right to control its signs; if he endeavour to prove to me that these signs are the pure reflections of the holy word, I am allowed to dispute with him regarding their grammatical and tropological value; if he seek to impose on me his own meanings and images, he exercises authority, or displays pride; for who has told him that I am not as well versed as himself in the oriental languages? I know the Syriac, and he is ignorant of it; I am acquainted with the Hebrew, which he has studied but imperfectly; also with the Greek, of which Richard Simon maintains that he has but vulgar notions. In order to study the scriptures, I have visited the Holy Land, which he has never beheld. And why then should I abase my intellect before his? Here, there are but two individualities in presence of each other. Who shall measure their value? If he have prayed, I have prayed also. And how knows he that heaven has bestowed more abundant lights on him, than on me? Even were he more learned than I, does God in visiting his elect, take note of the degree of their information? If he appeal to the clearness of the scripture text, I will say to him with Luther: to understand the scriptures one must have lived with Christ and the apostles.* And I will exhibit to him those confidential lines, in which the doctor whispers quite low to his wife, that Philip Melancthon has not understood various expressions of the holy books.†

But in what language does Calvin speak to me? In an idiom which grows old with the reformer.

He thus translates the first verse of a psalm :—Blessed is the man that walketh not according to the counsels of the wicked.

Before him another person had said :—Blessed is the man who has not gone according to the counsels of the wicked.

Now, here are signs and an idea, which do not resemble each other. In Calvin's version, the man marches and continues his route in the way of sin; in the anonymous version, the man has paused; he has walked, and then halted.

Calvin continues :—and does not seat himself on the bench of scoffers.

The old translation gives it : and who is not *infected* with pestilence.

Let Calvin now speak to us of the necessity of circulating the scriptures in the vulgar tongue? His idiom does not blaze with a light capable of dazzling our vision, since, to understand it, we stand in need of a glossary of ancient terms. "Strange pretension, according to Fichte, is that of the reformed school, which wishes to close heaven against all those who do not know how to read!"‡

* Tisch-Reden, p. 4.

† M. Philipps magst du sagen, dasz er seine Postill corrigire, denn er hat nicht verstanden, warumb der Herr im Evangelio die Reichthumb Dornen nennt.—An seine Hausfrau, 6 Febr. 1546. D. Wette, t. V, p. 780.

‡ Der Buchstabe wurde das fast unentbehrliche Mittel zu Seligkeit; und

“Poor souls, adds Lessing, how I compassionate you, born as you are in a land, where the Bible has not yet been translated! And you, Islanders, who have not learned how to read, and are christians, inasmuch as you have received baptism, how unfortunate are you! For, my brethren would have me believe, that, in order to be saved, it is as necessary to know how to read, as to have been baptized. And when you shall have learned how to read, poor souls, all is not yet told, you will still be under the necessity of studying the Hebrew to be more sure of your salvation.”*

In Germany, in our days, they have come to the conclusion that there are numerous passages, both in the old and New Testaments, that are incomprehensible, even for the learned. Krug has developed this opinion in the journal, *The Minerva*,† and Muller has gone so far as to maintain that the Bible is an evil present made to the people, when, with it, there is not also given the intelligence to comprehend it.‡

But in order that the scripture should be the only foundation of christian doctrine, Calvin should at least agree with his own school, concerning the value of the elements, of which the Bible is composed. Now, has not each reformed church its own bible, as well as its own catechism?

The Apocalypse of St. John, according to Bretschneider, is neither prophetic nor apostolic; in it, is discovered no trace of divine inspiration.§

De Wette and Vater maintain that the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses, that it was composed only a short time previous to the flight of the people of Israel, and that the history of Moses, down to the conquest of the promised land, has been falsified and disfigured. Gramberg || pretends to demonstrate, after de Wette (Beträge, z. Eins. ins. Alt. Testam. l. 1,) that the historical authority of the books of Chronicles is very doubtful.¶

The plagues of Egypt, and the passage of the Red Sea, according to doctor Leo, are poetical traditions.**

Carlstadt maintains that Samuel and Esdras are not the authors of the books attributed to them.††

ohne lesen zu können, kann man nicht laenger füglich ein Christ seyn.—Fichte, Grundzüge des Zeitalters. 219,

* Unglückliche! da hört Ihr's ja, dasz lesen können so nothwendig zur Seligkeit sey, als Getauft seyn! und ich Sorge, Ihr müsset habraeisch lernen, wenn Ihr Eurer Seligkeit gewisz seyn wollet!—Lessing, Beiträge zur Geschichte und der Literatur. Sixth part.

† Feb. 1821, Luther went further, he wrote: Plures sudarunt in Epistola Jacobi ut cum Paulo concordarent, sicut et Philippus in sua Apologia tentat, sed minus feliciter; sunt enim contraria: fides justificat, fides non justificat. Qui hæc recte conjungere potest, huic fatuum me nominare permittam.

‡ In den Händen des Volks wird die Bibel immer ein miszliches Geschenk bleiben, so lange nicht auch zugleich das rechte Berständnisz verabreicht wird. Müller, vom Wahren und Guten. Leipzig, 1832.

§ Bretschneider, Handbuch der Dogmatik, t. I, p. 266.

|| Die Kronik nach ihrem geschichtlichen Charakter und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit geprüft—Halle, 1823.

¶ Wegschneider, Inst. theol. Christ., p. 119.

** Leo, Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des jüdischen Staates, 1828.

†† Carlstadt, De canonicis scriptor., 1530.

The book of Judith, according to Haffner, is a pious romance; the good and bad angels of the book of Tobit, are superstitious symbols; the Canticle of Canticles, is a graceful poem, wherein conjugal love is represented in the style of an idyl.*

Listen to Bretschneider: "The book of Job is but a drama: the writer no where says that he is inspired. The chants, known under the name of Psalms, are mere poetical productions. How are we to regard as inspirations of the spirit of God, the imprecations of David, which are in such manifest opposition to the command of Christ?"†

"The prophets are the monks of ancient times, fanatical spirits, whose fantastical character is manifest in the death of Elias"‡—"It is not possible for Isaias to have been the author of the chapters from 40 to 66."§

"The book of the prophet Jonas is a beautiful fable, quite in the taste and spirit of the ancient times."||

"It is probable that the doctrine of Christ has been altered in the New Testament."¶

Schulze and Schultess yield little faith to the gospel of St. Mathew.**

"The three gospels, of St. Mathew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, have been made up from an ancient Aramean code."††

"The gospel of St. John is indisputably the work of some philosopher of Alexandria."‡‡

Schleiermacher has attacked the first epistle to Timothy §§; Eichorn, in his introduction to the New Testament, t. III, p. 415, has assailed the first and second epistles, as also that to Titus.

Doctor Baumgarten-Crusius, at Jena, in the programme of christmas 1828, establishes that—the epistle to the Hebrews is the work of a philosopher of Alexandria, a disciple of St. Paul, and that the false epistle to the Alexandrians is nothing else than the epistle to the Hebrews.***

And now let the reformation endeavour to found a christian system on a word, every letter of which is contested in its own school! Muller is right: what becomes of the holy scripture, which ought to be the rule of faith, if it pleases one, to reject an epistle of St. Paul, another, the gospel of St. John, a third, St. Mathew, St. Mark, and St. Luke?†††

* Haffner, Einleitung zu der neuen, von der Strazburgischen Bibel-gesellschaft veranstalteten Ausgabe der heiligen Schrift, 1819.

† Bretschneider, p. 93.

‡ Leo, loc. cit.

§ Stachelin, Einige Bemerkungen über Iesaias, 40, 66. Theol. Studien und Kritik, 1830, I, p. 82.

|| Michaelis, Uebersetzung des alten Testaments.

¶ Augusti's theol. Monatschrift, No. 9.

** Bretschneider, Handbuch, t. II, p. 778; note.

†† Eichhorn, Bibliothek der bibl. Literatur, t. V, p. 761—996.

‡‡ Stäudlin's Magazin der Religionsgeschichte, t. III.

§§ Ueber den sogenannten ersten Brief des Paulus an den Timotheus. Berlin, 1807.

*** Lucke, Uebersicht der zur Hermeneutik etc. gehörigen Literatur vom Anfange 1828 bis Mitte 1829. Theol. Stud. und Krit. 1830. p. 450, t. II.

††† Joh. von Müller, Minerva 1809. July, p. 76.

On the other hand, the signs, which Calvin indicates as marks by which the church is to be recognized, are entirely insufficient. According to the reformer, wherever you shall hear the pure word of Christ, say without fear: "This is the church."

But what sect is there, that does not imagine itself in possession of the word of Jesus! Ten years since, we beheld two anabaptists come to Geneva, whom they drove away, under pretext that they were teaching the doctrines of falsehood.* And the book which these brought with them was Calvin's bible; and to justify their symbol, they invoked no other word but that enclosed in the holy book! When Munzer, after having stained the plains of Frankenhausen with blood, was conducted with bound hands, before duke George, he was asked in virtue of what right he had revolted against his masters. Munzer quoted several texts of the Bible. Andreas Carlstadt, driven out of Saxony, and reduced to vend pastry in a little village for a living, cursed his oppressor Luther, who had been unwilling to comprehend the meaning of the Greek *touto*. Servetus, when dying, chanted a verse from the psalms. At the conference of Marbourg, the Sacramentarians and Lutherans threw at the heads of each other, texts of the Old and New Testaments. Which of these founders of sects represented the church?

To what faith did the elect of Calvin's invisible church belong, before God had rescued them from what he terms the Roman idolatry? Evidently, to the Catholic faith, to that choir of learned men, of doctors, of martyrs, among whom were St. Hilary, St. Polycarp, St. Jerome. But Hilary, Polycarp, Augustine, and Jerome taught what is taught by Paul III., whom Calvin ranks with the reprobate. The same symbol, the same dogmas, the same faith. If God assume them into heaven, he ought to drive thence those fallen souls, who come into this world to teach a different doctrine. Would Calvin desire to disinherit these Catholic glories of the beatific vision, or to place Wiclef, Arius, and John Huss amongst the blessed? But in this case, it is the church of these sectaries that he perpetuates. Then why are his doctrines different from theirs? Why does he offer another symbol? When Catharin, that old Catholic champion, demanded of Luther: "If thy church, as thou describest it, is entirely spiritual, tell me then by what mark I shall recognize it." Luther responded: By what mark? Why, by that which the Saxon church bears on her brow, by baptism and the bread." But the bread and baptism are material symbols, and the bread of Luther is not the bread of Calvin. And besides we will add: Who knows your elect? God only; for, if you name them, you remove by a stroke of your pen, one of the conditions essential to your church, viz: *invisibility*.

Luther's priesthood differs essentially from that of Calvin. Luther regards every christian as a priest: "The Catholic ordination, is, in

* See chapter entitled: THE ANABAPTISTS.

† Dices autem si ecclesia tota est in spiritu et res omnino spiritualis, nemo ergo nosse poterit ubi sit ulla ejus pars in toto orbe: quo ergo signo agnoscamus ecclesiam?—Respondeo: signum necessarium est quod et habemus Baptisma, ac panem, et omnium potissimum Evangelium.—Luth. Resp. ad lib. Am. Cath. an. 1521. Op., t. II, fol. 376, 377.

his eyes, but a satanic mummery, where a hog cuts the hair, and throws the sacerdotal robe over the shoulders, of a blockhead."* Calvin esteems the ministry a divine institution. He establishes a two-fold vocation, interior and exterior, the combination of which is indispensable as a foundation for the sacerdotal mission. The Genevan school, so brilliantly represented to day by M. Vinet of Lausanne, has changed both the terms and the idea : It recognizes an immediate mission, which is that given by Christ to his apostles, and a mediate mission, which is that given by the apostles to their successors.† It may be seen that not only the words have varied, but the symbol has been changed. In Calvin's system, the interior mission has no need of proof, it flows entirely from the personality of the candidate, who establishes his vocation upon an internal grace, or on proofs which cannot be discussed. The ordinary mission or vocation therefore remains.

Luther at first had received the ordinary mission from his bishop ; but when John de Lasphe imposed hands on him, in 1507, the neophyte promised to teach what was taught by the Catholic church : ‡ you know whether or not he has been faithful to his oath. The commission was then revocable ; had he been an angel from heaven, he could neither add to, nor change the gospel which he was charged to propagate.§

Calvin can lay no claim to the ordinary mission which was conferred on Luther ; for he was not a priest : interior vocation, external mission, every thing was assumed by him.

Bossuet has not evolved the variety of the reformed doctrines concerning the institution of the holy ministry, with more logic, than has M. Ernest Naville, in the theses which he recently published at Geneva. He is an independent thinker, from whom we delight to quote :

"The possession of grace cannot exist except where there is dogmatic authority : this authority the reformed ministers have attributed to themselves, or at least they have acted as if they did attribute it to themselves. Articles of faith have been drawn up, persecutions have been set on foot against those who refused to subscribe to them : to the scandal of violence and injustice, Protestants have added the scandal of the most flagrant inconsistency.

"In the reformed churches, to day, there are no longer found any enlightened and impartial men, who do not acknowledge, that, at the very moment men admit a dogmatic authority distinct from revelation, they ought to go swell the ranks of the Catholic church.

"Moreover, the ideas of the reformers, concerning the manner in which powers are conferred on the clergy, conduct to Catholicism. In fact, how are their powers conferred upon pastors, if it be denied that it is the choice of the flock which confers these powers ? By consecration, which is a sacrament. By whom is this consecration effected ? By the pastors of the church. By whom have these pastors been con-

† An die Boehmischen Brueeder.—Koenne man doch jeder Sau das Haar abscheeren und einem jeden Klotze ein Gewand anziehen.—Moehler, p. 412 ;

‡ Narrateur religieux, No. 139.

§ Reform. alm.

|| Sed licet nos, aut angelus de cælo evangelizet vobis præterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anthema sit. (Gal, I, 8.)

secrated? By other pastors. And by whom were the first reformed pastors consecrated? Here is the difficulty; the only means of solving it is that employed by Dumoulin. He endeavours to establish the succession of the reformed pastors, either through pastors of the Waldenses and Albigenses, or through the Roman priests, and employs various arguments to establish, that the minister, consecrated in the church of Rome, remains legitimately consecrated after passing into another church.* After this manner, they relapse into the doctrine of apostolic succession, and thence into Catholicism. Also, Calvin †, without entirely rejecting the idea of succession, as he could not admit the legitimate vocation of the Roman priests, declares that this succession is worth nothing except where the true faith exists. In the last analysis, it is then the doctrine which distinguishes the lawful pastors. But what is the rule of the doctrines of the church? The confessions of faith. Who draws up the confessions of faith? This is done by the pastors. Therefore, it is the doctrine that judges the pastors, and the pastors who judge the doctrine.

“The Roman system is so logical and connected in all its parts, that we must either admit nothing of it, or admit all. Protestants will always be vanquished upon the arena of principles, whenever they shall not unreservedly admit liberty, with all its consequences.” ‡

But liberty, with all its consequences, here invoked by M. Neville as aid to the reformation principle, conducts to the ruin of Protestantism: no one can build on a negation. Dumoulin's idea, on the legitimacy of vocation by succession, would be of no use to the Calvinistic church, because its founders, Farel, Viret, and Calvin, never had the sacerdotal authority. What, then, is to be done? Appeal from it to interior vocation, the argument of the monks, who were taken by Berne from the bar-rooms to receive the priesthood; and of Luther and Calvin, both of whom pretended to have received their ministry from God himself. For, Luther wrote from the Wartbourg to the elector Frederick: “I have not received my gospel from men, but from heaven and from Christ;” § and Calvin wrote to Sadolet: “The foundation of my ministry is the divine vocation: I hold it from Christ.” || Or else, like the libertines, they must deny that the priesthood is a divine institution, and make of it but a human symbol, the dispensation of which belongs to society; and this will be to fall into Anabaptism, which searches for revelation outside the ministry.

Besides, the two reformers had a foresight of the ruin of their symbolism. In order to protect his against the anarchy of sects, Calvin endeavoured to place it under the tutelage of the consistory. He was unwilling to comprehend, that, where unity exists not, it is impossible to have doctrine; that, indeed, as remarked by Plank, he left churches

* De la Vocation des pasteurs, p. 68.

† Inst. liv, IV, ch. 2.

‡ Thèses publiques soutenues à l'académie de Genève, Juin, 1839, ch. 4 § 3.

§ Mein Evangelium habe ich nicht von Menschen, sondern allein vom Himmel, von Jesu Christo.

|| Ministerium quod Dei vocatione fundatum ac sancitum fuisse non dubito. — Ministerium meum, quod quidem ut a Christo esse novi.—Op., p. 108.

behind him, but not a church.* You will see that God will not allow him the consolation to die in peace. It will be necessary for him, after the example of those who preceded him in his fatal career, to witness the downfall of his own work. At first, it is sounded; then, the examination being finished, comes doubt; afterwards, negation, in its turn, erects its crest. His teaching shall meet with blasphemers in the very bosom of the reformation. In vain has he placed it under the protection of the civil law; conscience will not yield. He is about to wrestle with Gentilis, with Westphal, with Servetus, with a whole portion of the the Genevese population. Heidelberg will reject his catechism, and reformed France his predestination. Gentilis will soon suffer the penalty of his confidence in Calvin's word; Bolsec, on the point of triumphing over the implacable fatalism of the reformer, will be driven away from Geneva; and Castalion, who, in virtue of his science, was living in a college, on an annual salary of 450 florins, will be compelled to fly from an inhospitable land, where, to doubt of Calvin's infallibility is a crime punished by exile. But he has beheld the reformer, the church, and the ministers of Geneva: and from Bale he will cry out to us:—"Proud men, puffed up with glory, and so vindictive, that, with less peril, could you offend princes, than irritate these felons! Masters, consummate in calumnies, in backbiting, in lies, in cruelties, in intolerable arrogance, who term their Geneva,† the holy city, their assembly, Jerusalem! Oh Babylon! Babylon! who confiscates the property of those whom she judges to be heretics, and who calls all those heretics, whom she wishes to drive away, because they do not listen to her. They have burned Servetus, but they have kept the fine chain which belonged to him. ."

* Wir haben keine Kirche, sondern nur Kirchen.—Plank, Geschichte, t. I.
 † Rescius, p. 54.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE LITURGY.

Homages of Protestants to our liturgy.—The Catholic temple as ancient as christianity.—BAPTISM.—What Calvin has made of it.—What it was in the primitive church.—The Calvinistic and Catholic LORD'S SUPPER.—The VIATICUM existed in antiquity.—MARRIAGE at Geneva --Divorce and its causes.—Calvin refuses to marriage the title of Sacrament.—CONFESSION.—Calvin at first favourable to auricular confession, which he afterwards abolishes.—EXTREME UNCTION, SACERDOTAL UNCTION.—Avowals of some Protestants.—VENERATION OF THE SAINTS.—What Calvin thinks of Mary.—CONVENTS.—The CROSS prostrated by the reformer.—Lamentations of Protestantism.—CHANTING.—The Psalms of Marot.—Fatal influence of Calvin upon the arts.—The reformer judged by Baudouin, the jurist.

WE must invite the glories of the reformation to celebrate the poetical genius of our worship, so unfortunately misapprehended by Calvin: our eulogies might be suspected; the canticles of praise sung by our adversaries will have more weight. Calvin was unable to love forms; from his Genevese liturgy, he effaced part of them. He wanted an adoration in spirit. Let us here listen to the responses of some of his brethren.

“But, are not the flowers, the trees, the fruits, and the whole garniture of the exterior world, the images of God? Who should ever have conceived the idea of breaking to pieces these marvelous works, under pretext of an entirely spiritual adoration?—To kneel before a symbol, and, in the saints or the blessed, whose features are under our view, to admire the power of grace, the treasures of divine bounty, is not committing an act of idolatry: he would be an idolator, who should give to emblems a power which no church recognizes in them.† They have talked to us so much about adoration in spirit and truth, that there is no longer spirit, truth, nor adoration.”

“Now, that we have banished all symbolical ceremonies, is the Lord's Supper more fervent, more pious, more spiritual, than formerly? ” †

“There are christians, who will no longer take the trouble to go to church to hear the word of God, which they find at home, in sermon

* Feszler, Theresia, t. II, p. 94.

† Pustkuchen-Glanzow, Die Weiderherstellung.

‡ Dasz heil. Abendmahl. Eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung, p. 139, note.

books, in journals, and in almanacs.”*—“To study the nature of man, and all his spiritual wants, is a duty for all those who have charge of souls: words and phrases are but an open door for escaping from responsibility; what matters it about the origin of a fashion, if it be efficacious?”†—“Nothing is more common among our theologians and our ministers, than an anti-symbolical spirit; nothing more rare than true christianity. Even the cross has become a sign of idolatry, because it is found upon Catholic churches and chapels.”‡

“The feast of All-Saints, in the Catholic church, stirs up the contemplative sentiment in the very depths of the heart.”§—“What beautiful days are those of the Roman Calendar, where the christian admires and chants the millions of elect, whom God has taken from this world and placed in his glory,—and where the church, in choir, prays with her children for the liberation of those souls still sullied by the stain of sin!”||—“Then the population of the city is seen silently moving to the cemetery, to seek the tombs which cover it, to pour forth prayers and tears, whilst the priest sprinkles the half-uncovered graves with the holy water of his benediction. On this day, death is a preceptor: his head is crowned with flowers, and the blaze of lamps and tapers represents the light of eternity.”¶

“Blinded by a sectarian spirit, our reformers have destroyed the greater part of the beautiful allegories of the Roman worship; they falsely imagined that they were making war against superstition. I have never found greater piety and greater fervour than among Catholics.”**—“It is certain, that the mass commands attention and recollection; and it is to be remarked, that, in the prayer books of our brethren, the Latin prayer, translated into the vernacular, can defy the rust, with which time consumes every living idiom.”††—“The music in their church, is truly beautiful! I should not be able to believe that God rejects those chants, so full of spiritualism; that cloud of incense, that chime of bells, those vocal harmonies, which, in our narrow-minded prejudice, we dare despise.”‡‡—“The Catholic temple,—with its doors perpetually open, its lamps unceasingly burning, its voices at all hours making appeals, its chants, its masses, its anniversaries,—is like a mother, whose arms are ever open to the fatigued soul, which needs rest, to the exhausted soul, which is hungry, to the proscribed soul, that wants an asylum night and day. It is a fountain upon the pathway of life, around which are gathered all those who are thirsty and need to be refreshed.”§§

“When the pilgrim, after a long travel, fatigued and weary, but with heart joyous, and overflowing with love for God, comes to kneel on the steps of the temple, and his song of gratitude rises to the very throne

* Darmst. Allg. Kirch-Zeit. 1830, No. 89.

† Zimmermann, Allg. Zeit. 1830, No. 181, p. 1845.

‡ Clausen.

§ Hörst, *Mysteriosophie*.

|| Feszler, *Theresia*, t. II, p. 110.

¶ Spindler, *Zeitspiegel*, t. I, p. 13; 1831.

** Feszler, *Theresia*, t. II, p. 101.

†† Leibnitz, *Syst. th.*, p. 207.

‡‡ Isidorus (Graf von Leben), *Lotosblätter*, 1817, t. I.

†† Wir.

of Him who has sheltered him with His wing;—when a mother casts herself at the foot of the altar, to offer up her first-born to the protection of the holy angels;—when the setting sun is dallying with the stained glass of the Gothic window, and robes with his rays the kneeling figure of some young maiden at her prayers;—when the light from the tapers of the altar is struggling athwart the shadows of twilight, and the organ is sighing forth its harmonious melodies;—when, at eve, is heard the sound of the Angelus, and, at day-break, the bell rings to summon the monk to pray for the living and the dead;—does not the Catholic church then inform us, that life ought to be but one long prayer to God; that art and nature ought to unite to elevate the heart of man to the adoration of the Sovereign Master, and that the temple, in which so many elements of prayer, contemplation, and recollection are found, has a right to our reverence? ”*

“Poesy is the very essence of Catholicism, a beautiful diamond shining in the light of faith.” †

Leibnitz, Spindler, Clausen, Wix, Fessler! These are noble names. In Germany, at present, every thing which feels at heart the least spark of life, is approximating towards Catholicism. The nudity of the Protestant religion, its temples despoiled of images, its sad and spiritless ceremonies, its psalmody destitute of melody, chill and sadden the heart and eye. It is now understood, that prayer, to revive, needs external stimulus; that the ignorant soul, to lift itself up to God, demands the aid of material signs, and that adoration in truth, is a mere abstraction, which every order of intelligence is not adequate to comprehend. In Catholicism, every thing is interwoven and linked together; each ceremony has a spiritual signification, and is hallowed by tradition. It is under this historical point of view, that our liturgy is admirable! Since the time of the Apostles, our prayer has ever been the same; and even the very form with which it is invested, can be studied from century to century.

THE TEMPLE.

The centuriators of Magdebourg have written:—That four ages after the Apostles, the Catholics still had no temple. † But, to show that they wrote falsely, behold a basilic, erected to God, in Neocesarea, under the reign of Gordian, and the magnificence of which is celebrated by St. Basil. § Has not Origen described the ravages committed in our temples, by the soldiers of Maximinus? In the first age, when Clement was Pope, they began to erect churches, which he caused to be consecrated by prayer. || What, then, were those chapels, those oratories, those monasteries, if not houses of prayer, reared by our fathers? The first concern of the reformation, when triumphant at Geneva, was to prostrate the churches which had been constructed there by the piety of

* Clausen. 790.

† Es ist ein im Lichte des Glaubens spielender Diamant.

‡ Cent. 2.

§ Greg. Nic., in vitâ Greg.

|| Ecclesias per congrua et utilia facite loca, quæ divinis precibus sacrare oportet, et in singulis sacerdotes divinis orationibus dicatos poni.

the Catholics. The cathedral dedicated to St. Peter, was the only one left standing, and even over the walls of that, the reformation caused the trowel to be passed, in order to render it contemptible in the eyes of strangers. In the time of Florimond de Remond, could still be seen the stained glass of the edifice, "with pictured saints," as he narrates in his poetic language. The image of Christ had fallen, but that of the bishop had been spared. Behind Calvin's pulpit, still stood the figures of the Apostles, "in high relief, with their names engraved upon scrolls."*

In Germany, as in Switzerland and France, the reformation preached the destruction of our temples: it was happy when able to point its culverins against the church of St. John at Lyons. After the capture of Orleans, armed with a hammer, it mounted the spire of the cathedral, and, while striking the gilded metal with which it was covered, merrily sang:

"Thus shall Babylon be destroyed."

To cause it to release its hold, the prince de Conde was forced to point his cannon. Then how quickly does it descend; but in the evening, at the voice of Beza, its apostle, it returns with a cohort of malefactors, and saps the foundations of the edifice, which totters and "tumbles to the earth."†

"Of what use," said Calvin, "are such splendid houses? it is only pure hearts that God requires."

"And it was not at that time only the Catholicism of France, Italy, Spain, Germany, that it attacked; but the primitive Catholicism, which Lucian, in his day, pursued with his pagan irony, because the new religion dwelt in buildings resplendent with gold and marble. St. Ambrose desires the priest to exert himself to make the house, or, as he terms it, the palace of God, resplendent.‡ Constantine made it his glory to adorn the churches with rich tapistry. The temples, which he erected, at Constantinople, Antioch, Nicomedia, Jerusalem, were magnificently rich in decoration, as is related by Optatus, in his book against the Donatists.§ Behold, in St. Chrysostom, the christian altar radiant with gold, the pavement and walls, with Mosaics, the tapistry, with variegated colours, and the lamps, with carving and enchasing!

At Geneva, ancient Catholic customs could not fall suddenly, like the walls of the churches: often, a poor labourer, on entering the reformed temple, forgot that he had been forced to apostatize, and sought for the holy water, or devoutly crossed himself. But to dampen the forehead, on entering the holy place, with the water which made us children of God in baptism, is, as Calvin pretends, "an act of idolatry!"

At the coming of the reformation in France, the pulpit belonged to

* Histoire de la naissance, progrès et décadence de l'herésie de ce siècle, p. 1004.

† Florimond de Remond, p. 1004.

‡ Maxime sacerdotis hoc convenit ornare Dei templum decore congruo, ut etiam hoc cultu aula domini resplendeat. Lib. II, Offic., cap. 21.

§ Sozom., lib. IV. Theod., lib. II, chap. 27. Nic., lib. IX, c. 46, et lib. VII, c. 49.—Eus., de Césarée, Vie de Const., ch. IV.

any one who chose to ascend it. The first comer took the Bible, read some verses, and frequently also a homily of Calvin. Nevertheless, this human word, which the reformation had abused when issuing from the mouth of our doctors, disgusted and shocked certain religious souls, and the provincial synod of Chatellerault, in 1597, forbade henceforward the reading of Genevese interpretations.

Out of hatred for Catholic tradition, Calvin banished the use of the surplice, of the stole, of the chasuble, and of all the sacerdotal ornaments. The minister who preached, was vested in a morning-gown or a black robe. In France, at first, the Calvinists wore that red robe of the burgher fashion, reaching half way down the leg, with cut and pendent sleeves, and a mourning cap. When Lafaye came to preach before Madam, the sister of Henry III., he wore, with a sword at his side, a violet mantle and doublet, and breeches of yellow chamois. The minister of the Contondiere preached at the Isle Bouchard, in Touraine, with a doublet of red worsted,* having at his side sword and poniard. The Catholics asked the reformed preachers if this costume belonged to the priests of the primitive church, and was like that which St. Denis describes: a robe of linen around the body, stole on the neck, maniple on the arm, and chasuble on the back.

“Thus,” says St. Clement, “the Apostles were vested; they sacrificed with a splendid robe as do all their successors.—Let the priest,” he adds, “take the white robe, and being at the altar, let him sign himself on the forehead with the trophy of the cross.”

Lactantius has left us the description of an ancient church:—In the middle, at the point best seen, arose the cross and image of Christ, before which christians kneeled at all hours of the day; for, at every hour, there are men who need to pray, to pour forth their tears, to solicit consolations, to recommend themselves to God, to strike their breasts and obtain pardon for their faults. The Saviour has said: My house is a house of prayer. Also, in the primitive church, they did not teach in the *temple*, but in a retired place, which we term the school. St. Chrysostom exclaims to him who says: Shall I enter the temple? Are they preaching?—Enter, and come to pray, this is a house of refuge.

BAPTISM.

“The little children of the faithful,” says Beza, “have the seed and germ of faith before being baptized,† seeing that the Lord has sanctified them in the wombs of their mothers.”

Tertullian, in accord with the church, had said, we become, and are not born christians.‡

Baptism, in the Calvinistic teaching, is but a sign which serves to distinguish the christian, and can be administered only in the temple, before the christian assembly.§ The ordinances are precise. The

* Florimond de Remond, p. 1007.

† Schlüsselb., de Baptismo.

‡ Fiunt, non nascuntur christiani;—anima fieri, non nasci solet christiana. Apol., cap. XVII.

§ Premier article. Ordonn. de Genève.

child thus ran the risk of dying without baptism. Musculus, superintendent of Berne, had prohibited the administration of baptism on any other day than Sunday. Samuel Hubert, one night, baptized a child in danger of death : he was summoned before the senate, and accused of revolt and heresy : Hubert alledged the bodily and spiritual necessities of the newly born babe. Musculus maintained that the absence of baptism does not deprive the unbaptized person of the vision of God. Hubert refuted this proposition, which he taxed with impiety. Beza was called from Zurich, with certain Bernese ministers ; the question was debated, and Hubert was condemned and deprived of his office.*

Calvin maintains, that, in case of necessity, a laic cannot baptize, "it being," says he, "more expedient to allow the creature to die without baptism, than to baptize after this sort."† And here again he combats, as he has done before, the doctrinal tradition of our church.

In primitive Calvinism the ceremonies of baptism were varied often enough. Sometimes, the infant was held in the arms of the sponsor, sometimes, as at Nerac, he reposed in the cradle. After some words, rather in form of a remonstrance than a prayer, the minister poured water upon the visage of the babe, pronouncing the words : "I baptize thee," &c. Zwingle said,—that to attribute some concealed virtue to these words, would be to resemble magicians. ‡ In England and Germany, they impress on the forehead of the child the sign of the cross : this sign of salvation, of which there is question in the *Areopagyte*, in St. Augustine, and in St. Basil.§

"I preserve baptism," said Calvin, "but I renounce the chrism." You will in vain seek in the Calvinistic liturgy for the ceremonies, used in the primitive church, and which have an entirely spiritual signification :—The imposition of hands, which, like a shield, is raised up for the defence of the child :—The renunciation of satan, the restoration of fallen nature :—The salt which the priest puts in his mouth, and the taper, burning, to show that the newly born has passed from darkness into light :—The white robe, an emblem of his virginal purity ; holy allegories, which Calvin, in his narrow, prosaic mind, desired to exclude from his liturgy, and which we find in use at the very cradle of our faith.

Let us listen to St. Dionysius :

"When the child is held over the baptismal font, we make the sign of the cross, three several times, on his forehead, and apply to him the unction."||

And St. Augustine says :

"We breathe upon the infant, we exorcise him, in order to break the power of satan.¶

And St. Chrysostom and St. Basil say :

"In baptism the priest consecrates the water of purification."**

* *Rescius, Athéismes du sacrement de pénitence.*

† *Epist. p. 445 cited by Flor. de Remond.*

‡ *Hosius in prologo.*

§ *St-Dion, de Baptismo.—Sanct. Basil., de Sp. s., 27.—Aug. Ep. 118.*

|| *St-Dion., c. 1, Caest. Hier.*

¶ *S. Aug., lib. I. Conf., cap. 11.*

** *St-Bas., cap. 27, de Spir. sanct.*

And now, let Calvin, who has made no study of the origin of christianity, rail as much as he pleases at these ceremonies, the mysterious signification of which he never wished to comprehend: what does it matter to our church? He has confounded the two Senecas, in his treatise of Clemency; why should he not deny the antiquity of our liturgy? Then, let him write: "The devil, seeing that these deceptions have been so gladly received by the credulity of the world, was emboldened to devise still grosser mockeries, to wit: to add the salt and spittle."*

Origen answers him: The priest touches with his finger, wet with saliva, the lips, nose, and ears of the infant, saying:—Be opened, as did the Saviour, in healing the man deaf and blind.†

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Of the Paschal communion, Calvin has made a precept, Luther has left it a voluntary act.‡

In the Catholic church, the priest offers up the sacrifice every day, for the salvation of all those, who live in a land where the name of Jesus Christ is adored.—At Geneva, Calvin instituted four annual communions.

The people assemble in the temple, as on preaching days: the temple is left without decoration. St. Luke,§ however, says, that the Saviour desired that the cenacle, in which he was to celebrate the pasch, should be ornamented and accoutred, as the Genevese bible has translated the Greek expression. It is this hall that Proclus calls the first christian church.|| The sermon being concluded, the minister descends from the pulpit, and places himself before a table covered with a cloth. They have cast aside the altar, called by Chrysostom the holy stone, and by Optatus the seat of Christ.¶ On the table stands a basin filled with morsels of bread; for, faithless to all historical traditions, Calvin has rejected the chalice, of which Tertullian, Augustine, and Optatus speak. The minister, assisted by the deacons, and without having washed his hands, as is done in the ancient church, takes bread, breaks it, and distributes it to the faithful. Our priest, in presenting the host to us, says to the communicant: Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen. (May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul unto eternal life. Amen.) A holy prayer, which was recited in the catacombs, and which will be repeated until the consummation of the world.

Is not that a beautiful prayer, which is breathed quite low by the priest, who is about to receive communion: *Domine, non sum dignus,*

* Cal. liv. IV, Inst. chap. 15.

† Orig. homil. 6 sup. Ezechiel.

‡ Longe igitur errant et peccant quoque graviter qui cogunt homines sub peccato mortali in paschali festo uti, id quod hactenus fieri solitum est. Op. Luth., f. I, 344.

§ Luc. c. 22. Marc. 14.

|| Procl. eupo litur. Geneb. in liturg.

¶ Chrysost, hom. 61. ad pop, Antiochi.

Lord, I am not worthy, as said the Centurion of the gospel, and after him, all the christians of the primitive church? * Why has Calvin banished this sweet prayer from his liturgy? In the Calvinistic Lord's Supper, he, who receives the bread, in token of respect and homage, kisses the hand of the celebrant that presents it, and if some grandee of the world approach to commune, the minister, in testimony of veneration, carries the bread to his lips. Oh! how far more beautiful is the Catholic pasch! In 1834, we saw the Pope approach the holy table, and receive the Immaculate Host from the hand of a poor capuchin; and then it was not the coarse garb which humbled itself, but the tiara. The Pope no longer wears a crown, he is but a miserable sinner, who kneels to beg for grace and mercy: the capuchin is the vicar of Jesus Christ, and holds in his hand Him, before whom angels and dominations tremble.

THE VIATICUM.

But the christian has fallen sick, he is suffering: and one day, art confesses itself unable to ward off death. Then, the sick man, warned that his last hour approaches, asks for the Viaticum. In our country places, the bell rings, and soon appears a priest, preceded by a choir boy, and bearing in his hand the spiritual manna, the last nourishment of the dying man. At the sight of the sacred vessel which contains the body of a God, the villagers cast themselves on their knees, and pray for their brother. The sick man, placed in a becoming position, awaits with sweet impatience the visit of his God. We ask all those, who have ever assisted at this communion before the portals of the tomb, if their heart has not been moved and affected, when the priest, after having, with holy oil, anointed the feet of the sick, which have been piously uncovered by the hands of a child, presents him the body of a God made man, repeating: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam?* The ministry of the priest is not yet concluded: it remains for him, after the dying person shall have received the supreme benediction, to pronounce the last adieu: *Depart, christian soul,—profiscicere, anima christiana.*

To all souls that were thirsty or hungry, that suffered, or aspired after eternity, Calvin at first refused the body of Christ, as a last Viaticum. Kemnitz, the Lutheran, said to the Calvinists: "Hard and pitiless souls, who deny the healing body of Jesus Christ; St. Augustine did not do like you; he exhorts the sick to ask promptly for the sacred Viaticum. Dost thou see, Calvin, St. Dionysius has decided that thy sick are deprived of a great good by thee, who deprivest them of the Eucharistic communion."

The reformation is incessantly appealing to the purity of the primitive times; but this purity is preserved by the Catholic church. Does not St. Clement tell us that it was an ancient custom, to gather the remains of the bread of angels, to carry them to those who were dying? "There should always be Hosts consecrated," says the council, "that at

* Origenes, hom. 5.

the first desire of the sick person, the priest may be prepared to give him communion." Now, for twelve centuries, has the sacred Host been preserved in a ciborium, as at this day.*

Now, for eighteen centuries, has the priest come, as he does to-day, to anoint the members of the dying person with oil, according to the command of St. James.†

"Why should not the holy unction of the sick be preserved? (James, V. 14, 15.) Down to the time of the German schism, it was in use in the church. If it were regarded as efficacious formerly, why should it have lost its efficacy?"‡—"Who, then, will say that extreme unction was not practised in the primitive church?"§

Behold the language of those Protestants who have studied the origin of our liturgy; who are acquainted with its history, and are not afraid to proclaim the truth.

The language of Calvin is different, because the Genevan reformer has read nothing but books of theology; because passion blinds him, and it is easy for him to deceive a people who will not dare reply to him. He rails, in place of debating or discussing.

"From whom have they taken their unction," does he ask of us Catholics? "They answer, that they have derived it from the son of Aaron, from whom comes the commencement of their work. . . . If they so much delight in Jewish ceremonies, why do they not still sacrifice oxen, calves, and lambs? They put in operation spiritual graces; yet they cannot make themselves imitators of the Levites, without being apostates from Jesus Christ, and renouncing the office of pastors.

"Behold their fine consecrated oil, which imprints a character that cannot be lost, which they call indelible, as if oil could not be taken and cleansed away with powder and salt, or, if too strongly rubbed in, with soap. Their unction is stinking, since it is not made with salt, that is, with the word of God. . . .

"Oil is for the belly, and the belly for oil, and the Lord will destroy both. These greasers say that the Holy Ghost is given in baptism for innocence, and in confirmation, for the augmentation of grace. . . . Sacriligious tongue, darest thou compare with the sacrament of Christ, grease, infected with the stink of thy breath, and, by the murmuring of some words, invested with a charm?"||

* St-Hier, lib. de Sept. grad. 6. Just. Apoc. 2 de Consecra. dist. 3. St-Clem. et Aph., lib. II, c. 61. Greg. Tur., de Gl. mart., cap. 86. Iren., Ep. ad Victor., apud Euseb., lib. V, c. 24. Tertul., de Orat. et lib. II, ad Uxorem.

+ Origin in 235; Council of Nice in 325. Ephrem, de vita spirituali ad monacum novitium. In the Missal of St. Ambrose (370) we read: Deus qui studio salutis humanæ creaturis tuis vim benedictionis indidisti etc., infunde sanctificationem tuam huic oleo, ut ab his quæ unxerit membra fugatis insidiis adversariæ potestatis, per susceptionem præsentis olei sancti spiritus gratia salutaris debilitationem expellet, et plenam conferat sospitatem.

‡ Hugo Grotius, Votum pro pace Eccl., t. IV, Op., p. 669.

§ Mosheim, Histor. eccles., p. 11.

|| Inst., liv. IV, ch. 19.

MARRIAGE.

At Geneva, from the time of Calvin, it was long the usage to perform the ceremony of marriage only before the sermon and prayer, for fear this act of christian life should be taken for a sacrament. According to Calvin, marriage is but a civil contract, which religion is called upon to bless. The young man of twenty years of age, and the young maiden of eighteen, can get married without the consent of their parents. "If they do not marry in six weeks after their espousals, the consistory can constrain them to do so."^{*}

Calvin admitted several cases in which marriage could be dissolved : adultery, the prolonged absence of the husband.

"Should a debauchee husband leave his wife," say the ordinances, "let the wife wait till the end of the year. This over, if it be known that she has need of marrying, she shall be able to do so after the proclamations. And if the husband return, his place being taken, he shall be punished, as it shall be found reasonable."

Here is the form of procedure on this subject :

The wife appears before the consistory, and is interrogated by the minister : she must affirm that during a year she has had no news of her husband.—They question her concerning the gift of continence. If she reply, that she is afraid she may fall, they grant her permission to marry again. Lindanus relates, that, in the space of six months, a certain man married three times, his first two wives having been convicted of adultery.

The Genevese legislation caused disorders amongst the populations of Lyons and of Savoy. Wives were seen flying to Geneva, the land of liberty and privileges, in order to marry their seducers. Husbands, who were unable to break their indissoluble ties, took refuge in Switzerland, "to embrace what then was named, the liberty of the flesh." Thus did the marquis de Vico, the seignior de Lombres, the count Julio Estienne de Vicence, Miss de Chelles, of Dauphiny, come to Geneva, concealing, under the apparent motive of a change of religion, their wish for conjugal emancipation, which, in their own country, it would have been impossible for them to satisfy.

De Clairé, a gentleman of Languedoc, was desirous, after the peace of Piedmont, to pass through Geneva, being accompanied by M. de Laval, one of his friends. They wished to hear Calvin. While casting his eyes upon those who surrounded the pulpit, De Clairé recognized his wife. The sermon being concluded, he seized her by the arm ; Calvin hastened forward :—Save me, cried the young wife ; this is my papist husband, who wants to carry me away ; my God ! help me. The matter was carried before the consistory, and the husband condemned : they offered him his choice between his wife and apostacy : he preferred to abandon Geneva.†

"The wife ought to follow her husband," said Luther, "even did she know that he was the devil covered with the skin of a man."

* Ordonnances de Geneve.

† Florimond de Remond, p. 1040.

Like Calvin, he recognized two causes for the dissolution of marriage : adultery, and the disappearance of one of the parties.* The imperial constitutions did not allow the wife to recur to second nuptials, until after an absence of five or seven years. But Luther became enraged against those jurists, who tried to establish this rule in the christian community.—The imperial statutes, said the doctor to the jurists, dull asses as you are, regard only persons engaged in war : the universities which have given this decision, are like Justinian, who, if now living, would amuse himself with governing Constantinople according to the Roman law.† He treated those husbands, as mere blackguards, who, having abandoned their wives, and voluntarily‡ absented themselves for a year, returned again, and he wished that their heads should be amputated.

Calvin maintained that “no one had perceived marriage to be a sacrament until the time of Pope Gregory.”§ The merest student might have quoted for him Zeno,|| Tertullian,¶ and Augustine; ** but the reformer would have shrugged his shoulders, closed his book, and said : “In fine, we must escape from their filth, yet I think I have somewhat profited by maintaining, in part, the folly of these asses.”††

CONFESSION.

By abolishing confession, Calvin destroyed the intimate bond, which, in the Catholic communion, unites the priest and the penitent. In a religion, where religious life needs not exterior works in order to be reflected to the eyes of others, it is very difficult for the pastor to become acquainted with the spiritual wants of souls. He has no right, like the Catholic priest, to enter the dwelling of his parishioner, and ask him the reason of the tears that he sees him weeping ; he cannot, without peril of indiscretion, interrogate the person, who is suffering, groaning, murmuring, or blaspheming. There are chagrins which lose their poignancy, when allowed to escape from the heart ; these shall never belong to him. Who would hazard confiding them to him, who is but the representative of a human individuality, and who has never made a promise to God to conceal them from every other ear of flesh ? Nor can the reformed minister ever aspire to the beautiful title which is borne by the Catholic priest : one who has charge of souls, for none of them belong to him. The reformed church has only the external police of conscience : the device, which Protestantism ought to assume, is, every one for himself, God for all.

* *Ursach der Ehescheidung. Tisch-Reden, p. 447.*

† *Tisch-Reden, p. 447.*

‡ Solche Buben haben gemeiniglich Zwickmülen, die an einem andern Ort Weiber nemen, nach zweien Iaren kommen sie wieder, und wenn sie sie geschwengert haben, lauffen sie wieder weg. Denen soll man den Kopf den, *Ars legen.—Ib. p. 447.*

§ *Inst., liv. IV, ch. 39, § 4.*

|| *Zeno, Epist. ver. sermo de fide, spe et charitate.* He lived in the third century.

¶ *Lib. II, ad uxorem. cap 3.*

** *Sanct. Aug. sermo 40 de Temp., cap. X ; lib. de fide et op., cap. 7.*

†† *Inst., liv. IV, ch. 9, § 37.*

Calvin had well understood the harmony established by Catholicism between the priest and the penitent, and the isolation, which the abolition of confession would occasion between the christian and the reformed pastor. He at first essayed to establish voluntary confession; but his denomination rejected it. Then, he imagined pastoral visits, which were to be made by the elders; but this was only an inquisition, masked under the name of spiritual supervision. During the whole period of Calvin's existence, the Genevese community struggled against this mode of tyranny, which made the civil power acquainted with the secrets of families, and the mysteries of households. Besides, such an institution was in opposition to the reformation principle, which recognized religious independence, the inutility of good works, and justification by faith alone.

If it be true, that Calvin frequently, at Strasbourg,* manifested sympathy with the doctrine of auricular confession, whence happens it that he effaced it from his symbolical book, at Geneva? Was it not, because he then yielded to the interested instincts of the population, just as Luther had done at Wittenberg? At times, we detect in the works of the Saxon reformer, words of eulogy, regarding this regenerative dogma. "Art thou a christian," does he say to the German peasant, "thou wilt yield neither to the violence of Luther, nor to that of the Pope; but, bound by voluntary chains, thou wilt come and beseech me to make thee partaker of this fountain of graces. If thou disdainest it, proud that thou art; if thou desirest to live as thou pleasest, I thence conclude that thou art not a christian, and that thou art unworthy of the sacraments; for thou despisest what a true christian ought not to despise; thou dost not merit to have thy sins pardoned, and thou provest to me that thou hast no esteem for the gospel. Yet, once more, let there be no coercion! If thou wert a christian, thou wouldst be quite joyous; thou wouldst travel a hundred miles to seek this spiritual remedy; and yet it is thou, who wouldst do us violence. Our nature would be changed; thou wouldst march in liberty, and we should crawl in the chains of the law."†

The want of this spiritual remedy, spoken of by Luther, was felt in the dissident denominations. To encourage auricular confession the church of England decreed a canon which prohibits her ministers from revealing it.‡ Wesley, who was acquainted with the miseries of the soul, endeavoured to institute confession in his church. Each week the parochial community is assembled in the temple, and the minister asks the christian the following questions: "what are thy sins of habit? How art thou tempted? How dost thou resist temptation? Tell me thy thoughts, thy words, and thy actions, what thou believest defiled by sin or not?"§

* Epist. Farello, 1540.

† Bist du nun ein Christ, so darst du weder meines Zwanges, noch Papsts Gebot, nichts überall; sondern wirst dich wohl selbst zwingen und mich darum bitten, dasz du solches mögest theilhaftig werden.—Vermahnung zur Beichte. 129.

‡ See eccles. Canon A. D. 1693, No. 113.

§ Southey, in the translation of Krummacher, t. II, p. 213.

But the penitent has a reply quite ready.—Why dost thou ask me? Who has given thee the right to scrutinize my conscience? Who has constituted thee priest of the Lord? Canst thou bind and loose? What will the minister do? He must, if consistent, return to catholicism, or, closing his eyes, rush into the midst of the darkness of his pride, like Luther, who, after having lauded confession in such magnificent terms, was obliged to say to the people who complained: “confession is not of divine precept, but of papistical commandment.”* What then was he doing, when he exclaimed to the christian: “Thou hast renounced thy baptism, thou art not worthy of the sacraments, if thou comest not to confess?”

Ever the same frightful instability of word and doctrines, of which the reformation incessantly presents us the spectacle! You have just heard Luther, it is now Calvin’s turn.

In a manuscript letter to Farel, dated, Strasbourg, May, 1540, he inclines visibly for the retention of auricular confession, such as it was practiced in the Lutheran church. He speaks of penitents whose confession he receives before communion, in order, says he, to restore peace of soul to those who desire to reconcile themselves with God.†

And at that very hour, they were reprinting his Institutes, in which we read:

“Though all the advocates and agents of the Pope, and all the parasites whom he has under pay should clamour, we hold this point well determined, that Jesus Christ is not author of that law, which constrains men to recount their sins.”‡

FESTIVALS. THE VENERATION OF SAINTS.

The poetry of our Catholic festivals has perhaps been more magnificently chanted by the Protestant Fessler,§ than by Chateaubriand himself. The Saxon church has preserved some of these; Calvin has abolished almost all of them. At his instigation the council waged war upon religious solemnities as it had against images. In the reformed calendar, the only day that was left to be solemnized was the Sunday. On his return from Strasbourg, Calvin regulated the celebration of the divine service, during which the shops were all to remain closed; but when the bell had sounded the mid-day hour, the people could all return to their occupations. He had preserved the solemnity of Christmas, which the council abolished in 1551. Before the reformation, the church bell, each evening, announced to the inhabitants that the hour of prayer had arrived. At the sound of the bell, the traveler paused, knelt down on the highway, and recommended himself to God; the father of a family joined his hands and raised his heart to the Lord; the labourer paused from his work, uncovered his head, and

* Die Ohrenbeicht sei nicht geboten von Gott, sondern vom Papst.

† Endlich damit die, welche durch einige Gewissensbeängstigungen gepeinigt werden, Trost empfangen.—Trans. of M. Paul Henry.

‡ Inst., liv. III, ch. 4. † 7.

§ Fessler, Theresia.

besought the Creator to bless the fruits of the earth. This ringing of bells is still heard in Catholic Switzerland, at night-fall, as in the time of Walter Furst, Melchthal, and Nicholas de Flue, and being repeated by the echo of the mountains, it possesses an inexpressible charm for the soul. Reformed Switzerland gives the name of Winkelried to one of its boats, yet blushes to pray as did this hero.

“How is it possible to remain unmoved, when in the evening hour, the bell strikes the *Ave Maria*, and the Catholic breathes his salutation to the Virgin? Our reformers did not comprehend the beauty of prayer!” It is not a priest of Zug, who has made this remark, but a minister of Berlin, a soul enthusiastic for Calvin.*

Mary, whom Byron sang:

Ave Maria, o'er the earth and sea,
That heavenliest hour of heaven is worthiest thee.

DON JUAN.

could find no favour at Geneva. Calvin abolished the worship of the mother of God as an idolatry; and yet this worship existed in ancient times, when, according to the reformation, the church was walking in the way of God. And to justify this erasing of the calendar, Calvin revives that old charge of fetichism, brought against us by different sectaries who appeared before his time: as if St. Cyril had not already answered—that we do not adore the saints, that we implore their intercession with God; and St. Jerome—that if on this earth the prayer of the just ascends like an incense of sweet odour before the throne of God, the prayer of one of the blessed is a perfume still a thousand times more sweet.† The reformation has not denied that a sanctified soul can see through space; is it not then cruel in Protestantism, to prevent the orphan from lifting up its hands to Mary, the mother of all the afflicted? In the war of the three confederated cantons against the house of Austria, Tschudi, the historian, exhibits to us the heroes of Grutli, after having addressed their prayer to God, recommending themselves to their good patron, and the benignant Virgin. Therefore disavow this intercession, which was the price of liberty to the Helvetic soil.‡

Luther designated Mary as the very holy, (*Holdselige*.) “Who could deny, says he, that God operates great miracles at the tombs of the saints? I therefore maintain, with the universality of the Catholic church, that the saints ought to be invoked and honoured. Let no one neglect to address himself to the blessed Virgin, to the angels and to the saints, to obtain that they should intercede for us at the hour of our death.”§ And Calvin has acknowledged that the angels and saints

* Wer freut sich nicht, in catholischen Ländern am Abend das Geläute der Glocken zu hören, welches das *Ave Maria* verkündigt, und zu sehen, wie jeder Christ sein stilles Gebet verrichtet:—während die strengen Reformatoren mit jeren ausgearteten Andacht zugleich das Wahre, Erhabene und Schöne derselben entfernen muszten und keinen Ersatz dafür finden konnten.—Paul Henry, t. II, p. 167—168.

† St-Jérôme à Vigilance.

‡ In *exposit. evang. Dom. in Trinit.*

§ *Præparatio ad mortem.*

constantly keep watch over us; more than once, has he taken them to witness, as if they heard and listened to his voice.* We have beheld him lauding and glorifying that church, composed of the elect of God, the image of which is frequently recalled in his formulary of faith. How then are we to explain the nudity of the Calvinistic temple, from which every symbol is excluded; the sterility of that informal calendar, in which you neither find the name of the queen of angels, whom he called the glorious Virgin, quite full of the grace of the Holy Ghost; † nor the names of St. Peter and St. Paul, whom he has lauded as great servants of God? Upon a study of the Genevese liturgy, we discover in it a twofold principle; hatred of Catholic tradition and emptiness of heart: all the errors of Calvin are stamped with this double sign. In him, there was neither love nor poesy.

THE CONVENTS.

When Calvin came to Geneva to place himself at the head of the religious movement, the convents had already fallen. With an ineffable charm of feeling, sister Joanna de Jussie has described to us the fall of those houses of prayer, which not only offered refuge to anchorets, but often also to artists and popular heroes. Calvin, in imitation of the reformers of the sixteenth century, has calumniated the convents: he has dared write:—"I say one thing, out of ten cloisters, scarcely will one be found, which is not rather a brothel than a domicile of chastity." ‡ Now, to speak here only of Geneva, the testimony of the reformed writers is unanimous to convict him of falsehood. He well knew also, that, during the middle ages, the monasteries had been the asylum of the sciences; that the glories of Protestantism—Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Bullinger—had there imbibed their taste for human learning. "The monks," says the Protestant historian Mallet, "by diffusing a taste for letters, softened the manners of the people, and opposed their influence to the despotism of the nobles, who knew no other occupation than those pertaining to war. The people wanted no other judges. There was an old proverb which said: "It is better to be under a bishop's crozier than a king's sceptre." § Calvin had not yet worn out his life in wordy contests, for he would have understood, that the soul frequently stands in need of withdrawing from the agitations of active life in order to seek the Lord in solitude. Melancthon, wearied with the tumults of a fleeting world, before his death longed after that sweet solitude, where God unveils himself to his elect. The Anglican bishop, Leighton, numbers the destruction of convents among the complaints, which humanity may make against the reformation. ||

* *Coram summo iudice angelos omnes habeam testes, per me non stetisse quominus sedatos absque ulla noxa progressus ageret Christiregnum.*

† *Nunc refertur insigne et memorabile sanctæ Virginis canticum ex quo clare apparet quanta spiritus gratia excelluerit.*—Calv. *harm. Evangel.* Éd. Ber. 1833, p. 19 et 28.

‡ *Inst.*, lib. IV, ch. 13, § 15.

§ *Histoire de la Suisse*, t. I, p. 105.

|| *Life of Wesley*, by Southey, t. I, p. 274.

THE CROSS.

“Faith,” wrote Heinroth, “is the wing which elevates the creature towards God. Miracle is the wing, on which God descends and communicates himself to the creature.* How was it, that, in the midst of those splendours of light, shade, verdure and vegetation, which on a summer’s day Geneva spreads out to the view, Calvin could establish as a rule—that every thing which addresses the imagination should be banished from the divine service? But if the soul be affected by the spectacle of the prodigies of creation, why should the pomps of our worship, the voice of our levites, the chants of our priests, the tones of our organs, the sweet fragrance of our incense, distract the thought from the contemplation of God? When the poet desires to revive in the heart of Margaret the sensation of the infinite, he causes a choir of young maidens to chant in the far distance. Calvin has despoiled the Lord’s house; the eye in vain seeks in it for the image of the saviour, or of the patron saint of the city: it does not even find there the glorious emblem of christian faith, that cross, upon which the mystery of our redemption was accomplished. Formerly, before the epoch of the reformation, the cross, like a luminous beacon, arose above the summits of our sacred edifices; the belated traveler, who beheld it from afar, hastened his pace, while commending himself to the Man-God, who had tinged him with his blood; he hailed it when starting forth, with his matin prayers, and had he lost his way, or become faint from hunger or cold, his heart revived on seeing it above the poor man’s humble cabin. He knocked, certain that the door would open, and a christian appear to say to him: enter brother, thou art hungry, I will give thee bread; thou art thirsty, I will give thee drink; thou art cold, I will warm thee.

In our writers of the middle ages, are found ineffable poetic scenes, where the power of the images strikes even the most worldly imaginations.

One day, Erasmus was rambling over the mountains of the Jura; he was surprised by a fearful tempest. On lifting up his eyes, he beheld a cross engraved on the face of a rock surrounded with this text in the form of a halo: *Sperat anima mea in Domino*; My soul hopeth in the Lord. The rock, half broken, presented an enormous cleft in which the philosopher found refuge. The storm having abated, he resumed his way to Bale; but, he says, he had forgotten his philosophical speculations, and Luther, and all the turmoils of life: his thought fixed itself upon the sign, which had delivered the world from the darkness of paganism.

Old Tschudi, in his history of Switzerland, has a beautiful passage, surpassing anything that could be imagined by the painter Steuben, or the musician Rossini: it is that, in which he portrays the three liberators, swearing upon their swords, arranged in the form of a cross, to deliver their country from the yoke of Gessler.

* Heinroth, s. Schriften.

Calvin has excluded from his church every kind of emblem and image. How is the asylum of prayer to be known? he closes his temple during the whole week, and opens it only when the pastor is to make his appearance. Hence, that pious custom of the people to visit the house of God, after the hours of labour, to offer him their sufferings, chagrins and tears, is entirely abandoned.

He had never perused these beautiful lines of Thomas a Kempis :

“ A certain person, who, after wavering between hope and fear, had fallen into great sadness, saw a church, and having entered it, he prostrated himself before the altar, murmuring : *Ah! did I but know that I should persevere!*—And presently he heard within himself an answer from God : *And if thou didst know this, what wouldst thou do? Do now, what thou wouldst then do, and the peace of heaven will descend into thy heart.*”*

The unhappy man was consoled.

If the reformer had been acquainted with the book of imitation, would he have kept the doors of the church closed?

Thanks be to God, the reformation in our day no longer banishes images : it would wish to restore that cross, which was broken to pieces by the hammers of its apostles, and, at times, hymns escape from it which we are delighted to collect.

Listen then!

“ The time is not far distant, when, under a new breathing which shall revive Protestant sentiment, the cross, that glorious symbol, shall be again erected, not only on the summit of the christian temple, but also on the mountain’s peak, where the traveler will be able to hail it from afar, and on the wayside, where the poor villager will come to kneel and invoke it. And why then, when all creation so gloriously sings the power of God, should not the cross appear to us to speak to us of his love and of our redemption? He, who has only looked upon nature in her magnificence, might be led to imagine the earth, which he traverses, a true paradise, and forget that the physical world will share the destiny of its inhabitants; whilst upon the cross the eye reads in words of fire the long sufferings of man, his fall, his redemption, his salvation purchased at the price of all the blood of Christ!”†

May God bless and enlighten him who has penned these lines!

THE CHANT.

In Calvin’s liturgy the pastor commences by imploring pardon for his faults, and recites aloud the following confession :

“ We invoke our good God and father, supplicating him that he would please turn away his face from so many offenses by which we cease not to provoke his wrath against us; and, inasmuch as we are unworthy to appear before his majesty, that he would please look at us in the face of his well beloved son, our Lord Jesus Christ, accepting the merits of his death and passion as a recompense for our sins; that,

* Lib. I, ch. 25, § 2.

† Paul Henry, Calvin’s Leben. t. II, p. 158, 159.

by this means, we may be acceptable to him, and that he would deign illuminate us by his Spirit to a true understanding of his word, give us the grace to receive it with true fear and humility, that we may be thereby taught to place our trust in him, to serve and honour in order to glorify his holy name through our whole life, to render him the love and obedience which faithful servants owe to their masters, children to their fathers, since it has been his pleasure to call us into the number of his servants and children; and we pray to him, as our good master has taught us to pray, saying: Our Father.*

Then the singing of psalms commences; afterwards comes the sermon, which Calvin caused to be preceded by a prayer thus conceived:

"We invoke our good God and father, supplicating him, that as all plenitude of wisdom and light is in him, he would deign illumine us by his Holy Spirit in a true understanding of his word, give us the grace to receive it with true fear and humility, that we may be taught by it, fully to place our trust in him alone, to serve and honour as is meet to glorify his holy name during our whole life, and to edify our neighbour by good examples, to render him the love and fear which faithful servants owe to their masters and children to their fathers, since he has been pleased to receive us into the number of his servants and children; and we pray to him as our good master teaches us to do: Our Father."

After the sermon come prayer, the formulary of faith, and the blessing of the assistants. At the instruction, Calvin extended his hands, saying: "May the grace of God the Father, the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communication of the Holy Spirit dwell eternally with you." At the communion he said: "The Lord bless and preserve you—May the Lord make his countenance shine upon you and prosper you—May the Lord again turn his face upon you and maintain you in good prosperity."

"Care should be taken not to allow the ears to be more attentive to the harmony of the chant, than the mind to the spiritual sense of the words. Chants and melodies, which are composed solely to please the ears, as are the airs and glees of the papistry, and all that is termed broken music, artificial airs, and tunes with four parts, are in no wise suitable to the majesty of the church, and cannot be executed without greatly displeasing God."† In pursuance of this esthetic notion, Calvin banished the use of the Latin chant from his new liturgy. From that day, the soul, which from the very cradle was addressed by the accords of the primitive church, no longer listened to those hymns, those proses, those lamentations, treasures of poetry, the influence of which could not be comprehended by one organized like the reformer.

Erasmus, who in Germany had assisted at the disorganization of the national worship, regretted that Luther had abolished that *Stabat Mater*, which affects the hearer even to tears, that *Te Deum Laudamus*, which inspires him like a hymn of war, that *Pange Lingua*, the sol-

* This is the prayer addressed to God by Beza at the conference of Poissy.

† Inst., liv. III, ch. 20, § 32.

can harmony of which seems to paint before the eye the mystery which it celebrates, and those lamentations of the holy week, in which the prophet forces sighs of grief from the soul. In Saxony, Luther had found in christian families, a host of canticles with simple words, which the people sang morning and evening, or on the eves of the solemn festivals of the church, and the old airs of which he preserved. The Saxon puritans would have been glad to destroy those Catholic melodies, as they did our crosses, our statues, and images; but happily, Luther would not listen to them.—I do not think, he said, that the gospel is the enemy of art: I wish to preserve the relics of it, and especially music, which ought to remain in the service of him who has created and given it.* He composed some canticles which soon became popular, and among them, the *Ein'feste Burg*, still heard in Germany, and which he entoned on his entrance into Worms. But we are not to forget that Catholicism had anticipated him, and that long before his time, the young girl, on the eve of Christmas, sang this canticle, quite fragrant with poesy:

Ein Kindlein so löblich
Ist uns geboren worden. †

The German language is admirably adapted for melodious or dramatic expression. The rhythm of Luther was noble, grave, easily retained, and potent to affect the ear. Meyerbeer, in his *Huguenots*, has borrowed from the Saxon a musical phrase of great beauty. Calvin imagined himself able to imitate the monk of Wittenberg, not dreaming of the inferiority of the language which he spoke, and which soon was to experience the fate of the Latin, and even still worse, at length to be no longer comprehensible to the highest intellects.

Marot, at the instance of the theologian Vatable, had translated some of the psalms into the vernacular. The work of the valet de chambre of Francis I. met with great success. Beza, in his ecclesiastical history, relates to us the effect, which this musical novelty produced on those who for the first time heard it.

“It happened that certain persons being at *Pré aux Clercs*, a public place of the University, commenced singing psalms: this being heard, a great number of those who were promenading or amusing themselves in different games, were attracted by this music, some from its novelty, others, to sing with those who had commenced. This was continued during some days, in a very large company, where was found the king of Navarre, with many seigniors and gentlemen, as well of France as of the other countries, being there, and taking the lead in singing; and though in large crowds confusion enters easily, yet there were such accord and such reverence that each of the assistants was enraptured; and those who could not sing, and even the most ignorant, mounted the

* Auch bin ich nicht der Meinung, dasz durch Evangelium sollten alle Künste zu Boden geschlagen werden, und vergehen, sondern ich wollte alle Künste, sonderlich die Musica gerne sehen im Dienste Des der sie gegeben und erschaffen hat.—Preface des cantiquos spirituels.

† The Saxon school itself admits, that Catholic canticles in the vulgar tongue existed previously to the reformation. See the *Gesangbuch*, printed at Leipsic in 1707, p. 36.

walls and other places around to hear this singing, rendering testimony that it was wrong that so good a thing should be prohibited.*

Calvin caused William Franc, † who dwelt at Lausanne, and Goudimel, who lived at Lyons, to set the psalms of Marot to music. Goudimel was a Protestant, who, at the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was thrown into the Rhone.‡ He was not destitute of talent; his melodious phrase is simple and noble, but without glow. After three centuries, Luther's choral, *Ein' feste Burg*, is still young, whilst the musical style of Goudimel is worn out, as are the words which inspired it.

Moreover, Calvin shared the error of the gravest minds of that epoch, of Beza and Pasquier, who imagined that the language of Marot would undergo but slight modifications. Unfortunately, everything, even down to the very form discovered by Protestantism, has found its end; whilst our ancient Catholic airs are still to-day in use, and excite the admiration of every one with the soul of an artist. Glorious fortune of our church, who confers immortality on every thing that she enlivens with her breath! Beza, before his death, was forced to retouch Marot's verses. At each half century, a chosen Protestant hand essays to rejuvenize a word extinct forever; but the dead return not as in Burger's ballad. Revised, modernized, restored, Marot's work can be compared to nothing better than to that statue of Glaucus, which beaten by the waves, by tempests, and by passing centuries, at length ceased to possess the human form. §

The Sorbonne, termed by Luther, "the mother and nurse of sacred learning," had condemned Marot's work. The court ladies, who, while rising in the morning, amused themselves with singing a psalm to some Poitou air, complained to Francis I. who interceded for the poet. But the Sorbonne remained inexorable. Marot was wrong not to have oftener taken the advice of Vatable. The poet caused the Royal Prophet to sing thus:

* Hist. eccles., t. I, p. 141, 142.

† "Since they are completing the psalms of David, and as it is very necessary to compose a pleasing chant for them, ordained that M. Guill, who is well able to rehearse the children, instruct them one hour each day. Reg. 16th April, 1543.—"The psalms of David are printed with the prayers of the church, but because in these there is mention of the Angelical Salutation, resolved that it be expunged;" June, 16.

‡ Cives carcere educti ac sicis jugulati in Rhodanum projiciuntur: eandem fortunam expertus est Claudius Gaudimelus excellens nostra ætate musicus.—Thuan., 1. 52, p. 1084.

§ In the seventeenth century the version of Marot and of Beza was revised by Conrart and la Bastide. Marot translated fifty psalms—Beza the remaining hundred, at Calvin's entreaty. Pasquier appropriately remarks of Beza's work: "The translation of David's psalms manifests what he could still do, though he has not been so fortunate as Marot in his fifty." It seems that at first Calvin had the intention to translate the royal prophet in verse, judging from what he wrote to Farel in 1539. Ed. Amst. p. 258. Psalmos ideo miseramus ut prius cantarentur apud vos. Statuimus enim publicare. Quia magis ardebat melodia Germanica, coactus sum experiri quid carmine valerem. Ita Psalmi duo 46 et 20 prima sunt mea tirocinia, alios postea attexui. This work was not continued. The first edition of the psalms in verse appeared in 1561.

Qui au conseil des malins n'a esté
 Qui n'est au trac de pescheurs arresté.

We prefer the Latin of the Vulgate. *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilium impiorum.* Marot mistook the signification of the word *consilium*. Vatable would have told him that the analogous word in Greek *Boule*, and the Hebrew synonyme *ghelsah*, never, in the sacred language, have any other meaning than assembly or meeting.

He has spun out into six verses these simple words of the psalmist :
Quoniam novit Dominus viam justorum.

Car l'Eternel les justes cognoit bien,
 Et est soigneux et d'eux et de leur bien :
 Pourtant auront félicité qui dure.
 Et pour autant qu'il n'a ni soing, ni cure
 Des mal vivans, le chemin qu'ils tiendront,
 Eux et leurs faicts en ruine viendront.

Vatable, Marot's good angel, was then asleep. The poet here insults the Divinity, who causes his sun to shine upon the just and the unjust. Viret, who knew very little Greek, complained to Beza of this poetic license, and Beza printed :

Quant aux meschans qui n'ont ni soing ni cure
 De s'amender, le chemin qu'ils tiendront,
 Eux et leurs faicts en ruine viendront.

In the eighth psalm, the valet of Francis I. caused the Hebrew poet to say, speaking of Christ :

Tu l'as fait tel que plus il ne lui reste
 Fors estre Dieu.

Certain Catholic doctors, for whom Calvin felt such great pity, having taken exception to this, Beza effaced the two verses, and the people of Geneva sang :

Tu l'as fait tel que plus il ne lui reste
 Fors d'estre un ange. *

Calvin had still less mercy on poor Marot, who, detected in adultery. received, says Cayer, "the lash through the thoroughfares of the city of Geneva, and was thus made walk *in statu*." †

At the moment the reformation broke out in Switzerland, Geneva was commencing her intellectual travail. Like Florence and Rome. she had to cultivate the art of painting before applying herself to poetry and letters. Rome, Florence, Ferrara, placed in her temples some of the beautiful inspirations of the great masters, which the bishops were delighted to exhibit to public view. The contemplation of these had not been sterile ; but Farel appeared, and all these images fell, mutilated,

* In the Calvinistic temples they for a long time sang these verses of Marot :

De bord en bord, pleine tasse me donne.
 Et moi je suis un grand butor,
 Et moi je suis une chouette,

† Cayer, Form., fol. 47.

broken, burned by certain iconoclasts, incapable of appreciating their moral or artistic influence. Calvin completed the work commenced by Farel. The Italian families, so passionately fond of form, were compelled to deliver up to the consistory the paintings which they had made companions of their exile, and the reformed temples presented to the view but bare walls, which had been whitened with lime, for the purpose of effacing every trace of material representations. Geneva had to remain a stranger to the spiritual impulse, which was moving all cities to the study of the arts and sciences: Calvin had checked the flight of mind. At this hour, you would in vain seek, for one poetic spark: mind slavishly obeys the inspiration of the master, and for its only nourishment receives a sterile exegesis. Before it, are the most beautiful sun which God has ever caused to shine upon his creation, and the finest flowers with which he had decorated the eden of our first parents; and if it attempt to reproduce upon the canvas these miraculous images, a hand is stretched forth to seize them and tear them to pieces as papistical inspirations. Calvin has stripped the christian temple after the fashion of Attila. He has driven from it the Christ, the madonnas, the angels and the saints; on the altar, he has left nothing but a stone, in the sanctuary, nothing but wooden benches. He has forbidden the christian to impress upon the canvas or the marble the great scenes of our regeneration. Man must condemn himself to live only by the spirit, as if God had not also given him the five senses.

The reformation is well aware, that if we should ascend to the origin of its liturgical disputes with our church, we should find it vanquished upon all the arenas of science, of languages, of history, of sacred and profane traditions. We, Catholics, alone have forgotten those noble intelligences whom God raised up to defend authority. Who, to-day, in our school, is aware of the great eclat which the jurist Baudouin (Balduinus) shed upon the controversy concerning tradition? Calvin, with effrontery, had denied that our ceremonies of baptism, of extreme unction, of the mass, of communion, could be defended by the testimony of primitive times. We should see with what disdainful superiority Baudouin gives scientific lessons to the Genevese reformer! Let us quote at least a few lines of his admirable pleading.

Calvin had made sport of this formula: *abrenuntio satanæ*, I renounce satan, the Latin of which amused him even to tears.

“But do not laugh so much, Baudouin here says to him: this is a term frequently employed by the Roman jurists: at every instant will you find it in their books: *Renuntiare sponsalibus vel nuptiis*; in the Pandects: *Renuntiata affinitas*. Now, the christians have made use of this ancient formula to repudiate the slavery of satan, to which original sin had chained us. Bucer, thy friend, has retained this expression. St. Ambrose, explaining the passage of St. Paul, regarding baptism, c. 2, *ad Col.* says that the apostle here recommends us to persevere in the renunciation of satan and his pomps. There is no doubt that he alluded to a formula of language in use from the times of the apostles.

“In truth, I know not why thou so often makest sport of the chrism with which thou wast anointed in thy baptism, as I also have been.

But this concerns me not ; assail Jerome, Dionysius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Optatus, Augustine ; Dost thou understand ? attack the universal church, which accuses thee for having abolished a ceremony as ancient as christianity."

And then Baudouin overwhelms his adversary with waves of Greek and Latin quotations. He proves to him that he is ignorant of all the most common notions of the Roman law, of the Greek and Latin liturgy, of hermeneutics, and of the primitive history of our christian annals, or that knowingly he has deceived his readers, in denying the antiquity of the Catholic ceremonies. The whole of this discussion in Baudouin, is a model of truth, logic, and perspicuity. After having perused it, we comprehend the beautiful eulogium which Melancthon addressed to the jurist :

"Hail doctor of law and jurisprudence, who hast not only studied civil laws, but hast made thyself familiar with that doctrine, by the aid of which the Deity communicates himself to humanity !"*

* *Te igitur juris et justitiæ doctorem scio non tantum forenses leges, sed etiam eam doctrinam cognoscere qua sese Deus humanis mentibus communicat.*—Fr. Balduini Resp, altera ad Joannem Calvinum, Parisiis, 1562, p. 144.

Time obliterates the memory of a host of writings, of which it is the historian's duty to inform those who are desirous of defending the truth. There is a book of controversy which caused a great sensation when it appeared, and deserved all the glory it obtained in the sixteenth century. We speak of the treatise of Demochares: "*De veritate christi, necnon corporis et sanguinis Christi in missæ sacrificio, adversus hæreticos, assertio, in 12, Parisiis, 1572.*" The author proves the tradition of the Catholic liturgy by the collected testimonies of St. Dionysius and of all the fathers, councils, and doctors, down to the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

Calvin in opposition to his own doctrines regarding private judgment.—He imposes a confession of faith upon Geneva.—What the reformation, in our day, thinks of the formularies, or symbolical books.—A session in the great council of Lausanne.—Reactionary movement of different reformed churches against the confessions of faith.—Prophetic threats of Hammerschmidt.

THERE can be no ecclesiastical government without unity. Calvin had comprehended this great law of every christian society, and he had thought to introduce it into his new church; but, to ground it, he had to sacrifice the religious liberties of Geneva. His tribunal of censure, his consistory, his religious police, his liturgical forms imposed on the Genevese community, are so many attempts upon individual conscience.

On his appearance in the theological world, we behold him publishing, under the name of Institutes, another gospel, from which, afterwards, he extracts the legislation which governs his christian republic. In 1536, he caused his formulary of faith to be subscribed at Geneva; at a later period, in a letter to Somerset, he declares that a church cannot exist without a catechism, and he writes a symbolical book for the use of the reformed communion. And, from 1541 to 1543, he completes his work, which he places under the protection of a confession of faith, to which each member of his church is obliged to swear, under penalty of chastisements in this life and in the next. Soul and body,—every thing is bowed down under his despotism. “The organization given to the Genevese clergy by the ordinances of Calvin,” says M. de Fazy, “was far from corresponding with the true spirit of Protestantism, which, out of each conscience making a temple into which divine revelation may descend, should have included a popular element representing the consciences of all.”* Certain persons of the senate and not of the councils, had in vain attempted to protest against the dangerous innovations which so evidently threatened freedom of thought, but their voices were stifled. To combat his adversaries, Calvin, exulting in his triumph, had the pulpit, books, and the consistory. Each of his ordinances was immediately converted into a law by the civil power, and each law became a dogma, in the formulary of faith, which was imposed on the whole commune.

* *Essai d'un Précis de l'histoire de Geneve*, t. I, p. 260.

When he began the construction of his church, the reformation had already scattered broad-cast among the christian people, a host of symbols, which often expired even without a struggle or a pang. Zwingle, in his mountains, had concocted a confession of faith, which the Holy Ghost had overspread with his rays, and which did not even live as long as the prince to whom it had been dedicated. Melancthon had drawn up his symbol in the true spirit of a poet pursuing a rebellious rhyme; erasing, correcting, effacing, pruning, and adding to a work, which, at every phase of the painful travail, was always represented as having been touched by the tip of the Holy Spirit's wing. Myconius prepared the first Helvetic confession, a creation, even still more obscure than its author. Gryneus and Bullinger succeeded to invest their confession with a symbolical authority, which lived through a few years. That of Calvin was destined to be still more fortunate.

But to-day all these symbols, animated by the breath of human lips, have fallen to rise no more. What Eliseus shall spread himself over the lifeless form of the Augsburg confession, to recall it to life? Who shall collect the dry bones of the Helvetic formularies? Where shall the remains of that confession be found to which Calvin made the Genevese pledge their oaths? All these formularies had been composed to establish religious unity; all, if you shall credit the writers who had invoked the Holy Ghost as their coadjutor, were destined to live eternally, and to govern the christian society until the consummation of ages; and all are worn out, fallen into decrepitude, worm-eaten. A new era has dawned upon the reformation, which now proclaims the inutility and emptiness of confessions of faith.

Come to Lausanne, and you shall be present at a session of the great council, in which a question vital to Protestantism is to be agitated: that, which regards the preservation or suppression of formularies.

THE MINISTER ROND. . . . *

—“What will become of the liberty of private judgment, that very precious right bequeathed by the reformation? But, it is precisely because of this liberty of private judgment, that a formulary of belief is necessary, that the church may be able to make known to those who wish to be teachers, what is the doctrine which she professes, and which she desires to have preached.

To pretend that in a church there should be nothing fixed, nothing recognized; that each one may believe and teach after his own notions, is to maintain an impossibility, a chimera; as well say that a government can subsist without laws, without a constitution; that each citizen may view the law as he pleases, and constitute himself judge of the degree of obedience that he owes to his country. Take away its constitution from a country, and you will have war and anarchy; suppress the confession of faith, and you will soon behold such dissensions, scandals and divisions, as your civil laws will in vain labour to put

* Consult: *La Religion du cœur*, par M. l'Abbé de Baudry, Lausanne, 1840, 1 vol. in 12mo. p. 320-352, where the question regarding confessions of faith is admirably discussed. It is a controversial work, written with good faith and ability, and which we could not too highly recommend.

down. Anarchy or tyranny, one or the other, must be the result of such a measure.

THE PROFESSOR CHAPPUIS.—The church has not the right to impose a confession of faith upon this or that individual christian. If she should take upon her conscience a power of this nature, it would be an usurpation, and the most monstrous of all usurpations.

THE MINISTER GOLLIEZ.—Can the church subsist without a confession of faith? It is the interior or spiritual tie which forms the church. This consists of unity of sentiment and thought, concerning the dogmas of faith. If the church have no confession of faith, who shall determine the fundamental points of christian doctrine.

JAYET, THE ADVOCATE.—A confession of faith! But I do not conceive the possibility of a confession of faith, without infallibility. If the divine word itself present some obscurity, it can only be interpreted by human voices. We are told, it is true, that God has employed human means, in order to reveal himself to us; but let us not forget that those human voices, which have transmitted the word of God to us, possessed the gift of the Holy Ghost. I do not conceive how the inspired language can be interpreted by voices which are not inspired.

M. CORREVEON DE MARTINES.—I behold in the church the assembly of those persons who follow the same religious banner. That these persons may know what they have embraced, it is necessary to teach it to them. For this, pastors are appointed. *Is the mass of the people in a condition to use the liberty of private judgment? Not the least in the world.* This portion of the church must have pastors, the flock must have shepherds. To cut the matter short: believe not that you can arrive at universal instruction, by means of your renovated academy, your gymnasium, and your medium schools. There must be pastors to preach the gospel to the man who cannot divine it for himself. The workman, engaged at his labour, has no time for self-instruction. There must be pastors, to give him religious instruction on Sundays. There must be a rule, to determine, for these pastors of the church, upon what points they should insist in their preaching.

M. DE LA HARPE.—Confessions of faith are contrary to the principle of the reformation. The principle of the reformation is liberty, the right to choose, the right to place the authority of the Bible above the authority of men. This has been admitted, and yet it is insisted that the confession of faith does not affect the principle, since the confession is only for the teachers, and not for the flock; but the pastors must necessarily endeavour to communicate the doctrines to the persons whom they are appointed to instruct. The flock cannot resist; if it resist, it is accused of unbelief, and almost of impiety. When a religion is just beginning to establish itself, the people are told that they shall reap all the advantages thereof; they are made an integral part of the newly born society; but once it is well established, the people are no longer consulted. Calvin arrived at Geneva in 1535. In that place, there were a great many persons who did not approve his views, and woe to the one that resisted him. A Spaniard, who had written a book on the Trinity, escapes from his enemies in France, he comes to Geneva; the implacable Calvin discovers him, and has him executed.

Another has his head amputated on the block, for having spoken evilly of the reformer. A schoolmaster is displaced from his post, for having spoken a word against Calvin's ordinances; a poor woman, for having expressed her opinion, that it was unjust to execute Servetus, is driven from the city. Behold the way in which the new christians sow the seed of evangelical truth in the minds of men. To the grand chamberlain of the court of Navarre, Calvin wrote: "Spare no pains to free the country of those rascals, who excite the people against us. Such monsters ought to be executed like the Spaniard Michael Servetus. Fear not, that in future any one will take it in his head to imitate him."

M. DRUEY.—A confession of faith is a pope.

M. JACCARD.—The confession of faith is the yoke of authority trammeling thought. Almost as well have the councils and the infallibility of the Pope.

The great council voted for the abolition of the confession of faith.

And one of the members, M. Berger, exclaimed: It is anarchy, which you have just established by decree, and there is but one step from anarchy to the abolition of the national church!

But in the reactionary impulse against human symbolism, Lausanne had been anticipated. In Switzerland, with the exception of Berne, the preachers no longer took the oath of Zurich,—to preach only the word of God contained in the New Testament.*

The venerable company of Geneva had already, long since, dispensed its evangelical ministers from the necessity of being acquainted with the various reformed confessions of faith.†

In Brunswick, two candidates having refused to swear to the symbolical books, the ecclesiastical council decided, that henceforward, aspirants to the ministry should be freed from all doctrinal coercion.‡

Most of the ecclesiastics of Anhalt-Benburg, enlightened men, have thrown aside the confessions of faith established by the reformation, and admit but the one book only, the gospel.§

The anti-symbolical spirit of the German reformed church prevailed in the union established in 1817, which absorbed almost the entire Lutheran church, and which admitted the unlimited principle of liberty of teaching. In the first official acts of the union of the Duchy of Nassau, drawn up by the synod of Idstein, in 1817, no mention is made of symbols of faith; in the protocol of union for the County of Mark, there is the same omission. The general synod of Kaiserslautern, in the act of 1818, recognized no rule of faith but the holy scriptures. It is well known with what immovable firmness the first and second synods, of 1821 and 1825, maintained their first resolution, in spite of the menacing observations of the consistory of Munich.

The act of union of the principality of Saxe-Cobourg Lichtenberg, drawn up by the synod of Baumholder, in 1820, and approved by the state, admits no other symbolical book but the Bible.

* *Regist. du synode*, 1803, p. 13.

† *Baselerwissenschaft. Zeitschrift*, 1815.

‡ *Christ. Freimuth*, in der *A. K.-Z.* 1832, p. 385, n. 48.

§ *Ib.*, 1830, n. 199.

The synod of Carlsruhe, of 1824, also, admits no symbolical book except the scriptures, as of reformed authority in dogma. Rhenish Hussia, the commune of Unterwalden, and that of Hildburghausen, have adopted the principle of the union.

On beholding this repudiation of symbolical books, some noble souls, strongly attached to the reformation, were sensibly affected, and could not dissemble their sorrow and fears. Hammerschmidt made the air resound with prophetic menaces.

—“So, then, you no longer admit any thing of the symbolical books, but the spirit which gave them birth: the liberty of investigation. You acknowledge Christ and the gospel, but who assures me of this? Why do you conceal all this? Innovators that you are, do you not perceive what a dissolvent you are throwing into the christian community? In place of a society, united in its faith and its love to Christ, you are about producing a crowd of sects, which will devour each other.”*

Hammerschmidt is right. But why, with his lofty understanding, has he voluntarily closed his eyes to the light? That sun of error, which blinds the rationalist, in turn, blinds him also. Anarchy, dissolution, tyranny; all the elements of disorder or of despotism, are included in this grand principle of free investigation. You give wings to my reason, and when she begins to spread them, to soar away from earth, you seek to cut them off: you have liberated me from the yoke of the papism, and with your own hands you fashion *paper popes*, as you term them yourselves, and to which you give the name of confessions. Then you tell me:—“War upon the fundamental doctrines of our confession is war upon the Bible.”† But this is a cry of distress, which you utter. I shall not search long for a reply to you: I will say with Paalzow: Partisans of symbolical books, who declaim against authority, you have made with your own hands a paper pope, more intolerant than the pope of bone and flesh that reigns at Rome;‡ or with Ludke:—“Your symbolical books are an iron yoke imposed on the necks of christians.”§

“I believe in fortunate men,” said Napoleon: he would have placed little faith in the reformers. Contemplate the lot of all the truths which they have announced.

Luther discovered impanation, and serf-will.

—Serf-will and impanation sleep with him in the tomb of Wittenberg.

Zwingle dreamed of a Lord's Supper entirely figurative.

—His trope was slain at the battle of Cappel.

Calvin imagined a free necessity, a predestination quite aristocratic, a Lord's Supper, which is neither figure nor reality.

His theological system has lived but a few years.

Zwingle drew up a confession of faith, which was cast into the shade by the Augsbourg confession of Luther and Melancthon.

* Hammerschmidt, Allg. Kirch. Zeit., p. 1365, 1369, 1372.

† Homiletisch. liturgisch. Correspondenzbl. 1830, n. 30.

‡ Paalzow, Synesius, p. 192.

§ Lüdke, Vom falschen Religionseifer. 1767.

The confessions of faith, by Farel and Calvin, by Gryneus, by Bullinger and Musculus, could not stand the test of free examination.

The liberty of investigation, at length, has ended in anarchy of doctrine: it has generated a thousand sects in the United States.

Anarchy has invoked an abyss, of which Strauss is the new monarch. Eichhorn and Paulus had swayed the sceptre before him.

The reformation cannot even select the precipice of its ruin: its own doctors have drawn up the sentence which condemns it. Catholics have no part to perform but that of recording clerks.

Therefore, when it makes an attempt upon the imprescriptible right of thought, Schulz says to it:

—"Daughter of liberty, take care of what thou art doing: if, by the aid of thy confessions of faith, thou darest arrest the flight of mind, thou ceasest to be thyself, thou fallest into authority, thou art lost."*

On the other hand, should the reformation leave thought free to indulge its caprices, Thiess cries out to it:

—"Be thou cursed, impure Protestantism, in the name of Christ; for satan has not prepared a more deadly poison than rationalism."†

At Geneva, the reformation, before reaching rationalism, was doomed to pass through the ordeal of despotism.

Calvin's consistory, his clerical system, his ecclesiastical constitution, his confession of faith, his symbolical books, are so many outrages upon the liberties of his new country. And his religious legislation is, at the same time, the greatest chastisement that God could inflict upon apostacy, and the most frightful monument of the reformer's theocracy.

Let us pause a moment, to contemplate its spirit.

* Schulz, was heiszt Glaube, und wer sind die Ungläubigen? 1830, p. 43.

† Prediger Thiesz, Moses, Eine Sammlung christlicher Predigten, 1828. Erste Rede.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CALVIN THE THROCRAT.—1541—1543.

The theocracy of Calvin.—His legislative code is written with blood and with fire.—Penal laws against the heretic.—Examples of punishment inflicted by the legislator.—The torture.—Colladon.—The sorcerers.—Calvin's proceedings against them.—How much greater was the mildness of the Catholic church at Geneva.

Acts and thoughts,—every thing in Calvin, displays the character of the theocrat.

“The priest, when marching in the light of the word eternal, is, in his eyes, the most magnificent image of the Divinity. Let others glory in their power, that of the priest surpasses all dominations. It is his mission, to subjugate every thing that lives to the yoke of this word; he breaks to pieces the strong, he raises up the feeble, he extends the kingdom of God, he overturns that of satan. It is his office to conduct the sheep to the pastures, to drive away the wolves, to instruct docile souls, to chastise the incredulous; let him, then, have a crown, a sword, or a pastoral staff; and, if need there be, invoke fire from heaven, and hurl thunderbolts in the name of Jehovah. The priest or pastor is as indispensable to the christian society, as light or heat to the physical world.”*

It is the duty of the priest “to combat the more zealously, because his exertions are watched by that great Judge of the lists, who sits on high, in heaven. And that holy and sacred host of angels promise him their favour, and point out to him the way he should pursue.”†

It is manifest that Calvin's minister is not the angel descended from heaven, “who, with honey, assuages the wounds of the sinner.” His sacerdotal type is neither Fenelon nor Vincent of Paul. He has met with it, he tells us, in Israel, in the person of Moses. He forgets that Christ came into the world to abolish the Jewish law. One would suppose that he had ascended another Sinai, and brought down from his mountain a code, promulgated amid lightnings and thunder. He dealt with Geneva, as Moses did with the unbelieving people. Behold the words which he has inscribed upon his tables of the covenant: “Who ever outrages the glory of God ought to perish by the sword.”* His

* Inst. cit. par Bretschneider; Calvin et l'Eglise de Genève, p. 8.

† Claire exposition contre Heshusius. Op., p. 1953.

* Der Schänder der Ehre Gottes musz mit dem Schwerde gerichtet werden.—Paul Henry, p. 57, t. II.

historian, in order to justify him, represents him to us as if impelled by the finger of God, and obeying, like Luther's horse, the spirit which guides and directs him.* But this God exists elsewhere than in heaven, he dwells in a human brain, where hatred, pride, and love of power are fermenting: from this focus all his inspirations are derived. The minister, in order to oppress the people, here vests himself with the mantle of Elias. The historians, who plead excuse for such frequent employment of fire and the sword in the Calvinistic legislation, while making the fiery tongues of the Apostles descend upon the head of their legislator, do not then any longer remember that the student of Orleans, often, in France, raised his voice to blast the judges of his brethren! And, when at Geneva, his eye remains motionless at the sight of the executioner, they say that God has closed and dried the lid, and stayed the tears which were ready to flow! Calvin himself wanted to play the part of the prophet, and to cause an impression that he dwelt in the thought and counsels of the Omnipotent. His spirit has lived after him. In 1582, the authorities asked the ministers whether, with justice, they could undertake war against Savoy, and the ministers, still quite full of Calvin, answered: You have been guided by the Spirit of God, who, in causing you to consult us on a case of this nature, regarding conscience, has pointed out to you the true path.†

So, then, in this theocratical system, the priest must intervene, in all political questions, because his voice is the voice of God himself. Already, in the year 1555, when some soldiers were on the point of starting from Geneva for the defence of their country, Calvin had these three letters, I. H. I., engraved on their flags, to the end that they might understand, that above all things, they were children of the church. He had so skillfully combined the two elements, the religious and the political element, that the commune was as greatly troubled by the apparition of a heresy, as by the appearance of a standard of Savoy upon the Genevese territory. The people had to take part in every crusade set on foot, in the name of the consistory, against a seditious or impious book; and whoever opened such book was punished, now by the prison, again by fines, and sometimes, if his curiosity assumed the form of revolt against the Calvinistic symbol, by death itself. The reformer's pen was by turns dipped in fire and blood.‡ His name is not inscribed at the head of the legislative code of 1543, which, however, is entirely the product of his inspiration. At Strasbourg, from a prophetic anticipation of his recall, he had studied carefully the customs, franchises, and ancient edicts of the republic. He formed of them a collection, to which he added a great number of new edicts, where his hand manifests itself like the lava of the volcano. As long as Calvin lived, no one dared touch this Draconian work. To aid him in his labour, they had given him the syndic Roset, an apostate, who had become rich by

* Er aber fühlte sich von Gott angetrieben, so zu handeln, dies geht aus allen Aeusserungen des gewissenhaften Mannes hervor.—Id.

† P. Henry, t. II, p. 58, note.

‡ Seine Gesetze waren nicht nur mit Blut geschrieben, wie des Athenieners Draco, sondern mit einem glühenden Griffel.—Paul Henry, t. II, p. 78.

purchasing at a trifling price the confiscated property of Catholics, and, at a later period, the syndic la Rive, and some other councilmen, and also they exempted him from the duty of preaching on Sundays. Having completed the work, he received a tun of old wine from the hospital.‡

“Then,” remarks M. Thourel,§ “Geneva found herself under the dominion of an almost new legislation, in which three different elements were easily distinguished: the ancient constitutions of the country, the reformation principles, and, as regarded civil edicts, the common law of the province of Berry, which Colladon had introduced into the constitution.” Colladon was a learned jurist, but a man destitute of the bowels of mercy, who had come to Geneva in order to embrace the reformation.||

In perusing this politico-religious code, one imagines himself reading fragments of the laws of some savage tribe, discovered after the lapse of several thousand years. Idolatry and blasphemy are capital crimes, punished by death. There is but one word heard or read: DEATH.—Death to every one guilty of high treason against God.—Death to every one guilty of high treason against the state.—Death to the son that strikes or curses his father.—Death to the adulterer.—Death to heretic. And, with sanguinary irony, the name of God incessantly drops from the lips of the legislator. It is ever that same coldly cruel soul, which at a later period, will exhort the princes of England to put the Catholics to death.¶

During the space of twenty years, commencing from the date of Calvin’s recall, the history of Geneva is a burgher drama, in which pity, dread, terror, indignation and tears, by turns, appear to seize upon the soul. At each step, we encounter chains, thongs, a stake, pincers, melted pitch, fire and sulphur. And throughout the whole, there is blood. One imagines himself in that doleful city of Dante, where sighs, groans and lamentations continually resound.

Quivi sospiri, pianti, et alti guai
Risonavan l’aer senza stelle.

After the lapse of three centuries, at length a cry of reprobation bursts forth from a Genevese breast, and in a writing, printed at Geneva, by a Protestant, we can read this energetic sentence:

“Calvin overturned every thing that was good or honorable to h

*Galiffe, t. I, p. 347.

† Registres de Gotha et de Geneve, 3 decembre 1543.

‡ Registres de la ville, 16 novembre 1542.

§ Thourel, Hist. de Geneve, t. II, p. 261.

|| Colladon, doctor of laws, born in Berry. “In 1575, the rights of citizenship were conferred on him in order to strengthen the party of honest men against the libertines. (See chapters entitled: THE LIBERTINES and MICHAEL SERVETUS). Colladon was a great jurist; the council profited by his knowledge, in all difficult business, and rendered justice to his deserts by charging him with the digest of our political and civil acts. This is undoubtedly the reason why they have such great correspondence with the customs of Berry.—Senebier, Hist. litt. de Geneve, t. I, p. 343.

¶ Calv. Ep. 87.

manity in the reformation of the Genevese, and established the reign of the most ferocious intolerance, of the most gross superstitions, of the most impious dogmas. He at first attained his end by cunning, then by force, menacing the council with an insurrection, and the vengeance of all the satellites by whom he was surrounded, when the magistrates wished to cause the laws to prevail over his usurped authority. Let them, then, admire him as an adroit, profound man, after the order of all those petty tyrants, who have enslaved republics in so many different countries; this must be allowed to feeble minds. Blood was necessary for that soul of mud.”*

And we must conduct the reader through blood and filth.

At times, one believes himself at Constantinople. At Geneva, they threw adulterous women into the Rhone; and the difference was, that at Constantinople the executioner sewed his victims in a sack, to hide them from the light. At Geneva, they threw them into the river with their eyes open.

Here is a process which commences like a fairy tale, and terminates like a decree of Tiberius, dated from Ischia.

“There was a rich burgher named Henry Philip le Neveu, who, for fifteen years, kept a figure painted upon glass, which he called his familiar demon. Now, when he desired to know what his wife was doing, he approximated his ear, and the indiscreet image told him, in a whisper, something which it would have been much better for him not to have asked. The husband afterwards went to relate to any person that was willing to listen, how, at his lodgings, he had an image on glass which spoke, and a wife who would be very glad to make it keep silence. Well, le Neveu babbled so much that the council caused him to be arrested.”

The image was silenced, and so was le Neveu: they had cast one of them into the Rhone and hung the other.

Spon, that wise historian, says, very seriously:

“In the year 1560, the Genevese made two examples of justice which savoured of the severity of ancient Rome.

“A citizen having been condemned to the lash by the small council, for the crime of adultery, appealed from its sentence to the Two Hundred. His case was reconsidered, and the council, knowing that he had before committed the offence, and been again caught therein, condemned him to death, to the great astonishment of the criminal, who complained that they did him a wrong, to punish him with the highest degree of punishment. Some time after, for the same crime, a banker was executed, who died with great repentance, blessing God that justice was so rigorously observed.”†

There were children publicly scourged, and hung, for having called their mother she-devil and thief. When the child had not attained the age of reason, they hung him up by the arm-pits, to manifest that he deserved death.‡

* Galiffe, *Notices généalogiques*, t. III, p. 21.

† Spon. *History of Geneva*, in 4to., t. I, 305.

‡ Picot., *History of Geneva*, in 8vo., t. II, p. 264.

Calvin felt that the word, which had invested him with royalty, might also deprive him of it; he therefore sets to work to brand the forehead of every intelligence sufficiently bold to question his mission, to discuss his theological doctrines, or to refuse his symbol of faith. Then Bolsec, who denied his predestination, was driven away from the republic; Gentilis, who rejected the Calvinistic quarternity, was condemned to take the rounds through the city, with a halter on his neck;* Castalion, who considered the Canticle of Canticles as apocryphal, though once the table companion of Calvin, was driven from Geneva, without a morsel of bread to put in his mouth; and Servetus, who had made sport of the Institutes, was burned alive. When Farel made his first appearance at Geneva, we remember that he had asked permission to dispute; that, in spite of the orders of the magistrates, he had mounted the pulpit, and preached his God to the astonished multitude. Woe now, to the man who should say that he is impelled by the Holy Ghost to preach a word different from that of Calvin; the hierophant is there, ready to sieze the audacious man, and he will put him in irons or cast him into the fire, if he consent not to retract. Colladon will put him to the torture, and give him, as he did Goulaz, "a strappado with the rope, if he will not confess; and order him to be shorn for using enchantments; and have him proceeded against by all manner of justice, till the pure truth be known,† and," adds M. Galiffe, "after the confession shall have been obtained, subject him anew to the torture, to the end that something else may be learned."‡

Sometimes a wretch, worn out by sufferings, after having in vain cried for mercy to Colladon and his acolyte, the executioner, who, on the next day, were to resume their office, addressed himself to God, imploring him to terminate his life; but soon he learned that God had not heard him; then he fell into despair, and requested to see Calvin. And Calvin entered the dungeon, and wrote to Bullinger: "I am able to assure you that they have acted very humanely towards the guilty; they hoist him up on the stake, and cause him to lose the earth by suspending him from the two arms." §

We shall shortly behold a Spaniard, guilty of blasphemies against the Trinity uttered in France, ask of Calvin, not some bread and water, but a shirt, as a change for the one on his body, and which the vermin are devouring, and Calvin will answer: No. ||

Most of the patients subjected to the torture, "on recommendation of M. Colladon," as we read in the registers of the city, acknowledged the real or false crimes, of which they were accused, and passed from the fiery chamber to their punishment. But justice had not finished with them: she often seized upon the headless trunk, and suspended it at Champel, and nailed up the head on the highway. At times, but rarely, she took a notion to be merciful, and her pity causes horror. John Roset, under the violence of his tortures, acknowledged the adul-

*See chapter entitled: LITERARY FRIENDSHIPS.

† 22 janvier 1543. Reg. de la ville.

‡ Not. Généal. Article *Colladon*, p. 566, t. 11.

§ A. Bullinger.—Manusc. gen.

|| See chapter entitled: SERVETUS.

tery of which he was accused; one of the judges experienced some remorse of conscience, and obtained a commutation of punishment. The decree ran: John Roset has merited death with the halter; the council shows him favour. He shall be scourged through the city, have his feet chained with an iron chain, and be put in prison for ten years; afterwards, be perpetually banished from the city, under penalty of two hundred florins or crowns fine, for which he shall give security.*

These torments and punishments had affected all hearts at Geneva: but they wiped away their tears; for, had they wept, they would have been denounced to Calvin. Some verses were put into circulation, in which the judges and executioner were devoted to the wrath of God. The police seized upon them, and noted in them several *infernal heresies*. Three citizens, suspected of occupying themselves with religious poetry, were cast into prison. Colladon, who had tortured them, according to his custom, concluded that they should suffer "the pain of death." But the poets did not die; they were condemned to make the *amende honorable*, with torch in hand, and to cast their heterodox inspirations into the flames.

Colladon, who did not believe that God, in his mercy, wished to save sinners, treated his prisoners as so many damned souls. If they refused to confess their crime, he said: the finger of satan is here; and he had the criminal shorn, and again subjected him to the torture, persuaded that the devil was concealed in the hair of the sufferer.

Do not fear that Calvin will cry mercy, in behalf of the victim. If he descend into the lion's den, called the question chamber, it is not in order to say to the executioner: enough! but coldly to write to Bullinger: "I should never have done, were I to refute all the idle stories which are circulated in my regard. . . . They say that unhappy persons have been forced to confess, under the torture, crimes, which, afterwards, they disavowed. There are four of them, it is true, who, at the moment of dying, changed some trifling things in their first avowals; but that torments constrained them to lie to God, this is not so." Do you recognize the student of Noyon, who, by the dead body of his child, wrote to his friend:—Do come, we shall chat together?

The whole study of the man, who calls himself minister of a God of mercy, is to invent new crimes, in order undoubtedly, to resemble that being, whom he presents to us in his book of predestination, impelling his creatures to evil, and afterwards smiting them, in order to display his justice. The councils themselves, the pliant instruments of Calvin, grew weary of beholding blood flow; they dreaded lest it should cry to God; and, on the 15th of November, 1560, they decided that the new decrees, "regarding debauchery, adultery, blasphemy, and contempt of God," added to his Draconian code, "seemed to some persons to be too severe, and ought to be revised and moderated, and afterwards be in general presented." The civil power was visited by a good thought, of which it should be proud; but it dreaded to proclaim it, for fear of offending Calvin, and attributed it to "some persons," as if it was afraid to accept the responsibility.

* Registres de la ville.

Ah! the reformation is at least just for once; to-day it dares brand Calvin, and laud the Catholicism of ancient Geneva, "where the laws were so mild, the creeds which dishonored other countries less sought after, torture scarcely ever applied, the confiscation of property abolished; where you will find none of those monstrous prosecutions for opinions, or of those frightful punishments inflicted on unhappy persons suspected of dealings with the devil."*

At Geneva, previously to the reformation, sorcery was not punished by death; the sorcerer was prosecuted before the tribunal, and banished from the city. In 1503, the council declared to a certain magician that, if he did not leave the canton, they would drive him away with blows of the cudgel.† Calvin instituted punishment by fire against sorcery; he stigmatized it as the highest degree of treason against God. In the space of sixty years, as shown by the registers of the city, one hundred and fifty individuals were burned for the crime of magic. "We do not understand," says a minister of Berlin, "how it was, that Calvin, who had such an affectionate heart, and also Beza, have not protested against a legislation so cruel?"‡ And some lines farther on, this same historian tells us, that Calvin's laws "are not written with blood, like those of Draco, but with a red-hot iron."

In this legislation, there are not only blood and fire, but all things else that can assist the executioner in the discharge of his office.

It was the duty of the elders, as we have seen, to visit their parishioners, to receive their confessions of faith, to permit them to partake of the Lord's Supper. Each citizen, that failed to commune during a year, was exiled from the territory. In 1564, Claude du Rocher and his son were obliged to offer the *amende honorable*, at St. Gervais, because, on Pentecost day, instead of listening to the sermon, they went to drink and amuse themselves; and George Druson, pastor of the village of Moens, was deposed, both for his avarice, and for his bad manner of preaching. Some of these elders, real spies of the consistory, at length began to blush at the task which Calvin had imposed on them, and withdrew, "loving rather," says Cayer, "to see persons go and voluntarily confess to the priest, than to be spying and eves-dropping at doors, in order to denounce some word, spoken possibly under irritation, by a husband to his wife, or before every body. For all this is related to the consistory, so that it is a real Spanish inquisition."§

Cayer adds, that "these elders were wont to inquire into every particularity which they could imagine, even as to the beds."

An ecclesiastical ordinance imports "that no one shall remain three entire days in bed, without giving notice to the minister of his quarter, that those consolations and admonitions may be obtained, which are then more than ever necessary." The refractory patient who recovered his health, and also his nurses, in case of disobedience, were reprimanded.

* J. Fazy, p. 185, t. I.

† Picot., 270, t. II.

‡ Auffallend ist es in der That, dasz Calvin, der gutherzig, freundlich und zartfühlend war, ebenso auch Beza, sich noch nicht so weit durchgearbeitet hatten, um gegen jene strengen Gesetze zu protestiren.—Paul Henry, t. II. p. 75.

§ Picot, t. II, p. 273.

manded, and subjected to fine. The sermons were frequent, and it was necessary to assist at them, under penalty of corporal punishment. Three children, who had left preaching to go and eat cakes, were scourged publicly.

Calvin, Abel Poupin, Michael Cop, treated the libertines, in other words, the liberals of the epoch, "as villains, scoundrels, rascals, dogs; their wives and sisters as ———; the emperor, their sovereign, as vermin; their father and mother, as agents of satan."* "Whilst Calvin, with the tongue of a trooper, was insulting his enemies, the peasants," adds the same writer, "were not allowed to speak impolitely to their oxen. A farmer, who had sworn at his oxen in the plough, because they would not pull, was immediately dragged into the city, by two refugees, who, concealed behind a hedge, had overheard him."†

The city was thronged with spies, who denounced to the consistory the blasphemies, impious words, and libertine expressions which they had heard. One day, a mason, who fell down exhausted, exclaimed: Let the work and the master go to the devil! He was summoned before the consistory, and condemned to the dungeon for three days.‡

Calvin had numbered among sins of blasphemy, all railleries against the French refugees, whom he wished to be regarded as martyrs of the gospel.

Games, of cards, dice, and nine-pins were prohibited: the iron collar was put upon the gamester by profession. The consistory made crimes out of the most innocent amusements, and interdicted certain young persons from the Lord's Supper, for having, on the Epiphany, drawn lots in the game of the kings.

The council excommunicated a young girl, who, one evening had disguised herself in male attire, as also her mother, for having allowed her to do this. It exiled a woman for having sung profane songs to the tune of a psalm; imprisoned a man, with whom the tales of Poggio were discovered; condemned Amadis de Gaul, "because many read this work, although in it there is nothing but dissolute and wicked things:" and at a later period, threw Henry Estienne into prison, "for having printed a book full of things scandalous, and unworthy of a christian, and for having been wanting in respect to M. de Beza, who reproached him for the abuse he made of his talents, and for his bad reputation, being commonly termed the Pantagruel of Geneva, and the prince of atheists; finally, for having said, that, to please the consistory, a person should be a hypocrite."§

Calvin finally ended by refusing a serious struggle with ideas too hostile to his doctrines. When Servetus had been burned, some Protestants secretly printed a book "regarding the non-combustion of heretics: *De non comburendis hæreticis.*" He had just published a pamphlet concerning the necessity of killing blasphemers with the sword or fire, among whom he placed the papist, in the first rank. To please God, he would have thrown his benefactor, the abbé d'Hangest, into

* Galiffe, Preface, p. xix, t. I.

† *Ib.*, p. xxv, xxvi.

‡ Registres, 13 mars 1559.

§ Registres, 13 mai 1580.

the flames. This book, then, had agitated the theological world; and, you will admit, that the question was of sufficiently grave importance, where the life of a man was at stake. Calvin treats it with a proud disdain, as if it merited no concern.

"I will say to you, in one word, that their arguments agree together like cats and dogs, as their own books manifest. Except, that on one thing they have conspired together, that heretics ought not to be punished; and this, in order that they may vomit forth whatsoever pleases them; for such people would be glad there was no law or restraint in the world. Behold, why they have concocted this fine book: *De non comburendis hæreticis*, in which they have falsified the names of as many cities as persons; not for other cause, than that said book is crammed full of insupportable blasphemies, and they go so far as to say, that if Jesus Christ wished all to be punished who shall have blasphemed, he would be a second idol of Moloch. I let rest, their beautiful maxim, that every contrary dispute should be tolerated, because there is nothing determined and certain, but that the scripture is a nose of wax."*

In 1538, as we must remember, a preacher presented himself to Lausanne, at that time Catholic, and said to the canons of the cathedral:—I wish a discussion. The canons answered:—In whose name do you come? The preacher said:—In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghsst.—The canons, subject to the authority of the bishop, told him:—We will consider. The minister flew into a passion, and pretended that Christ, whose kingdom had been founded by the word, ought to be glorified by the word, and that it was necessary to allow every oral debate. This minister was Farel, who wanted to argue concerning the Trinity, baptism, and the Eucharistic sacrament. In 1555, Calvin, the theocrat, scarcely deigns to enter the lists with those who offer him a theological combat.†

* Manus. de Geneve, 20 février. 1555.

† With regard to the dogmatic influence of Calvin, the reader may consult the little work of M. John Gaberel: Calvin at Geneva. p. 78-79, and concerning his theocratical ideas, the Christian Institutes, l. 3, ch. 4, § 14.—L. 4, ch. 3, § 4.—L. 2, ch. 8, § 46, etc.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE.—1543—1547.

THE LIBERTINES. THE PAMPHLETS. THE REFUGEES. THE INFORMERS.

THE LIBERTINES.

Calvin, master of Geneva, first makes war upon freedom of intellect.—The patriots chastised.—Calvin struggling with the Libertines.—What we are to understand by this denomination.—The philosophic system attributed to them by the reformer.—It is almost entirely extracted from Servetus.—No trace of it is found in the history of the Libertines.—Open war declared against them by Calvin.

WHEN the reformation had succeeded to expell Catholicism from Saxony, it imagined that the hour of repose had arrived, and for a moment it lulled itself to sleep in its triumph. When the tempest was menacing the church that he had just founded, Luther, at the Wartbourg, was amusing himself with hunting the birds of heaven. Eman- cipated thought, seated amid the ruins of the ancient religion, undertook to scrutinize the mission of the man, who had scattered these ruins around him, and it discovered that the Saxon evangelist had revealed only imperfect truths to the world. In the very same book which Luther had cast it for food, it read the signs of the speedy fall of the word of Wittenberg. Then appeared Anabaptism, which, in virtue of the Protestant principle, came to demand protection for its word. But Luther, without permission of the elector, broke through his bounds, left his Patmos, descended from the airy region of the birds, and mounted the pulpit, to hurl his thunders at the new prophets. The Anabap- tists, routed and dispersed, rallied on a foreign territory, which they filled with trouble, as Luther had Saxony. Some of them, in their flight, came even to Geneva. In the first portion of this history, we have seen how they were driven away. They were not even allowed to defend their doctrines.*

In the face of these souls, so greedy of novelties, tormented with such curious desires, and so inquisitive after new truths, Luther had, as

* See chapter entitled: THE ANABAPTISTS. Camerarius, in his life of Melancthon, speaking of these heretics, says: "Non habeo pro certo dicere, ubi locorum et quibus maxime auctoribus secta ista furiosa exorta sit. Hospinian, in his history of the Sacramentarians, is more candid. He acknowledges that this sect was the offspring of Luther.

a reproach, cast the epithet, *Schwaermer*, which, in the Teutonic language, signifies : men of trouble and disorder, who lose themselves in mists ; adventurous spirits, who believe in the existence of no world that they have not discovered ; intellects steeped in pride, Anabaptists, and iconoclasts. Hence, with the brand upon their foreheads, these innovators were tormented by the civil power, and excommunicated by the church, wherever they appeared.

Calvin, also, had ransacked the French language, for an expression calculated to brand his political or religious adversaries, and had found that of *LIBERTINE*, an ancient term, which, with its twofold signification, sometimes designated the being that moves along with the head bowed down to earth, and sometimes the being that boldly gazes upon the heavens, in order to mock at Him who dwells there : the brute, and the demon.

We have contemplated the struggle of the Genevese against the house of Savoy, the destinies of which were by no means so interwoven with those of the episcopacy, that it was necessary to sacrifice the priesthood in order to save the national franchises. Geneva might have preserved the bond of spiritual unity, even after the fall of the dukes ; but the people, bewildered by the predications of French apostates, beheld in the episcopacy a faction, hostile to the rights of the commune. In breaking to pieces the crozier, which had so effectually protected them, they imagined that they were saving their liberties. This was an ingratitude which merited chastisement, and Calvin was the man chosen by God to inflict it.

The first act of a despotism, which, to consolidate its power, was not even to recoil from bloodshed, was the creation of a tribunal of morals ; a living inquisition, in which individual conscience is at the mercy of certain informers, decorated with the name of elders, whose duty it is to discharge the office of the daughters of Lot before the consistory. Under the episcopal administration, interior faith had never been disquieted ; and the priest at the altar, did not, like Calvin, designate with his finger, the christian not worthy of approaching the sacraments.

Calvin, from the pulpit, pursued his enemies by mockery, irony, or insult ; in the council, by excommunication ;* out of the temple, by the aid of valets, who played the part of decoy agents. The Genevan was condemned to be present at the preaching of the ministers, and to listen to their tirades against the papacy. If he wished not to be damned, he had to believe in Calvin's providence, that cruel mother, who gives birth to her children in order to doom them to the punishment of fire. He could no longer possess images, without incurring the penalty of idolatry. The number of dishes at his meals was fixed, the form of his shoes prescribed, and also the head-dress of his wife. He was not allowed to dance in the long evenings of winter, to drink wines that were too spirituous, to play at cards, or to clothe himself in too gay a fashion. In the temple, he was compelled to keep his eye cast down,

* The consistory had the right only to reprimand ; that of excommunication was reserved to the council. Registers of the state council of the republic, 1543, 19th March. At a later period, the consistory alone had the right to excommunicate.

and be careful not to give rein to his mirthful nature, when Poupin preached, or Calvin lavished the names of scoundrels before his auditors. If he said *raca* to a French refugee, he was called before the consistory to be reprimanded; for the refugee, under Calvin's wing, had become a man of God. Confession had been abolished; but he was obliged, at any hour of the day, to receive an inquisitor, whose office it was to denounce to the tribunal of morals, every murmur against Calvin, every secreting of images or papistical books, all too noisy clattering of glasses, all profane songs.

Open the state registers, and you will read :

"Prohibition made to men to dance with women, to wear embroidered stockings, or flowered breeches."—Registers, 1552, 14th July.

"Sponsors must not retire till after the baptism and the sermon, under penalty of five sols fine; on the occasion of the sponsorship, they can go to no other expense, under penalty of paying double the amount to the hospital." September 30th, 1550.

"Three companions, tanners, put for three days in prison on water, for having, at breakfast, eaten three dozen meat pies (*patés*): which is a great dissoluteness." 13th February, 1558.

In order to deceive Calvin's inquisitorial eye, Geneva made herself a caviller. During the whole life of the reformer, you will not perceive one ray of light illumine this unhappy city. When all the cities of Germany and Italy were awaked by the concerts of the muses, Geneva remained plunged in a scholastic darkness, of which they would have made sport at Cologne.

During revolutions, there are some who allow themselves to be borne along upon any current which God invests with force enough to carry them, never troubling themselves about the rocks against which they may be dashed to pieces, nor about the port at which they may be landed: the future is in the hands of the Lord, and it is no concern of theirs. When despotism appears, such organizations become the property of the person that has energy enough to make himself feared: their God is necessity. But ever, by the side of these degenerate individuals, are placed, for the honor of humanity, spirits which make no compromise even with force; who may be killed, but not subdued, and who, like the ancient gladiators, die with their eyes looking up to heaven. The libertines belonged to this class of privileged beings, whom the historian is delighted to encounter, in order to give dramatic interest to his recital. It is less our task to vindicate their memory, than to manifest with what energy they combated for Genevese liberties: the real girondists of the reformation, who, like those of the convention, nearly all paid the price of deceptive illusions, with their blood or with exile. Their struggle with Calvin was not only protracted, but pregnant with lessons which should not be allowed to perish.

We have seen that the first care of the exile, after his return from banishment, was to chain and shackle conscience. He desired first to make himself master of the intellect; the soul subjugated, there remains only the body, which, then, can easily be conquered. Had he, like an ordinary despot, made his first assault upon material organization, he would have failed; for the sword of the libertines had achiev-

ed so many heroic deeds, that the contest might have been uncertain. Luther, before arraying the Saxon population against the peasants of Thuringia, essayed to injure their cause at the tribunal of God. He represented these rustics as so many degraded beings, who had vowed themselves to satan. His voice aroused from their lethargy the prince electors, who seized their arms, and drenched the plains of Franconia with plebeian blood. The subdued revolt was branded with the guilt of blasphemy. And then was heard a voice, exclaiming: "Give straw to the peasants." It was the voice of doctor Martin.*

Calvin proceeded after the same sort against the libertines, and began by calumniating them in their private life.

If we listen to him, "A sect has been established at Geneva more immoral than all those that have desolated the church of Christ."† Its grand chimera is liberty, not a liberty according to God, but one entirely worldly, revolt against law erected into a system: carnal souls, desirous to pass for pure essences, and whose speech affects the very form of clouds and dreams; Cerdonites, who admit a twofold principle, and deny the resurrection; disguised Marcionites, Gnostics, and Manicheans, who, out of shreds and patches stolen from the ancient heresies, have fashioned a symbol; mocking spirits, who laugh at every thing, call St. Luke "a broken pot, St. Peter a renouncer of God, St. John a wanton stripling, and St. Mathew a usurer." Study their doctrines, and you will find no breath of life in them; they are like old women, discoursing about the courses of the planets, and desirous to regulate the march of the sun. "Duplicity of speech is their article of faith: they wish to bamboozle the world with absurd and dangerous follies. To hear them speak, or rather, mutter, is like listening to the German chant: as if the tongue had not been created by God to express thought; as if it were not perverting God's order, to beat the air with confused sounds, which no one could understand, or to circulate their ambiguities with the ale-can, for the purpose of setting their auditors to dreaming. To treat of the mysteries of God, the scripture is our rule; the Lord accommodates himself to our littleness, like a nurse prattling with her child."

Libertinism, seeking to elevate itself to the purest spiritualism, now, floats away in space, where no human eye can follow it, again, plunges into the deepest mire of impurity. Its dogma is, that "in God there is one Spirit, which lives in all his creatures, that every thing created comes from God, and is God himself." The devil, in the notion of the libertines, is the world and sin: therefore, there is no demoniacal or angelical individuality. Also, evil is only a mere negation; the human soul, a portion of matter or of the world, is mortal and perishable. There is but one spirit, that which fills matter; alone, active, living, prolific; that, which necessarily existed from all eternity, and, in itself, contains every cause and effect. There exists no other being, but God only; there is no human morality, no justice, no society; hence flow

* See Luther's life,—chapter entitled: THE PEASANTS.

† In quibus veteres omnes quantumvis portentosæ renovatæ sunt hæreses.—Boza, Vita Calvinii.

these theorems; God and the devil are one and the same entity: conscience is a vain word, sin, an absurdity: every thing is in God, every thing is God. In this fantastical system, there is no such thing as revelation or christianity; Christ is no other than this spirit infused into us and the creation; "what he has suffered is but a fable, or morality acted, in order to figure to us the mystery of our salvation." Christ is in them, they are Christ, and can no longer suffer, because every thing is accomplished. The resurrection of the soul by faith, is a mere nonsense. Man here is in a state of primitive innocence, and cannot sin. For these sectaries there exist no human laws; each member of civil society need obey no other inspiration except that of the spirit. Marriage, being but a carnal bond, can be broken, united, multiplied, at will; there is but one entirely mystic union,—that of the spirit. All the goods of this earth ought to be possessed in common. Liberty will allow no other limits. There will be no resurrection of matter, the spirit is absorbed in God.

Here we have a philosophic system precisely defined: but where has Calvin discovered it? None of the libertines, whom he so zealously pursued, has left a written confession. If you follow them to the consistory, you will never hear them make a profession of faith. When banished from Geneva, they form alliance with no sect, and no where endeavour to propagate their symbol; when they die on the scaffold, they invoke the name of liberty, this is their last cry. Schræckh, Planck, and Paul Henry have been unable, in the numerous prosecutions of the libertines which they have examined, to find a single religious thought regarding dogma. More fortunate than they, we have discovered this pantheistic symbol in the works of Servetus, and it was thence Calvin drew it, in order to attribute it to the libertines. The same God, the same nature, the same universal spirit, diffused through plants, the air, water, and all organized nature; God made man, man made God; good and evil, devil and angel, spirit and body, constituting but one substance with various attributes or modes of existence. In order thus to invest thought with a sensible form, one must have an intellect accustomed to sport with philosophical abstractions. Now, at Geneva, there was no one among the libertines who had devoted his life to such speculations. Long since, the libertine who should have invented this system, would have shown himself; we should have seen him, at the moment of the reformation, disputing with the Catholic priest. But no one except Farel makes a figure in theological discussions. Thus, it was in the book of a man, whom he was to consign to the flames, that Calvin, in order to blast the character of his enemies, sought for a system of which they had not the slightest notion.* If it be pretended that he has merely reduced to a general formula the principles, which, in his civil or religious administration, he found spread around him; we shall ask how such doctrines were kept hid so long from public view? If they existed previously to the reformation, let them put us upon their track, let them show us their genesis. After our eye shall have contemplated this, still other ques-

* See chapter entitled: MICHAEL SERVETUS.

tions will remain. How happened it, that this Catholic priest, whom you represent as so intolerant, never prosecuted ideas so hostile to social order? But the Catholic priest is guilty neither of intolerance nor apathy. If these speculations have not been invented by Calvin, they are the offspring of the principle of the reformation. As Erasmus has called upon Luther to be answerable for the follies of Carlstadt, we have the right to make Calvin responsible for these monstrous fancies; whether they be considered as a simple accident in the religious life of the Genevese population, reduced to a system by the reformer; or referred to as an organized revolt against the christian society.

But whom will they induce to believe that persons, whose chief crime is a refusal to believe in Calvin's infallibility, represent Cerdon, Manes, or Marcion? that ladies who persist in wearing shoes after the fashion of Berne, are lovers of their own bodies? that the Genevese youth, who amuses himself at supper with laughing at the figure of Calvin, is a heretic, preaching the doctrine of a community of goods? that the merchants of the Moulard, who so sincerely hate the French refugee, are pantheists? that labourers, who know not how to read, are believers in a God, that is at the same time man, plant, flower, angel, and demon?

The libertines may possibly have carried to excess the sentiment of free-will; irritated by the violence of Calvin, they may have organized against him a systematic opposition; and to overthrow the minister and the tribune, they may have exaggerated the democratic and religious principle. But who will believe that a faction sought to obtain power by libertinism and hypocrisy? Born in a monarchical country, Calvin did not understand the Genevese people. He had spent the first years of his life at Paris, under a government, the feudal forms of which had seduced his very practical spirit. Having rejected divine right as a source of power, he believed, as remarked by an historian,* in absolute doctrines, the empire of which none but chosen intellects had the vocation to establish. In this system, although truth is supposed to belong to the community, the manifestation of the principle belongs only to a small number of beings, the envoys of God. Such is the theory which he desired to reduce to practice at Geneva. We have already seen how incorrect it was to call Luther the representative of civil liberty: Calvin is still a greater despot than the Saxon monk. Both, after having emancipated the human mind, repented of their work, and sought to withdraw the gift, which, under an impulse of egotism, they had bestowed upon man. Their doctrines regarding grace and justification are thoroughly aristocratic. What is Luther's God, who impells man to crime; or Calvin's God, who predestines him to hell from all eternity? Blind gods, made after the image and likeness of the reformers. What is to be said of that heaven, of that abode constructed by John of Noyon, towards which the soul in vain endeavours to lift itself on the wings of prayer, of mediation, or of good works, as if salvation were not offered to all, and depended not on their free choice.

† James Fazy, *Essai d'un précis de l'histoire de la republique de Genève*, t. I, p. 274.

Nor did Calvin seem to comprehend that every revolution is a progress for good or bad. When he had started revolt upon its march, he conceived a strange idea; he wished to replunge into servitude the people whom he had emancipated; to repress the spirit of investigation which he had developed; to create a theocracy on the ruins of the sacerdotal empire; to give a symbolical book to a nation which, without examination, had rejected the catechism of the Catholic church. How shall the child of Geneva, with his hot blood, clothe himself with the warm under-jacket of the son of the north, and voluntarily subject himself to that Spartan puritanism, the austerities of which were purposely exaggerated by the reformer, in order to influence the neighbouring populations, by the example of a city, which, without a murmur, accepts all the rules of cenobitical life?

In order to struggle against the exigences of the people, there was needed a privileged organization, which was destitute of fear in the face of danger, without pity for humanity, without concern for human life, liberty and conscience; one, that, in case of need, could transform every religious thought, which was too bold, into a blasphemy, every murmur into open rebellion, every free speech into an outrage upon morals; a magistrate, who, as means of punishment, had at his service, reprimands, excommunication, exile, the prison, and death. Now, Calvin was the only man adequate to play such a part.

Luther would not have had the perseverance necessary to fill it; sooner or later, he would have come into collision with the popular wrath, and been broken to pieces. With his ardent instincts, he would have allowed his soul to be read; a man of the south, under a northern envelope, he is armed with the lion's claw or tooth; Calvin, hides under the skin, and distills the venom, of the serpent.

At the very threshold of this dramatic struggle, we must bear in mind the springs, which, at Geneva, set in motion the republican element:

The general council, in which the people elected their syndics;

The syndics, who chose the members of the council of the Fifty, or the small council;

The Two Hundred, who had a right of exclusion in the council of the Twenty-five, or the strict council, a fraction of the council of the Fifty.*

Now, outside these powers, Calvin created one, designed, in consequence of the pastoral organization which he gave it, to absorb all the rest. We have seen of what elements he had formed it: it was a theocracy, in which every inferior intellect was to obey the powerful spirit that set it to work. His consistory is far more despotically organized than the police of Madrid. If necessary, Calvin could dispense with the employment of concealed informers in order to become acquainted with the secrets of families; he has spies openly recognized, who, in virtue of a law of the state, can, once a week, introduce themselves into the most mysterious sanctuary, in order afterwards to give an account, to the tribunal, of every thing that their eyes or ears shall have

* J. Fazy, *Essai d'un précis de l'histoire de la république de Genève*, t. I, p. 216.

perceived or divined. These informers do not, as at Madrid and Venice, swear upon the cross to speak the truth. The denunciation made, they do not depart; but they go and take their seat among the judges, in face of the criminal whom they have denounced. Their name is not a disgrace, it is taken from the New Testament; the Apostle St. Paul has baptized them with the title of *elders*. The fines, which the victim is condemned to pay, serve to pay for each vacation of the tribunal. Search as much as you please, and you will never come across a nation which has thus delivered up its liberties to a stranger. In this sacerdotal government, every thing is extraordinary; especially strange is the figure of the hierophant, who, in his cold impassibility, is like the Egyptian priest; for the ironical smile that plays round his lips, like the Roman soothsayer; and for an indescribable mingling of cruelty and mockery, like the political inquisitor of Venice. During these times of calamity, when every thing in the city seems smitten by the hand of death, the consistory alone lives and moves. With difficulty can it endure the labour of hearing those denunciations which weekly are spread before it by the elders. During a single year, more than two hundred cases, instituted for blasphemies, calumnies, libertine speeches, outrages on morals, outrages upon Calvin, offences against the ministers, observations against the French refugees, were brought before the council at the instance of the consistory.

Among the regulations which Calvin causes to be received, there is one which strikes with interdict the taverns, where the people, even under the rule of the bishops, had been accustomed to assemble to discuss matters of business. No asylum is left, where they can meet together, to draw closer the bonds of a common brotherhood, or protest against oppression. They had silently to swallow the outrage offered to all their instincts. Did they attempt some timid laughs, some tepid mockeries, some inoffensive allusions, punishment followed immediately. The *amende honorable*, proclaimed aloud, beneath the open sunlight, made the name of the criminal a bye-word through the city; and on the following Sunday, the minister from his pulpit, in God's name, smote the unhappy wretch, who had already been branded by the hand of human justice.

The libertines did not become discouraged; but the struggle was unequal; they could not assemble together in order to concert their measures of attack. If, on a feast day, they met each other at table, they had to look round them with caution; for often, the host was a man sold to the police of the reformer. The right of excommunication, at first left to the council, afterwards passed into the hands of the pastors: * this was for Calvin a great victory.

At this epoch, but one means of success remained for the patriots: this was, by their influence in the council, to procure one of those grand assizes, where the people in general assembly might renew the representative element. But the reformer had foreseen every thing; and as he had erected a sacerdotal power, independent of the constitutional authorities, he wished, by an introduction of foreign influences,

* Gaberel, Calvin & Genève, p. 98.

to corrupt the popular element, and, in the general council, to create for himself a majority, like that which he possessed already in the inferior councils. With adroit perseverance, he will endeavour to execute this design.

THE PAMPHLETS.

Calvin preaches revolution by means of his pamphlets.—The Nicodemites.—Political character of the *Excusatio ad Pseudo-Nicodemitas*.—Case of conscience variously resolved by the Protestant churches.—Literary form of Calvin's libel against the Nicodemites.—Letter to Luther.—Melancthon retains it.—Calvin's anger against Luther.—Sadolet an idolater.

Calvin wanted to constitute Geneva a focus of propagandism. On his return from Strasbourg, he began to celebrate the faith of all those fanatics, who, at Paris, Lyons, and in some other of the larger cities of the kingdom, demanded liberty of conscience, while pillaging our churches, laying waste our monasteries, and killing our priests. If some of these seditious persons fell by the sword, Calvin, Beza, or Crespin had a crown ready prepared for the brow of the martyr. The reformation was bold enough to give lessons to the civil power, and with the Bible in hand, it maintained that the magistrate had no right to punish the obstinate heretic with death. All the sectaries were encouraged by this doctrine. We should see in Calvin's letters with what ardour he urges persons to rebellion, by the promise of celestial rewards. What a picture does he present of the constancy of those souls blinded by his writings, who rush upon death without having comprehended a single item of the Genevese symbol! He wished to have it believed that Henry II., was another Domitian, and the kingdom of France, a vast funeral pile into which the disciples of Jesus were cast, as at Rome under the emperors.

“Behold the flames of persecution enkindled in France! Let us pray for our brethren.” Immediately he transforms the Parisians into a race of cannibals, who chant their savage songs around the stake. “The Frenchman, says he, is a furious fool; † He must needs behold with his own eyes the punishment of two of our brethren; may God

* Calvin's first treatise against the Nicodemites, or indifferentists, was published 1544. His letter to the faithful of Rouen, is a reply to the production of a Franciscan in favour of the libertines. Farel was desirous of assisting his compatriot in this struggle, and, in 1550, published a pamphlet under the title: “The sword of the true word unsheathed against the shield of defence, of which a Franciscan wanted to avail himself to approve his false and damnable opinions.” Geneva: printed by John Gerard, the same who had printed the *Excusatio ad Nicodemitas*.

† Dira nunc in illa regione persecutio ardet; quare pios fratres precibus nostris juvemus. Gallus nihilominus insanit. Ipse cum nuper duo exurerentur, spectator esse voluit. Dominus tam atrocem ferociam compescat virtute sua. —MSS. Gen. Jul. 1549. Farelllo.

appease his rage! "Would you not say that it is a nation seeking to wage the battle of the giants against the God of heaven? And marvellous constancy of our brethren! A thing unheard of, and yet of which the king has just been witness! A christian exposed himself to martyrdom, in order to be able to cast three words of Christ into the face of the prince, who was contemplating the scene of fire."* On that very day, he ascended the pulpit, and an unworthy son and citizen, he invoked the divine wrath upon his country and his king. And observe how great his injustice and ingratitude! By an edict of that year, the king, ordered the magistrates "to investigate crimes of heresy, and afterwards to send those found guilty, to the episcopal tribunal," which could not, as is well known, impose a more severe penalty than that of perpetual imprisonment. It is thus that Calvin at the same time corrupts oral tradition and the living testimony of contemporary history.

In France, his writings excited the people to revolt. That new symbol, whence confession and good works were banished, as papistical superstitions, met with success at court. The great seigniors, in adopting it, began, by dismissing their confessors and almoners: a double gain for conscience and the purse. Ladies, burdened with debts of honour, were the most enthusiastic missionaries of the reformation. Among the courtiers, there were some who found means to retain their posts and renounce their faith. These carnal men assisted at mass, knelt down, bowed their heads at the elevation, sang at vespers and assisted at the sermon. Having returned to their lodgings, they read a chapter from the Bible in French, chanted with their mistresses one of Marot's psalms, ate meat on days of abstinence, made sport of the anti-Christ or the Pope at table, never went to confession, and believed in the efficacy of faith without works. These were political Protestants, or Nicodemites as they were called by Beza and Calvin.†

"A question then" says Beza "began to be agitated among certain persons of quality who were acquainted with the truth at Paris, for this cause, that Calvin, knowing how many there were who flattered themselves in their infirmities, even so far as to defile themselves in the abominations of popery, had chided them with a spirit somewhat too bitter for their taste. Some therefore, who have since been called Nicodemites, maintained that they could go to mass provided the heart consented not, and observing, I know not what other conditions; others, on the contrary, contended that it was necessary to serve God with heart and body, and preserve oneself from defilement. This dispute was the occasion of a man being sent express, not only to Geneva, but to Strasbourg, and even into Saxony, and all the answers were afterwards printed together. Now, although in these the Germans accorded

* Gallus ita insanit ut dicas velle cum Deo gigantum instar configere; mira interim martyrum constantia. Quod regi nunquam acciderat, quidam sponte in sacrificium se destinavit, ut saltem libere tria verba pro Christo proferret apud eum, cum ad spectanda incendia properaret.—MSS. Zurich, 15 Aug. Bullingeri.

† In eodem ordine collocabo molles aulicos et domicellas: proinde nesciunt quid sit audire verbum asperius.—Exsatio ad Nicodemitas, p. 71.

something more than the rest, it was nevertheless with common accord decreed that no one can serve two masters. This closed the mouths of all those who sought to cover themselves with a wet sack; and this difference proved the cause of a great good, many having resolved to devote themselves entirely to God, who before lolled in pollution.”*

Calvin's two works: *De vitandis superstitionibus*, and *Excusatio ad Pseudo-Nicodemitas*, are not so much controversial works, as political pamphlets, designed to urge the populations which had abandoned Catholicism, to martyrdom, if they had courage sufficient to confess their faith; to exile, if they could not renounce life. At the diet of Augsburg in 1530, the Protestant electors, who were robed in vestures with a ground work of silk lace stolen from our churches, and ornamented with the gold of our sanctuaries, dreaded for a time to sully their robes upon the pavement of a Catholic temple, and appealed to the great luminaries of the Saxon church to know, whether, in conscience, they could assist at our ceremonies. Melancthon and Luther consulted the Bible, and responded affirmatively, quoting the example of Naaman who, from the prophet Eliseus, obtained permission to enter the pagan temple.†

The Nicodemites in France had propounded the same question; and Calvin, like Luther, had interrogated the Bible: but the Bible did not return the same answer.

To him, the example of Naaman, cited by the Saxon, seems of no value. “In the New Testament,” says he “there is a more beautiful image which you ought incessantly to keep before your eyes, that of the holocaust of the seven brothers of the Machabees. What then, he adds, would you go into a temple entirely defiled with superstitions, where contrary to the text of scripture, they pray for the dead.‡

* Béze, Hist. des Eglises ref.

† Ulenberg, Historia de vita et moribus Lutheri, p. 374.

* To show that prayers for the dead are not allowed by scripture, Calvin blots from the second book of Machabees two words of the 43d verse of the 12th chapter. It is said: To offer sacrifice for the sins of the dead; he effaces “of the dead,” (*des morts*.)

There is one thing greatly needed: a history of the Protestant translations of the Bible. From 1530 to 1600, they printed in Germany more than twenty editions of Luther's version, revised, corrected, augmented and curtailed.

After Luther's death, Melancthon, Gaspard Creutzer, and George Roerer, revised, corrected, and often altered the doctor's version, as even has been admitted by Protestant critics themselves. (*Sec unsch. Nach. t. XIX, p. 267-280; t. XXXIII, p. 170-171.*)

“There are a great many passages unfaithfully translated in the Protestant bibles, as can easily be verified, by a comparison of the variations between the more ancient and recent bibles. The first were the most faithful; but, in latter times, Protestants have added to the scripture things in some sort to authorize their principal articles of faith, seeing that otherwise they could not uphold them, and they have changed and pruned away, as I have said already, terms that were contrary to their errors.

“The pretended reformers, to prove the 20th article of their confession of faith which their church disputes with them, wherein it is said, that man is justified by faith alone, have falsified the 16th verse of the 2d chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, translating it thus:

“Knowing that man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Christ alone.”

"If those dead had faith, they are in the bosom of God; if they believed not in Christ, they are forever lost; of what use are funeral prayers?"

The style which he employs in his *Excusatio ad Pseudo-Nicodem-*

"They have added the word *alone* in all the bibles printed previously to the last century, beginning with that printed at Lyons, in 1551, by de Tournes; in that which was printed also at Lyons, by Barbier and Thomas Courtau, that of Lucius, in 1563; that of Henry Estienne, also in 1563; that of Perin, in 1574, and in a great many others, and in fine, all the ancient bibles have not the word *alone*, and all the new ones have it.

"The ministers, in order to show that Jesus Christ is not the Saviour of all men, translated thus the passage of the first Epistle to Timothy, ch. iv, v. 10: "God, who is the *preserver* of all men, and chiefly of the faithful," in the bibles of the years 1588, 1605, 1610; whilst in the first version, of 1534, 1535, 1554, 1558, by Robert Olivetan, was read: "*Saviour* of all men, and chiefly of the faithful."

"It is to be remarked that the word, employed by St. Paul in this place, is to be found twenty-five times in the New Testament, and not only in the Vulgate, but in St. Augustine and the other fathers, tradition always renders it *Saviour*, except in the bibles of 1588, 1605, and 1610, where they have translated it *preserver*.

"To establish the 24th article of their confession of faith, which declares that the intercession of holy persons departed is but an abuse, a fallacy of satan, they have translated: "There is but one only *intervener* (*moyenneur*) between God and men;" whilst, in the bibles of the first and second editions, they translated with the Vulgate and the ancient fathers: "There is but one Mediator (*mediateur*) between God and men;" whence it may be seen that they have added the word *only*, which regards the very point of the controversy.

"The sense of these words of St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, c. 2d.: "Hold fast the traditions which you have learned either by word or by epistles," has been changed, the first and second editions agreeing with the Vulgate and the original text; But Beza, in his edition, printed in 1558, changes the sense, translating: "Keep the doctrine given, which you have learned by word and epistles."

"He introduces the conjunctive, *and*, in place of the disjunctive, *or*; and to persuade simple souls that God has prohibited the images of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, in their latter bibles, they make him say in Deuteronomy, c. v. and Exodus, c. xx: "Thou shalt make no carved images," whilst, in their first bibles, printed by de Tournes, in 1557, was read: *idols*. Also, they make David say, in Psalm 32, v. 5: "Thou hast taken away the punishment of my sin," in the edition of 1588, and the following, in order to authorize the eleventh article of their confession of faith, which declares that sin remains as to its guilt; whilst in their first editions, of 1544, was read: "Thou hast taken away the *guilt* of my sin."

"They have also changed the word penance into repentance, to induce belief that all penance consists in repenting, and that there is no obligation to satisfy for sin, because Christ has satisfied for us, as they say.

"They have done the same with the word tradition, in place of which they have every where substituted *ordinance*, in order to be able to reject *tradition*, and they have retrenched two words from the 43d verse, 12th chapter of 2nd Machabees, because in that passage it was manifest that in those times sacrifice was offered for the sins of the dead: they translate only: "offer sacrifice for sin," and cut off the words, *of the dead*, because these last words evidently prove purgatory and prayers for the dead. From the 15th verse of the 16th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, they have likewise retrenched the word, *merit*, and besides, have altered this passage of the first chapter of St. John, v. 12: "But to all those who received him, he gave power to be made the sons of God." They unfaithfully translated: "But to all those who received him, he gave right to be made the sons of God," substituting the word *right* for *power*."—*Reponse aux raisons qui ont obligé les pretendus reformes de se separer de l'Eglise*, in 12mo. Paris, 1749, p. 183-199.

itas, is nearly always ironical: he has thrown aside aristotelian argument to deal in ridicule. But he is never happy, a smile does not become his face; his gaiety is forced, his pleasantry dull, and his buffoonery often smells like that of a quack. No one could ever guess to what the reformer compares the Nicodemites.

"I could not employ a more appropriate comparison than to liken them to the cleansers of privies; for, as a master cleanser, after having been long practiced in his trade of filth moving, no longer scents the stench, because he has lost all power of smell, and laughs at those who stop their noses; so these, being hardened by custom to live in their filth, imagine themselves dwelling amid roses, and laugh at all who are offended by the stench, which they no longer smell. And, to carry out the comparison: as the cleansers, with the aid of garlic and onions, arm themselves against the effluvia, that they may counteract one offensive smell by another, so these, to prevent themselves from scenting the bad odours of their idolatry, drench themselves with wick-ed excuses, and smell like fetid meats, so strongly, that they destroy every other sense."^{*}

But he soon again resumes his scholastic nature, and turns, and twists again, the same argument, in order to awaken the souls of the Nicodemites from a sleep which he declares mortal. At one time, it is fire and hell, at another, the crown of heaven, and again even worldly immortality, that he invokes in order to conquer christians for the reformation. He must at every hazard have martyrs or exiles. To some, his word is offered as a diadem, to others, his city of Geneva as a refuge.

To the family of the Budés, he writes: "If it be not possible for you to acknowledge Christ as your Saviour, love rather for a short time to be deprived of your rank by birth, than to be forever banished from that immortal inheritance to which we are called. Willing or not, if we budge not from the nest, we must be strangers in this world. But blessed are those, who declare this in practice, and sooner than destroy faith, abandon their houses freely, and do not hesitate to sever themselves from their earthly comforts, in order to remain in union with Jesus Christ. For those, who have not experienced the great worth of Jesus Christ, these things are hard, but for you, who have felt his goodness, all the rest should, after the example of St. Paul, be considered as filth and dung."[†]

And, as if his words were not sufficiently potent, Calvin wishes to let them hear the voice of the Saxon apostle, that other Hermann, who, perhaps will be fortunate enough to arouse, from their lethargy, all these courtiers, as he did the electors who slept while Munzer's hammer was resounding in the mines of Suabia.

This was the first time that he wrote to Luther. With his letter, he

* *Atque ut similitudinem ulterius ducam: quemadmodum qui purgandis cloacis operam locant, cepis, aliis, aliisque grave olentibus cibis tanquam antidotis se muniunt, quo fœtorem unum alio propulsent: ita illi ne idololatriæ suæ putidum odorem olfaciant, inebriant se quodammodo putidæ excusationibus, quæ sensum illis olfactus adimunt.—Excusatio ad Nicodemitas, p. 66.*

† MSS. of Berne: The letter is signed Charles d'Espeville, one of Calvin's pseudonyms.

sent his pamphlet on the Nicodemites, and his treatise on scandals. Melancthon was to transmit the epistle to the doctor. In it, Calvin conferred on Luther some beautiful names: he called him, illustrious man, glorious minister of Christ, venerable father, whose understanding the Lord governs, and will continue to direct for the welfare of the church.*

But Melancthon knew Calvin. He had seen him at the diet of Worms, and he was not to be duped by this sentimental phraseology in favour of old Martin, whose character the French refugee not long before had so maliciously vilified at Strasbourg. He doubted that Calvin had attached to this bouquet of flowery compliments, a selfish petition, which Luther would not be willing to endorse. At least Melancthon was candid: he answered precisely, that he had not shown the letter to his master, who had become suspicious, and who was not willing to have his name involved in such discussions.†

Some months after, Luther, that glory of Christ, that luminary which the Lord had caused to shine for the welfare of his church, was no longer any thing "but a Pericles, a fire-brand, a sort of furious fool, who was exhibiting his freaks before the astonished world, and for whom, he, Calvin, felt pity.‡

The Genevese reformer had one consolation left: he had secured the adhesion of Martin Bucer and of Melancthon, those two great lights of the Protestant school, who allowed Philip of Hesse to approach the communion table, while driving thence the Nicodemites for having set foot in a Catholic church. You are acquainted with the history of Philip of Hesse. Weary of his garrison mode of life, he one day wrote to Melancthon and Luther: "Masters, arrange matters; I must have two wives. The patriarchs had more than I ask of you." His letter had been prepared by Martin Bucer. And some weeks after, Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, and Martin Luther, having invoked the Holy Ghost, replied to Philip of Hesse:—"Let your grace take two wives, since two are necessary for your grace."

Well, a Nicodemite now seriously writes to Melancthon:—"If I go not to mass, and do not assist at the procession of the sacrament, they will put me to death."§

Melancthon answers:

There is the rule to teach you what ought to be done. The rule is

* Vale clarissime vir, præstantissime Christi minister, ac pater mihi semper honorande. Dominus te spiritu suo gubernare pergat usque in finem, in commune Ecclesiæ suæ bonum. The autograph of this letter is no longer to be found at Zurich.

† D. Martino non exhibui tuam epistolam; multa enim suspiciose accipit, et non vult circumferri suas responsiones de talibus quæstionibus quas proposuisti.—Mel. Epistol., 1545.

‡ Vester autem Pericles quanta intemperie ad fulminandum capitur?... Et quid in hunc modum tumultuando proficit, nisi ut totus mundus eum furere judicet? Me certe qui eum ex animo vereor, vehementer ejus pudet.—Ep. 63, Ed. Amst., p. 33. Bullin., 28 jun. 1545.

§ Sed dicat aliquis: Si non accedam ad missas, ad pompas publicas cum gestatur sacramentum, rapior ad supplicium.

one thing, action is another. The rule is, that sooner than expose yourself to death, you should abandon those places."*

Another Nicodemite said to Bucer :—"But Naaman however entered a pagan temple!"

Bucer answers :—"Naaman the Syrian adored in the temple of Rimon, but he adored the true God."†

Now, to Calvin and Bucer it was manifest, that the God, whom Sadolet adored in the Catholic temple, was not the true God.

Sadolet was one of those "mass mumblers, who every day sold, for thirty pieces of copper, what Judas sold but once for thirty pieces of silver."‡

THE REFUGEES.

The emigrants bring with them to Geneva the vices of great cities.—Bernard de Seswar.—How Calvin makes use of the refugees.—Perambulating missionaries.—Colporteurs.—The rights of citizenship degraded, and conferred on the creatures of the reformer.—Persecution of the Libertines.

The exhortations of Bucer and Melancthon, Calvin's libels, and the rigour of the parliaments, induced many from among the French populations to emigrate. Most of the fugitives came to Geneva to seek a refuge, where they could find a mild climate, gallic habits of life, and ardent sympathy. The impulse, which had driven the Germans into revolt, had extended itself to almost every other nation. In Italy, Faust and Lelius Socinus renewed the heresy of Arius; in Spain, bold spirits began to deny the divine word under the very eye of the Inquisition. It was in the Iberian Peninsula that anti-Trinitarianism was to have birth, as the Poet says :

Ed oltre questa nota, il peccadiglio
Di Spagna gli danno anco, che non creda
In unita lo Spirito, il Padre e'l Figlio.

Ariosto.

The exiles brought with them to Geneva equivocal morals, § and propensities to idleness, to hypocrisy, and to all the vices of large cities. Chapels were founded for their especial benefit; that of the Machabees was given to the Italians. At Notre Dame de la Neuve,

* Regula est ut potius discedas ex illis locis quam venias ad supplicium. *Consilium Philipp. Melancthonis*, imprimé à la suite de l' *Excusatio ad Nicodemitas*, p. 101.

† Naaman syrus quidem adoravit in templo Rimon, sed Deum verum.—Cons. Mart. Bucer, p. 109.

‡ Inst. chrét., l. IV, ch. 18, § 14.

§ "In the sentence of a criminal executed for counterfeiting, they had inserted, that he had withdrawn to Geneva for sake of religion, and went daily to preaching," and Calvin complains of this, as of a derision against God's honour. Reg. du Conseil d'Etat, Fragments, p. 18.

there were sermons in English, at St. Gervais, in Spanish, and at Saint-Germain, in Flemish. Bernardino de Seswar was one of the most celebrated Italian preachers.* Calvin greatly eulogized the zeal of this refugee, † who had declared a violent war against the Anti-Christ. ‡ For the reformer, each emigrant was a conquest. His eye read the souls of men, and he knew how to discern individual vocations. During the morning, he opened for the young of ardent imagination his study chamber, a veritable school of calumny against the Catholics. It was there that Calvin, by torturing the testimony of history, of the canons, councils, and ancient fathers, “clipped the wings of the Pope,” § and proved that Leo X. was by nature very cruel, Clement VII. much addicted to the effusion of human blood, and Paul III. subject to inhuman fury; ¶ that all these popes are the Antichrist foretold by Daniel, and that no sound brain “would dare maintain that the office of bishop is included in lead and bulls, and much less in that magazine of all fraud and artifice which they call Rome.” ¶ The doctor read there some of his interpretations, for example on Daniel, ch. VI, where he handles kings nearly in the manner they were treated not long since by the abbé Gregoire, as “beings, who have nothing human about them, into whose faces we should spit, and refuse to obey them.”** These students noted down the words of their master in short hand, aided his printers corrected his proofs, and circulated his books. Aided by these disciples, Calvin became acquainted with the rumours of the city, the designs of the libertines, and the progress of opinions. Certain historians pretend that Nicholas de la Fontaine, who denounced Servetus to the magistrate of Geneva, belonged to this cohort of fanatical souls who had devoted themselves to the reformer; others, with less semblance of truth, find him in the very kitchen of John of Noyon. These youths, fed every morning on biblical texts, had a marked advantage over the libertines, who endeavoured to deny the theological power of Calvin. Some of them, as soon as their religious education had been completed, went to the neighbouring cities to propagate and defend the doctrines of their master; we often meet with them again in the Huguenot camp of the Baron des Adrets, where they combat at the same time with the sword and the word. They were hunters, very skillful in scenting a saint’s relic, a pictured antiphony, illuminated missals, stained-glass windows of historical value, which they mercilessly destroyed for the greater glory of the gospel. Our

* M. Bernardino de Seswar, who is a learned man, desires publicly to preach the word of God in Italian. Resolved to give him a post at St Peter’s in the chapel of the Cardinal, for a short time, after which he may be placed at St. Gervais. Registers, October 13th, 1542.—Picot, t. l. p. 391.

† Bernardinus est Bern. de Sesvar, primus pastor eccles. italicæ, quæ Geneva, mense oct. 1542, erecta est in gratiam Italarum qui se huc, Evangelii causa, receperant.—Cal.

‡ Epist. Calv. Vireto, oct. 1542.

§ Inst., l. IV, ch. 7, † 21.

¶ Inst., l. IV, ch. 7, † 24.

¶ Inst., l. IV, ch. 7, † 26.

** Reges indigni sunt qui censeantur in hominum numero, adeo ut potius oporteat conspuere in illorum capita, quam illis parere. In Dan., cap. 6.

chapels, crypts, monasteries, at Lyons, and Forez, still bear the traces of the passage of these Vandals.

In this system of propagandism, vulgar intellects also had their appropriate employment. They were charged with disseminating without the limits of the territory, heretical pamphlets, which they cast into the cabins of the poor, into the saloons of the great, and into the counting-houses of merchants. From the reports of these vagabond colporteurs, after their return to Geneva, Calvin learned the dispositions of the Catholic populations and governments, the books that were put to press by his adversaries, and the exterior influence of the reformed press.* At the bottom of their packages, these colporteurs concealed "psalms in rhyme, elegantly bound and gilt," of which they made presents to young girls. For the most part, they were boys of the printing office, who, having their heads crammed with texts of scripture, could, in case of need, sustain, for some time, the burden of a religious discussion; like that John Chapot, who "came near routing the whole parliament of Paris, in a very learned and very holy remonstrance which he made to the counselors, when permitted to dispute, face to face, with three doctors of the Sorbonne."† They sold secretly, and often at high prices, the New Testament, translated according to the taste of the reformation, that is, miserably. Having business with the printers of the larger cities, they carried to the firm of Frellon brothers, at Lyons, the letters of Charles d'Espeville, the pseudonyme of the reformer, and brought back to him their answers. There was not a project of Michael Villeneuve (Servetus,) that Calvin did not know beforehand. The journeymen printers, who had left Lyons, attracted to Geneva by the bait of considerable gain, were occupied, at the office of John Girard, in reproducing the *Antidoton adversus articulos facultatis theologicæ Sorbonicæ*; or the *Epistola Congratulatoria ad Gab. de Saco-nay*, disgusting, impudent, and snarling libels. Did Calvin's anti-Catholic whim subside, they set out for Neufchatel, where they printed the French bible of Olivetan, a pitiful version, which the reformation had the hardihood to attribute to the Holy Ghost. Most of them married in Switzerland. The noble title of child of Geneva, so hard to be acquired under the government of the bishops, was given as a recompense to nearly all the creatures of the theocrat. One day, Calvin, thanks to the majority he had secured in the small council, caused the right of citizenship to be granted to three hundred refugees,‡ *for the guard and protection of the government*, say the city registers, for the shameful motive of such a measure was not dissembled. The executioner received citizenship gratis. Every body found his interest in this violation of the Genevese constitution: the refugees obtained a country, John Lambert, the first syndic, an augmentation of perquisites, and Calvin a ser-

* Florimond de Remond, p. 874.

† *Ib.*

‡ They received in one morning, 300 inhabitants, viz; 200 Frenchmen, 51 Englishmen, 25 Italians, and 4 Spaniards, so that the antechamber of the council could not hold them all.—Registres du conseil d'Etat, fragm. biogr., p. 24.

† Registres, 13 août 1555.

vile majority. "Ah! poor Geneva," said Francis Berthelier, "how now shalt thou be defended, should it please the king of France to turn against us this garrison of his subjects? Nothing now remains, but to make a citizen out of him also, and allow ourselves to be driven away from our firesides by these intruders."*

Thus, at each hour of the day, some shred was torn away from that ancient banner, which, for so long a period, had protected the citizens of Geneva. Under their bishops, they had the right to complain, and to-day, a murmur against the despot is punished as a crime against the state. Entangled in the inextricable net-work of spiritual regulations, which the reformer caused to be accepted as laws of the state, they could neither collect around the family fireside, meet together at the decline of day, nor occupy themselves concerning religious matters. The penal code was filled with a host of regulations to punish an equivocal word or gesture. In the strict councils, filled with the devoted creatures of Calvin, the refugees calumniated the patriots; through the streets, they paraded, armed; at the church, they might be seen to smile when they heard the ministers attack the libertines. The service over, woe to the patriot, who, passing by an emigrant, was heard to murmur a word of contempt; on the next day, he was compelled to appear before the council, and was condemned to make the *amende honorable*. In the court-yard before the church, Louis B. was heard to exclaim: "To the devil with all the preachers, after they have eaten their God, they come here to control us." Two days after, Louis B. was condemned to ask pardon for having sinned *against the honour of God*.

Every one having the heart of a man was incensed. The patriots numbered their forces, and resolved to save the republic; but, to prevent their designs, Calvin had organized an army of spies, almost the entire of which was recruited from among the refugees.

THE INFORMERS.

The employment of spy ennobled by Calvin.—The Fox.—Favre.—Dubois, the bookseller.—The two spies.—The informers at the consistory.—Physiognomy of Geneva.—To what society is reduced by Calvin.

These refugees, for the most part, bankrupts, pickpockets, commercial felons, evaders of justice, blushed at no occupation; Calvin gave them the office of informers.

They insinuated themselves into the privacy of families, into the temple, into the merchant's shop. At nightfall, they went to drink at the tavern, and brought back to the consistory a report of every thing they heard; wretches, who for a few Genevese coppers, would have sold their souls to the devil, and who rented out their eyes and ears at so much for each denunciation! Calvin had ennobled this traffic; he had pro-

* Galiffe, t. III, p. 546, 547.

hibited any one to speak evil of the informer ; to do so, in the language of the day, was stigmatized as casting opprobrium on Jesus Christ.

From the archives of Geneva, M. Galiffe has copied some recorded cases, which the historian must gather, in order to make the world acquainted with the man who so long oppressed that city.

September 3d, 1547.—THE FOX.

Master Raimond was passing over a bridge, when he heard a voice exclaim :—I doom to the devil.

—Whom ? asked master Raimond of Dominic Clement.

—It is a girl dooming the soul of the fox to the devil.

Raimond imagines that this is an insult to himself.

—Thou art a fox thyself, said he to Clement, who replied :

—I am as honest a man as thou, and I have never been driven away from my country.

Raimond denounces Clement to the consistory, which causes both parties to be summoned before it, and makes “ample remonstrances” to Dominic. Dominic wants to say something in self-justification, but Calvin enjoins him to be silent. “Be silent,” does he say to him, “thou hast blasphemed against God, saying : *I have not been banished* ; for such reproaches, offered to a christian, are opprobriums against Jesus Christ.”

Dominic takes fire, and responds arrogantly :

—That they have only examined the witnesses they pleased, and that too many cavils are adduced against him by the seignior Calvin.

The minister went out irritated.

Afterwards, two women came to the consistory, in order to accuse Dominic Clement with having beaten his father, and had a child by his mother-in-law. Colladon and Calvin declared for the torture : but John Louis, S. de Marnant, pleaded the cause of the accused, and manifested that the informers had contradicted themselves. Clement was liberated.

The patriots trembled before a refugee, concealed themselves, and dared trust no one ; they bolted the doors of the taverns where they went in the evening to drink ; but the walls had eyes and ears. The informers, encouraged, recompensed, honoured, were every where : espionage had become a dignity.

At times, certain persons undertook to blush, on instituting a comparison of Geneva under Calvin, with Geneva under the bishops. They dared not look the spies of the holy office in the face. If Calvin chanced to be passing, they turned aside in order not to salute *the bishop of Geneva*. But these men, courageous even to audacity, were very rare. The reformer’s police knew them, set their spies to watch them, and brought them before the consistory. Francis Favre, father-in-law of Ami Perrin, formerly counselor, and one of the founders of Genevese liberties, was summoned before the tribunal of morals, where his great soul failed him not for a moment.

But how had Geneva fallen, that she was not moved to indignation, and arose not to rescue from the grasp of this black robed calif, the

man who had aided her to throw off the domination of the house of Savoy! In the history of the republic, there is one epoch, when duke Amedee undertook to oppress the people; the people remained mute as now; but their bishop alone, and without arms, stepped forth, and smote the prince with the curse of excommunication. Instruct a comparison. Had not the reformation, on taking possession of Geneva, dispersed the ashes of its bishops and broken to pieces their statues, perhaps the citizens would have gone to revive their courage at the tomb of these holy prelates, and Lessing would have had no occasion to pass this sentence: "A true christian is to-day more rare, than in our ancient times of darkness,"* and Ludke would not have said to his co-religionists: "We, Protestants, are less free and less christian than the Catholics."†

WILLIAM DUBOIS, THE BOOKSELLER.

Dubois had maintained that Calvin had retracted more than once in his writings: hence the hatred of the reformer, who accused the bookseller with vending his books to the refugees at too high a price.

Under some pretext, they had him brought before the consistory, and there, "M. Calvin commenced to speak against him most harshly, declaring to him that he had ever been a *false hypocrite*, and that it was time he should amend, with other such speeches. Whereupon the said seignior Dubois responded to the said seignior Calvin:

"It is not merely now that you entertain rage against me, and I have well said to you also, that you were a hypocrite, in having hated me long, and yet received the supper of our Lord."—On this, said Calvin answered, *this is a lie*, that never had he used such expressions to him, and though he was *sufficiently audacious*, yet never had he the hardness to speak to him *so impudently*, etc.

"After this, said Dubois was asked what he understood by this word, rage? upon which he answered, that he understood, fury. At last the said Calvin arose, demanding the consistory to have the affair sent before the *gentlemen*, (messieurs), in order that justice might be done him for such outrages."

THE TWO SPIES.

When Calvin, insulted, wanted vengeance, two spies met, and one said to the other:

—I have heard from Catherine, wife of Jacob Copa, of the duchy of Ferrara, "that Servetus died a martyr of Jesus Christ, that M. Calvin was the cause of his death; inasmuch as there was a pique between them, and therefore the seigniors did wrong to put him to death.

"That Gribaldus teaches good doctrine, and also John Paul Alciati, and M. George Blandratus, and that they are wrongfully and malevolently persecuted.

* Ein wahrer Christ ist jetzt viel seltener als in dunkeln Zeiten geworden.—Theol. Schriften, t. III.

† Wir Protestanten handeln unmoralischer und unchristlicher als dirömiscben Christen.—Gespräche über die Abschaffung des geistlichen Standes.

“That she is desirous of abandoning this city, because the proceedings of these *messieurs* displease her, in this, that they punish those who speak anything they do not approve, and she spoke several other *blasphemies*, which I do not recollect.”

The other replied :

“She said that M. Calvin does not agree with M. Gribaldus, because this Gribaldus is more learned, and because they are rivals.

“That we are of the number of those who say, *Lord, Lord.*

“That she had done no other thing but what Jesus Christ says.

“That if she suffer and die, inasmuch as she has come to Geneva, she will be a martyr of the devil.

“*Item*, she has a letter of Gribaldus, subscribed by M. John Paul and M. Valentin.”

This wife of Copa had come to Geneva in order to please her only son, who did not wish to go to mass.

She was condemned to beg pardon of God and the judge, was banished from the city, with orders to leave it in twenty-four hours, under penalty of having her head amputated.

The informers were acquainted with their trade, and knew by experience, that every accusation against an enemy of Calvin was received by the consistory. Placed in front of the reformer's pulpit, they watched the irony which curled the lips, the blush which crimsoned the faces, the wrath which sparkled in the eyes of the hearers, when the ministers treated them as debauchees, blasphemers, dogs, and worthless fellows. Three persons who had smiled during Calvin's sermon, on seeing a man fall from his chair, were denounced, condemned for three days to the prison, on bread and water, and required to ask pardon.

The informers spread snares for poor souls simple enough to listen to them. They asked one Normand, who proposed going to Montpellier to study, if he would abandon the church.

Normand answered : “We are not to imagine that the church is so limited, as to be hanging from the girdle of M. Calvin.”

He was denounced and banished.*

The Genevese code required, where the accusation was capital, that the informer should make himself prisoner. When the crime was proved, the informer left his prison. Ordinarily, this part was played by one of those students, whose religious education had been supervised by Calvin himself. In the affair of Servetus, this comedy was played by a young man, named la Fontaine, a sort of minion, whom the reformer called *my* (*meus*,) as Beza did his Audebert.

At this moment, Geneva resembled the Rome of Tiberius. The citizens regarded each other with dread. If they have secreted some Catholic image from the eyes of the iconoclasts kept in pay by the authorities, they conceal it carefully, for fear of being denounced to the consistory, where Calvin would condemn them as idolatrous papists. In the inner household of families, at the evening repast, they have ceased laughing, playing, singing, for the elder is there to knock at the door, to demand of them an account for these songs, plays, peals of laughter,

* Registres de l'Etat, août 1558.

which Calvin, on the morrow, will at the consistory transform into blasphemies against the divinity, and offences against his law for suspected persons. Michael Peter Roseti, has just been thrown into prison, *suspected of debauchery*. It is a crime to defend the interests of God too earnestly. Robert, a turner by trade, is reprimanded by the consistory for having maintained that we should impute the sin of Adam neither to God, nor to the devil, but only to ourselves, and for having spoken against predestination.* The image of Christ is prosecuted as an idolatrous symbol; a merchant who sold wafers marked with a cross, is condemned to a fine of sixty sous, and his wafers are cast into the fire as scandalous.† Woe to the person that does not uncover his head at the sight of Calvin, he is fined; woe to the one that contradicts him, he is summoned before the consistory and menaced with excommunication;‡ woe to the young girl who presents herself in the temple to have her marriage blessed, having a bouquet of flowers in her hat; the flowers are plucked from it, if she have not preserved herself pure, and she is cursed aloud by the consistory; woe to the one that has sung or danced on his wedding day, they punish him with three days imprisonment; woe to the young bride, if she have worn shoes after the Bernese fashion, she is publicly reprimanded.§

The Calvinistic legislation even regulated the number of dishes which should appear on the tables of the wealthy, and even the quality of the butter sold on the place Moulard: They put a fruitseller in the stocks for two hours for having sold old butter as new butter.||

One day, the whole city was filled with astonishment, on waking in the morning, to behold numerous gibbets erected on the public places, surmounted with an inscription which said: FOR ANY WHO SHALL SPEAK EVIL OF M. CALVIN.¶

Were we not right, when we said that drama is blended with comedy in this Calvinistic legislation; and the comedy and drama are here merely indicated. The burlesque or bloody action will soon be developed in some of the prosecutions, instituted by the reformer against the most illustrious citizens of the republic. . . Then only shall we comprehend the nature of that light, amid the illumination of which it was marching; we shall know whether it comes from Sinai, or from those places, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. We shall also learn, whether the smile that plays round the reformer's lips be the smile of Paul the apostle, or of that fallen angel, of whom Goethe has sung.

As in those frightful times, of which Tacitus, speaking of the tyrants of Rome, said: "They call the silence of the tombs, peace," so Calvin designated the profuse shedding of the blood of citizens, *purifica-*

* Béze, Hist. eccl., l. VI, p. 34, 7 juillet 1553.

† Picot, t. I, p. 259.

‡ 31 décembre 1543.

§ Police regulation, July 29th, 1549. "Foolish young women who have conducted themselves badly in the flesh, must not come to the church to be married with flowers in their hats, as if they had comported themselves honorably." And Geneva has erected a statue to John Jacques Rousseau, who placed the fruits of his libertinism in the asylum for foundlings.

|| Picot, t. I, 266-267.

¶ Galiffe.

tion of morals: but one day this blood was to cry for vengeance. Behold a Protestant patriot, who will tell us what John of Noyon did for the Genevese society. "To those who imagine that the reformer conferred nothing but benefits, I will exhibit our registers covered with illegitimate children, (these were exposed at every corner of the city, and of the country,)—prosecutions, hideous for their obscenity,—testaments, in which fathers and mothers accuse their children, not of errors only, but of crimes,—transactions before notaries, between misses and their paramours, who, in presence of their relatives, gave them wherewith to rear their bastards,—multitudes of forced marriages, for which the delinquents were conducted from the prison to the temple,—Mothers, who abandoned their children to the hospital, whilst they were living in abundance with their second husband,—bundles of papers, concerning trials between brothers,—heaps of secret denunciations; all these things in the midst of a generation fed with Calvin's mystical manna."‡

‡ Galiffe, *Notices généalogiques*, t. III, p. 15.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE DRAMA IN THE STREET. 1547—1550.*

PETER AMEAUX. FAVRE. AMI PERRIN. GRUET.

PETER AMEAUX.

Labour of the opposition.—Struggles of Calvin.—Calvinian duality.—Henry VIII., and Moses.—Revelations of the Libertines.—Peter Ameaux.—Nocturnal repast.—Design against the reformer.—The Counselor Ameaux is denounced to the council and simply condemned to pay a fine.—Wrath and menaces of Calvin.—The sentence is reconsidered.—Ameaux, in his shirt, makes the *amende honorable*.—Master La Mar and the spy Texier.—The gibbet at St. Gervais.—Some samples of despotism.—Abel Poupin in the pulpit.

The theocratical government of Calvin was admirably organized; in it, servitude is a law of God, and the legislator an inspired being, he is another Moses listening to the voice from Sinai, and giving the commandments of the Lord under dictation. The libertines could not accustom themselves to behold the apostle of the Lord in Calvin; there were too many passions fermenting in the reformer's breast, not to afford them grounds to contest his divine mission. Opposition was gaining ground: it fortified itself by appealing to all those old instincts in behalf of liberty, which were still living in every one that had a Genevese heart, to the hatred of the people against the refugees, the sympathies of the republican cantons, and to many glorious souvenirs, too recent to be forgotten. In order to combat their revolutionary tendencies, Calvin had his god, whom he caused to intervene incessantly. Complaints, murmurs, offences, were so many sins, the suppression of which he prosecuted in the name of heaven. From the pulpit, he transformed his adversaries into disciples of satan, labouring to ruin the holy church which he had come to erect to the Lord. In his letters, God and the devil are ever engaged in combat. The part, which he causes his enemies to play, is not that of factious tribunes. They are damned souls moving and conspiring together, and whom it is his mission to repress by blood, in case the word cannot triumph over them. In order

* We must repeat here that, in the political and religious history of Calvin, the facts we adduce, when not flowing from official documents, are nearly always upheld by the testimony of the Protestant writers, Gautier, Galiffe, Pissot, Fazy, Gaberel, etc.

to characterize the combat which he has to wage against the libertines, we shall see him seeking inspiration from the holy books, borrowing from the psalmist his oriental imagery, and, like king David, moving under the impulse of the divine direction.

“ Did I undertake, says he, in his commentary on the psalms, to recount all the combats which I have sustained, the recital of them would be very long ! But what a sweet consolation is it for me, to see how David has marked out the way for me ! he is my guide and model. The Philistines had waged a cruel war against this holy king ; but the malice of his domestic enemies had more cruelly afflicted his heart. And I, also, have been assailed on every side, and without cessation, in exterior and interior struggles. Satan had conceived the project of overturning this church ; and I, feeble, unskilled in warfare, timid, have been obliged to battle body to body, even to the effusion of blood. During five years, stood I in the breach for the preservation of discipline and morals ; the wicked were strong and powerful, and had succeeded to corrupt and seduce a portion of the people. To these perverse persons, of what importance was holy doctrine ? They aspired only after dominion : they laboured only for the conquest of a factious liberty ! Some, impelled by want and hunger, served them as auxiliaries ; others, urged on by the shameful passion of worldly interest ; all moved on blindly, borne upon the waves of their caprices, and resolved to plunge themselves with us into the abyss, sooner than bend their necks under the yoke of discipline. I believe that all the arms forged in the kingdom of satan, have been tried and employed by them : innumerable projects, which were to be turned to the ruin of our enemies ! ”

Behold Calvin, in his potent personality, the reflection or echo of the Divinity, the living symbol of the revealed word. The historians of Geneva have not been willing to comprehend this phenomenal duality of the reformer : he is Henry VIII., and Moses. Like Henry, he has assumed to himself all the powers which govern society : he is pontiff and king ; like Moses, he pretends that his power emanates from God himself : he is apostle and lieutenant of Christ. Therefore, every opposition to his designs, every murmur against his decrees, every offence against his person, will be invested with a double criminality : in each of his adversaries, he will find the spirit of Grachus and of satan.

The libertines had but one means to triumph ; this was to strip Calvin of his title of high priest. They attempted it. During several years, we behold them, earnest in the work, watching Calvin in his private life, at the temple, in the council, in the consistory, in the midst of his intimates and friends, and recounting every thing that they beheld, every thing that they learned, and sometimes what they had merely guessed. It was from the reports of the libertines, that Bolsec learned how the minister took from the printers of Geneva, “two sous per page, or for the entire leaf ;” * the sums of money “that had been sent him to be distributed to the poor, by the queen of Navarre, the duchess of Ferrara, and other rich foreigners ; the legacy of two thousand crowns, which David de Haynault left him at his death, and which

* Bolsec, *Vie de Jean Calvin*, p. 29.

he distributed among his relatives and friends;* the marriage for money which he caused his brother Anthony to contract with the daughter of a bankrupt of Antwerp, who had fled to Geneva in order to secure his thefts;† the letter which he wrote to Farel concerning Servetus;‡ and his little billet to the marquis de Pouet:—"Do not omit to rid the country of those rascally zealots, who, by their discourses, stir up the people to revolt against us, blacken our conduct, and wish to have our doctrine taken for a revery; *such monsters ought to be strangled.*

"These designs, coming from the workshops of satan," says Beza, "were spread among the populations of the republic, and reflected upon the honour of Calvin." The people welcomed them with joy: the yoke of the theocrat weighed heavily on all generous spirits.

Beneath the open sunlight, the libertines were less successful. They were nearly always certain to fail, when they attacked the reformer to his face, because Calvin knew how, with great skill, to present himself before the council as the servant of God. If we may be allowed to use the comparison, this was the Thabor on which he transfigured himself before every eye. They essayed to strip the consistory of the consistorial jurisdiction, in order to confer it on the council; but they did not succeed. They could not even restore to the civil power the right of excommunication, which at first had been reserved to it alone, and which, by a monstrous iniquity, Calvin had transferred to the consistory. Nor were they able to have repealed the decree which punished, with the pain of death, any one who should reveal the secrets of the state.§

Calvin knew his enemies. The chiefs of the opposition were Peter Ameaux and Ami Perrin. Peter Ameaux, a man of the bar-room, with a wicked tongue and a soul destitute of energy; Ami, or Amied Perrin, the idol of the people, admirable when facing the soldiers of the duke of Savoy, but understanding nothing that concerned a contest of words; skillful in handling his sword, but incapable of wielding a pen.

It is with these patriots that Calvin's struggle is about to commence.

Peter Ameaux, member of the council of Twenty-five, was fond of seeing at his table the old republicans, with whom he could freely indulge his humour. Calvin made the revellers the constant theme of his railleries. One day, when Ami had drunk more deeply than was his custom, he began to rail at the reformer in so droll a strain, that every body was convulsed with laughter. "Pardieu!" said he, "you set too high a value on this man, and are wrong to exalt him so much: you place him above all the apostles and doctors that ever were; but it is no such great thing that you do, for among the good sentences he utters, he mingles still more that are very horned and frivolous."|| The wine was excellent and abundant, the heads of the guests were affected, and Calvin was mercilessly torn to pieces. The minister, master Henry la

* *Ib.*, p. 30.

† *Ib.*, p. 31.

‡ See chapter entitled: MICHAEL SERVETUS.

§ The punishment of death, decreed against the betrayers of the secrets of the councils, 19th October, 1540.

|| Bolsec, p. 33.

Mar, borne away with the excitement, did like the rest, and took it into his head to say, amid the plaudits of the revellers, "that he was an impatient, hateful, vindictive fellow, who never forgave whilst he had a spite against any one."

At this supper, which was prolonged far into the night, there were present some spies, sold to Calvin, who denounced the seditious discourses. On the next morning, Peter Ameaux was cited before the council.* The night had calmed the brain of the counselor, who excused himself, alleging the state of intoxication in which he was, when he had spoken ill of master John. The members of the council, in part friends of Peter Ameaux, after long deliberation, condemned him to pay thirty dollars fine: a very large sum for that epoch, when the counselor received a few sols salary.

On hearing the sentence, Calvin rises, invests himself with his doctor's robes, and, escorted by some of the ministers and elders, penetrates into the council hall, asks justice in the name of God, whom Peter Ameaux has outraged, in the name of morals which he has defiled, of the laws which he has violated, and declares that he will abandon Geneva, if the criminal do not make the *amende honorable*, with naked head, at the hotel de ville, at the Moulard, and at Saint-Gervais.†

The council, terrified, annuls the sentence.

On the next day, Ameaux, half-naked, with torch in hand, accused himself with loud voice, of having knowingly and wickedly offended God, and he asked pardon of his fellow citizens.

And after three centuries, a historian is found defending the memory of Calvin, who violates the sanctuary of the laws, overwhelms a repentant counselor with bitterness and shame, and forces iniquitous judges to repeal a verdict, which they had pronounced after having invoked the assistance of the Holy Ghost.

The minister was not satisfied. At the supper of Ameaux, master Henry de la Mar was present, who, also, had drunk rather too copiously himself, after the fashion of the drunkard Bernard, the ancient guardian of the Franciscan convent; and who, with his head fuddled with Sauvagin wine, which the gentlemen of the council frequently sent to Calvin, allowed himself to indulge in a few railleries with regard to the reformer. Well, when he was paying a visit to Benedict Texier, one of the doctor's spies, the conversation turned upon Peter Ameaux's supper, and Henry, being interrogated concerning the cause of the counselor's imprisonment, answered candidly: Some say, that after he had well feasted them, and given them fine cheer in his house, they have accused him to the *messieurs* of the council, and caused him to be cast into prison."

Texier responds:—"I am sorry; I could wish he had been silent or spoken well. And what then did he say? Has he spoken directly against God or against men?"

* Picot, Histoire de Genève. t. II, p. 410-411. This historian has endeavoured to justify most of Calvin's attempts against Genevese nationality.

† Gaberel, p. 92.

Master Henry la Mar proceeded : —“ I think that he said something against Calvin ; yet, this was after drinking. And moreover,” adds he laughing, “ the man is hateful and vindictive. Already, whilst he was at Strasbourg, he was reprimanded for this ; even when he came to reside in this city of Geneva, some of his friends besought him to divest himself of such passions, and told him that if he continued in them, he would not be borne with as he had been at Strasbourg.” He added, after looking around him cautiously : —“ Calvin lately had such a great squabble and enmity with one of the principal men of the city, that the *messieurs* of the council had to interfere. They were much annoyed, and had a great deal to do to reconcile him with the other. His hatred was so great, that he did not take the Lord’s Supper ; for which there was great noise, and I think this was the cause of those remarks made by the said Peter Ameaux. I have heard it said that Calvin prosecutes the said prisoner.”

“ I do not believe it,” devoutly murmured Texier.

—“ If it be so,” resumed la Mar, “ I would be glad he should be exiled for his profit ; for Peter Ameaux is a man of great credit, and has many friends. Calvin thinks that I am the cause of all this ; but I assure you that I am not ; I know nothing about it ; I beseech you, do not tell him any thing of all this.”

“ Nor shall I,” replied Texier, lifting up his eyes to heaven.

La Mar had scarcely descended the stair case, when Texier went to denounce the minister to Calvin, saying to him : —“ Master, I have indeed promised secrecy ; but when I perceived that the matter was of such great importance, I wished to have more regard for the public good, and the welfare of the city in which I reside, than for the good of a single man, even were this the greatest friend I have in the world.”

Calvin, in consequence, accused Henry la Mar, had him deprived of his post as minister at Jussy and Fansonex, and condemned to three days imprisonment. The sentence runs : FOR HAVING CENSURED M. CALVIN.*

The condemnation of Peter Ameaux enraged the whole city.† They might have ransacked the archives of the past, and never would they have found that either bishop’s crozier or ducal baton had so iniquitously struck any head, even that of a slave. Tears flowed from many an eye. The people, collected in the suburb Saint-Gervais, made the air ring with menaces, exclaiming : “ Down with Calvin ! down with the refugees !”

Calvin does not allow the tempest time to burst forth. He feigns to leave the city, and, in a moment, they all run to him : the councils, the lieutenant, the companies of watchmen and officials, “ armed with staves,” and even the very executioner, who drags after him a gibbet, which he proceeds to erect on the place Saint-Gervais, crying through

* See Galiffe, Notices Gén., t. III, p. 524–527.

† Peter Ameaux was brought to judgment for having said that M. Calvin preached a false doctrine, was a wicked man, and nothing but a Picardian.—Registres du conseil d’Etat, 27th Jan., 1546.

the streets :—Whoever moves shall be hoisted on the gibbet, even till death follow.*

The people trembled, the city kept silent, and Ameaux's sentence was executed on the 5th of April.

Calvin's victory made him insolent.. He was like a college pedant transformed into a king, and taking his amusement.

He mounts the pulpit, and calls those who made the demonstration at Saint Gervais, idle fellows and villains. The suburb is agitated and murmurs; four of the most mutinous are arrested and thrown into prison, under plea of preventing revolt.† Order is given to eat meat on Fridays and Saturdays, under penalty of imprisonment. The night watch cries out :—Let no one make embroidered breeches and waist-coats, nor wear them henceforth, under penalty of sixty sols.‡

In the registers, we read :

“Chapuis is put in prison for having persisted to name his son Claude, though the minister was not willing, but wanted him called Abraham. He had said that he would rather keep his child fifteen years without baptism.” He was kept four days imprisoned§

Certain men and women having obtained permission from the council to act a moral, composed by Roux Monet, and entitled, the Acts of the Apostles, Michael Cop ascends the pulpit at St. Peter's, and declares that the women who should play this farce, are shameless women, who have no other aim but to show themselves, in order to excite impure desires in the hearts of the spectators.||

One day, a relative of Favre presents himself before the altar with a young woman of Nantes, to be married. The celebrant, Abel Poupin, asks the husband :—“Do you promise to be faithful to your wife?”—The husband, in place of answering, yes, bows his head. A great tumult takes place among the assistants. The bridegroom is thrown into prison, is obliged to ask pardon of the girl's uncle, and condemned to bread and water.¶

And Abel Poupin was reprimanded by Calvin for not having driven the bridal parties out of the church. Master Abel, however, was not deficient in courage : it was he, who, from the pulpit, cried out to the libertines : “Rascals, dogs, blackguards, even papists;”** the grossest insult to be found in the reformed lexicon of the sixteenth century.

F A V R E .

The family of Favre.—His daughter Frances.—His son-in law, Ami Perrin.—Favre summoned before the consistory, and accused of having cried, live liberty!—He is interrogated.—Calvin's letter.

If there was in Geneva a family which Calvin should have protected,

* Registres, 30 mars 1546.

† Galiffe, p. 538-539.

‡ Registres, 1546. Picot, t. II, p. 413-414.

§ Fragments biographiques, p. 15.

¶ Epistola Vireto.

‡ Registres, 16 avril 1543.

** Galiffe, p. 262, t. III, note.

it was that of the Favres : those patriots, who had so long struggled for the emancipation of their country from the house of Savoy. But for Francis Favre, and his son-in-law, Ami Perrin, and their friends, Bezançon Hugues, John Baux, and John Philippe, Calvin would not today be at Geneva. He owes his power to these intrepid, but abused men, who, not being willing to comprehend that Catholicism adapts itself to every form of government, used, for its destruction, all the courage they possessed, and after a combat of eighteen years, in which their blood was freely shed, succeeded only in giving themselves a merciless master : the just chastisement of an apostacy, which they vainly endeavoured to colour with the name of patriotism. Calvin was destined to make them expiate their part of renegades in a most cruel manner.

It is not now necessary to ask to what side the Favre family belongs. Francis and his son-in-law, Ami Perrin, could be found no where but where danger was to be risked, liberty to be defended, a country to be saved, a despot's yoke to be broken to pieces : they are libertines. Favre is a man, with whitened locks, an admirable vigour of constitution, a strength of soul fit for every trial, having his veins filled with a mingling of Gallic and Roman blood, and who would have soon driven the stranger away, had he found in the people, made degenerate by the reformer, the audacity of the first days of the reformation. Calvin has represented him as a toothless debauchee, who carries disorder into families, makes sport of the virtue of females, of the honour of young men, and goes to rekindle his wanton fires in the bar-rooms of taverns and in other wicked places. His daughter, Frances, was one of those women whom our old Corneille would have taken for heroines : excitable, choleric, fond of pleasure, enamoured with dancing, and hating Calvin as Luther did a monk. John of Noyon represents her as a daughter of hell, and often designates her as "the new Proserpine."

Ami Perrin, the captain general, had, in 1538, espoused Frances Favre. He was a man of noble stature, who wore the sword with great grace, dressed in good taste, and conversed with much facility ; but a boaster at table and at the council, where he deafened every one with his boastful loquacity, his fits of self-love, and his theatrical airs. Calvin, through derision, called him : *Cæsar comicus et Cæsar tragicus*, (the comical and tragical Cæsar,) because of the attitude he loved to assume, in treating matters either important or indifferent.* As to the rest, like all men of this stamp, he had an excellent heart, was devoted as a friend, with cool blood, and patriotic even to extremes. Could hatred kill, long since would Calvin have ceased to exist. Ami called him nothing but *the hypocrite*. At the table, it was his delight to imitate the reformer, elongating his visage, winking his eyes, and assuming the air of an anchorite of the Thebaid. At his dwelling, his

* Mosheim attributes this double soubriquet, given by Calvin to Perrin, to the now tragic and now comic language of the syndic.—Das Wort Cæsar geht wohl auf Herrschbegierde, aber comicus und tragicus scheint auf seine Beredsamkeit zu gehen, die bald zu hoch, und schwülstig, wie in Trauerspielen, bald zu lustig, wie in Freudenpielen war.—Mosheim, Geschichte Serveti, p. 192.

wife, child, servant, were all taught to despise Calvin : the daughter of Favre was particularly remarkable for her noisy outbursts. She affected to laugh at the disciplinary regulations of the reformer ; at divine service, she threw her eyes round on every side ; she clothed herself after the Bernese fashion, and danced in spite of the ordinances.

On the 1st of April, 1546, there was a wedding at Bellerive, where, among others, were present Francis Favre, captain Perrin and his wife, John Baptist Sept, Claudine Philippe, Denis Hugues, James Gruet, the poet, the wife of the seignior Anthony Lect, the wife of Philibert Donzel, and the newly married lady was the daughter of Anthony Lect ; they danced the whole evening.*

On the next day, the whole wedding party appeared before the consistory. Francis Favre was accused of having used seditious observations at the repast.

We must cite the act of accusation : †

1st. He has said he would not accept the office of captain of the arquebusiers, if he had to have Frenchmen in the company, because he wanted none but good Genevese, and nothing to do with the bishop of Geneva, M. Calvin.

2ndly. He said that M. Calvin and M. Poupin have changed their names.

3rdly. Item, that he does not believe what they preach.

4thly. He said to a man that saluted him : " Why dost thou salute a dog ! " and this in order to excite hatred against the preachers, (who had called him a dog from the pulpit.)

5thly. He said : These French, these mean fellows, are the cause why we are slaves ; and this Calvin has devised means to make it necessary that one should go to him to tell his sins, and show him reverence.

6thly. To the devil with the preachers and those who uphold them.

7thly. Item, that he would be glad the French were in France.

8thly. Item, that he wishes to leave Geneva, where his old age is made miserable, whilst it would be honorable any where else.

9thly. Item, that Calvin has tormented him more than four bishops, whom he has seen buried, and that he will not recognize him for his prince.

10thly. When they were conducting him to prison, he cried out : *Liberty ! liberty !* I would give a thousand crowns to have a general council.

Liberty ! that sacred cry, shouted by an old man, who had shed his blood in defence of national independence, has become a seditious cry ! To expiate it, they want Favre to ask pardon !

But the old patriot lifted up his head, and said to his judges : " Let them take me to prison, I will not humble myself."

He lay there during three weeks. Then Berne remembered, that, fifteen years before, Francis, with his brothers, John and Anthony, had

* Galiffe, t. III, p. 540-541.

† Extracted from the act of accusation against Francis Favre, formerly counselor.

assisted at the federation of Fribourg. Naegeli, the advocate, came to demand, and he obtained, the liberation of the old soldier.*

We must hear Calvin's account :

“ Since your departure, dances have not permitted us a moment's repose. All those, who have allowed themselves to be seduced into them, have been summoned before the consistory, and, with the exception of Ami and de Corne, of whom nothing has been said, they have not spared us any more than God. Anger at last took possession of me ; I have thundered against this public contempt of the Lord, and against the neglect of our holy ordinances. They exhibit no signs of repentance. I had promised God that I should know how to chastise them. I will declare, that, at the peril of my life, I should know the truth, and have justice for their falsehoods. The woman, Frances Perrin, has spoken to us a thousand insults ; I answered her as she deserved. I asked whether the Favre family had a privilege to violate, with impunity, the police regulations. The father is a dehaucbee, who already has been charged with adultery. There is now a second prosecution of this nature about to be instituted, and perhaps a third ; it is spoken of, at least. The brother openly mocks at us. I added : Why do you not build a city where you can live according to your fancy, since you are unwilling to submit to the yoke of Christ ? but, as long as you shall remain here, it will be in vain for you to seek to exempt yourselves from the laws : for, were there in your dwellings as many diadems as heads, God will still know how to remain master.—Then came the avowals, they have confessed every thing, and I have learned that they had danced at the widow Balthasar's. They passed from the council to the prison. The syndic had exhibited a criminal weakness ; he has received a sharp reprimand from the consistory, and been suspended until he give marks of repentance. It is said that Perrin has returned from Lyons : he shall not escape chastisement. The wife of Perrin is furious, the widow Balthasar half a fool, all the rest are ashamed and silent.”†

AMI PERRIN.

Lawrence Megret, a creature of Calvin, denounces Ami Perrin to the council.—Means employed by the reformer to ruin the captain general.—Popular commotion.—Calmed by Calvin.—Prosecution of Perrin.—The interrogatory.—Reaction.—Condemnation of Megret.

The captain general was in fact absent. Calvin had sent him away from Geneva in order to ruin him. Perrin, named ambassador to Paris, was one of those confiding souls, whom it is easy to ensnare. A fine looking cavalier, he was to be feasted in a gallant court, where external gifts were the requisites for success and triumph. Cardinal du Bellay

* Francis Favre, father-in-law of Perrin, has been liberated from prison, at the prayer of the seigniors of Berne, who have sent here the ancient advocate, Naegeli, express, to solicit his liberation.—Fragments biographiques, p. 14.

† Ep. 71, 1546, Farello.

loved to chat with Perrin. In one of those openhearted interviews, the conversation turned upon the emperor, who was then menacing Switzerland.

—In that case, said the cardinal, have courage; the king, my master, will not forget his cherished allies. Do you wish two hundred good lances, of whom you shall be captain?

—My lord, responded Perrin, I will speak of this to the council.*

This design was denounced by Lawrence Megret, called the magnificent, and at Calvin's instance.

The capital accusation was altogether proved; and it was only necessary now to have a pretext for arresting the captain general, and Calvin comes to the aid of Megret.

Perrin's wife had gone to dance in the Bernese territory, and on the next day, the rumour was spread through the city, that Frances Perrin and her father, accused of committing adultery with their servants, were to be conducted to prison between two soldiers of the police. This was a humiliation that Perrin would not have suffered at the price of his blood. Francis Favre had been cited before the consistory. The theme of the counselors had been prepared beforehand. Favre, in response to the charge of prostitution, exhibits his grey hairs, and refuses to say anything in self-justification: they insult him; he is silent; and, once out of view of the tribunal, he pours forth his soul in insults against his judges. He is summoned anew, and withdraws to the country; his daughter takes his place, and appears before the consistory. This was the woman whom Calvin called a fury; a woman fond of her own body, and, in his energetic language, a ——.†

Frances defended herself like an angry woman, and did not spare Calvin. It was said that she was about to be arrested.

Then the captain general presents himself before the council, at once in defence of his father-in-law and his wife. At the moment he entered, they were interrogating a man arraigned for an offence against God. The captain general, who wanted to speak, pushed the prisoner aside violently, saying to him: Withdraw; my business is more urgent than thine.

Among the members of the council, there was one evidently sold to Calvin: this was Lambert, who had no means of livelihood, except from the fines which were levied from the libertines who were denounced by the reformer. For the judge, the captain's insolence was a God-send; he accused him of an attempt upon the sovereignty of the people, in the persons of the members of the council; of criminal pity for a wretch condemned to be scourged, whom he had prevented from being struck to the blood; of seditious tenderness for a poor man, to whom he had remitted a fine that would have taken his last and only cent.‡

On leaving the council, Perrin was arrested and conducted to prison. His prosecution was commenced immediately: Calvin wanted blood.

* Galiffe, t. III, p. 379-392.—James Fazy, t. I, p. 270-272.

† Uxor est prodigiosa furia, impudenter omnium criminum defensionem suscipiens.—Ep. 70.

‡ Galiffe, t. III, p. 385.

But the people loved Perrin. They admired the courage, the generosity, the patriotism, and even the very defects of the captain general. In the evening, the streets were filled with labourers and burghers, demanding news concerning the prisoner. The police did not dare resort to force, in order to disperse the crowds which at length would have assumed a menacing attitude. Calvin's name was abused. In the councils, the cause of the patriot was pleaded with energy. In the Two Hundred, the majority seemed to have abandoned the reformer, and wished an appeal made to the people to sit in judgment on the accused. Had there been a single man of courage in the council of the Two Hundred, Geneva would have recovered her liberties. But Geneva was in dread: a great lesson was about to be given her, in which the reformer will manifest how a people can be made to tremble.

The council of the Two Hundred was assembled. Never had any session been more tumultuous; the parties, weary of speaking, began to appeal to arms. The people heard the appeal. Calvin appears, unattended; he is received at the lower part of the hall with cries of death. He folds his arms, and looks the agitators fixedly in the face. Not one of them dares strike him. Then, advancing through the midst of the groups, with his breast uncovered:—"If you want blood," says he, "there are still a few drops here; strike, then!" Not an arm is raised. Calvin then slowly ascends the stair-way to the council of the Two Hundred. The hall was on the point of being drenched with blood; swords were flashing. On beholding the reformer, the weapons were lowered, and a few words sufficed to calm the agitation. Calvin, taking the arm of one of the counselors, again descends the stairs, and cries out to the people that he wishes to address them. He does speak, and with such an energy and feeling, that tears flow from their eyes: they embrace each other, and the crowd retires in silence. The patriots had lost the day. From that moment, it was easy to foretell that victory would remain with the reformer. The libertines, who had shown themselves so bold, when it was question of destroying some front of a Catholic edifice, overturning some saint's niche, or throwing down an old wooden cross weakened by age, trembled like women before this man, who, in fact, on this occasion, exhibited something of the homeric heroism.*

The prosecution of Perrin was commenced on the 20th of September, and lasted to the 5th of November, 1547. Among the witnesses, that gave evidence against the chief of the libertines, appeared Bonnard, who, twenty years before, played all parts, and who now was purchasing from Calvin, at the price of base informations, a repose which he could have made more glorious. This old soldier of liberty, quite bruised with the chains of Chillon, was mean enough to sit at the table of judges, whose ears could listen to an interrogatory conceived in the following forms:

1. Since when he has been detained, and if he know the cause of his detention.

* Epist. Vireto, 17 septemb. 1547.—Bretschneider, Calvin et l'Eglise de Genève, p. 162.

2. If he be not citizen and counselor of the city of Geneva, knowing the edicts and ordinances of the council, *which is established by the providence of God*, and ratified by the community of Geneva, which every one ought to obey in all things licit, and those who contravene it deserve to be punished.

3. With what arrogance and authority, on Tuesday last, the 20th of this month of September, 1547, he came to interrupt the ordinary council, without being called, he being retired out of said council.

4. With what authority, he has spoken to a certain person named Bramet, whom their seigniories had summoned to hear in council, as the order shows, such words as these: Withdraw, and, in fact, by his arrogance, caused him to retire, contravening the ordinances on this point established.

5. If he have not said that, if they cast Francis Favre and the wife of the said accused into prison, *and led and dragged them through the city*, he could not tolerate it, and would even revenge himself, and God would aid him to be avenged.

6. By what means he designs taking such vengeance, and who are his adherents.

7. On which occasion, the day aforesaid, several times, and again, he came to interrupt the council, saying: "You have caused command to be given me to go to prison; but I will not go," with high words, menacing and otherwise illicit, and if this be not great rebellion against the magistrate, and deserving of punishment.

8. If, formerly, he have not said that he had kept a turkish horse in Geneva during the space of three weeks, and worn a coat of mail, for the purpose of killing three citizens of Geneva, of whom he then declared that one was among the seigniors the syndics, at that time holding the office of the syndicism in his own degree.*

9. What acquaintance and intercourse he has with the seignior de Rollé, to have thus so long frequented him.

10. If he have not declared that he was as much master in Geneva, as the king in his kingdom of France.

11. With what authority he made such a speech, and to what end it tended.

12. If, being in the country, near this, and having met a citizen of Geneva, he did not say to him, in a rage, blaspheming God: "Thou hast not saluted thy prince," and he threatened to beat him.†

13. If he have not said that a look or sign from him would suffice, to kill all the members of the council in their houses.‡

14. On what occasion he used such a remark, and let him declare the source and foundation he had for it.

* This accusation, and all which follow it, concern remarks or facts anterior to his embassy to Paris.

† In accompanying the syndic Lambert into the country on an excursion, he strongly chided a peasant, who had neglected to salute the first magistrate of the republic.—Galiffe.

‡ De faire un signe pour que tous les conseillers fussent tués dans leurs maisons.

15. If he have not said, blaspheming God, that he would sooner die rich, than a good poor man.

16. If, before leaving Geneva, when he was about to go to France, he did not use words like these : "What sayest thou? Would it not be good and profitable, did I find means to obtain a pension from the king?" and he said that he would take one.

17. In pursuance of his desire to have such pension from the king, wishing to execute his enterprise, what proposals he entertained at the court of the king, and the parley about light horse, etc., and let him declare this enterprise, and to what end it was designed.

But the voice of the people continued to mutter round the tribunal. The judges were afraid, and did not dare give Calvin the head of Perin. They condemned him, for having violated the sanctuary of justice, to be deprived of his titles and employments, and abolished the office of captain general.*

Then commenced a reaction in public opinion, of which any one else but the captain general might have known how to take advantage. Megret, whom the ministers named *Jesus*, who had abused the protection of Calvin, to pursue the patriots, denounced by the public voice as the paid spy of France, was in his turn arraigned before the council. The truth came out. Urged by questions, the spy acknowledged his occult manœuvres with Calvin, to form a defensive league between France and Berne. They learned that, driven away from his country for various misdeeds, the informer was seeking to procure his recall from exile, at the price of infamous services. This was the table companion of the reformer, "who," says M. Galiffe, "gave meat and drink to every parasite whom he could in any way use to advantage." Leger de Mestrezat, denounced by Megret, had come near perishing on the scaffold.

The people needed satisfaction; this was accorded them. Megret was condemned, in spite of Calvin and the ministers.†

But the Genevese did not yet know, that in revolutions, it is necessary to push on, as in the mountains between two o'erhanging avalanches, without pausing or looking behind. They imagined that they had recovered their liberty, because, for some time, their master allowed them to make merry in the bar-rooms: their joy was to be of but short duration.

GRUET.

Placards stuck up at St. Peter's.—Gruet accused.—Seizure of his papers.—He is thrown into prison.—Tortured.—Decapitated.—Prosecution instituted against some loose leaves.

At the end of May, 1547, the following writing in Savoyard patois was found affixed to the pulpit of St. Peter's church :

* Registres du conseil d'Etat, 9 octobre.

† Galiffe, t. III, p. 391.

“Gro panfar te et to compagnon gagneria miot de vo queysi. Se vo no fatte enfuma, i n’y a persona que vo garde qu’on ne vos mette en tas. Lua que pey, vo maudery l’oura que jamet vo salites de votra moinnery. Et mezuït prou blama quin Diablo et tot su f....prestres renia no vegnon ici mettre en ruyna. Apres quon a prou endura on se revenge. Garda vo qu’i ne vo n’en presgne comme i fit à monsieur Verle de Fribor. No ne vollin pas tant avey de mettre. Nota bin mon dire.”*

The voice of the public, for once in accord with the reports of Calvin’s spies, designated Gruet as the author of this placard. James Gruet was a man of courage, a patriot who busied himself in making songs against John of Noyon and the refugees, which were more malignant than poetic. Several times had the reformer called him a *scurvy fellow*, from the pulpit. Gruet laughed at the threats of his enemy. At church, he looked him boldly in the face, shrugged his shoulders when he was speaking, and frequented the taverns “which then were, what coffee houses and clubs are in our days.”* He was the first to adopt the fashion of breeches with plaits at the knees. Abominable principles of religion were attributed to him. Calvin draws a horrible picture of the poet’s morals.

“There is no longer question of the comic Cæsar and his dancing Venus. Gruet has just been arrested : he is suspected of having affixed the placard at St. Peter’s ; yet it is not in his hand-writing ; but in searching among his papers they have discovered frightful things : an address to the people, in which he maintains that a mere attempt against the state ought not to be punished by the law ; that the despotism, of an atrabillious man such as Calvin, would necessarily lead to a conflict among the citizens. Then, there are two pages, all in his hand, in which he mocks at the holy scripture, defames Christ, treats the immortality of the soul as a fable and revery, and saps all the groundworks of religion. I do not think that he has devised all these fancies, but he has written them, and he shall be judged. And yet who knows ? he has mind enough to have given a form and a body to doctrines, which he will have borrowed from some other person.”†

These papers, seized upon at the lodgings of Gruet, were like those, which are found with every man who occupies his intellect in literary labours ; leaves in disorder, on which he had thrown unfinished phrases, lame verses, imperfect hemistiches, lines in prose, all this illuminated with flourishes, signatures, hieroglyphics, and all the caprices of a student’s pen.

* We give the original of this placard, because we are not sufficiently acquainted with the *patois* in which it is written, to venture a translation, except by way of a note. We take the following to be the import, if not a translation, of the text. “Gross hypocrite, thou and thy companions will get more than you bargain for. If you do not save yourselves by flight, there is no one that can keep you from being taken hold of. And what is worse, you shall curse the hour that ever you left your monkery. The devil and so many of his cursed priests come here for our ruin. When persons have endured for a long time, they revenge themselves. Take care, they do not serve you as they served M. Verle of Fribourg. We do not want to have so many masters. Note well what I say.”—Tr.

* James Fazy.

† E. Vireto, 11 juillet 1547.

Now, were we to say that in the rolls of our revolutionary tribunals, no capital accusation, so monstrously bolstered up, can be found, who would believe us? Read then.

3. All contradicting this (the reformation,) as well by word as WILL, are rebels against God, and deserving of grievous punishment.

6-9. The said Gruet has shown himself other than he should; he has specifically and openly, in his letter (a busybody) insulted the said master Calvin, saying in this:—"As our gallant Calvin has done."

18. He has written with his own hand, by him acknowledged, two cut leaves written by him in the Latin language, in which are contained several errors.

19. And from the things premised, he has been *rather inclined* to speak, recite, and write false opinions and errors, than the true word of *Our Lord*, which every day is announced.

22. He affixed the placard at St. Peter's.

23. He *must* have adherents and accomplices, whom he *must* name.

24. He must be punished with corporal punishment.*

We are forced to blush. It is necessary to go to reformed Geneva, in order to find judges, who incriminate not only deeds, but thoughts; not only opinions manifested externally, but desires revolved in the depths of the heart, and who say to the accused: thou *must* have accomplices, and thou *must* name them. Fouquier Tinville has been calumniated!

Now let Colladon discharge the duties of his profession, and he will do so conscientiously.

Gruet was put to the torture twice a day. On the 9th of July, in the midst of frightful torments, he accuses himself of having posted the placard on the pulpit at St. Peter's.

On the next day, there were new torments, and new avowals; the punishment was suspended and resumed the following day, to be intermitted, and renewed twelve hours after. Gruet was ground during an entire month. The unhappy man cried out to his executioners: *Finish me, in mercy, I am dying!* But the eye of Colladon was watching the sufferings, and knew the precise moment when breath was about to leave his victim. Then they unbound him, and revived him with the aid of some spirits, and two of the assistants bore him back to the prison. Calvin hoped that Gruet would accuse Francis Favre and Perrin; but the poet remained firm, and immovable. When they perceived that they would have but a carcass to drag to the scaffold, Colladon said: enough.

And on the next day, the council pronounced the sentence.

This declares: that Gruet has spoken of religion with contempt, and maintained that laws, divine and human, are but pure follies; that he has composed obscene verses, and taught that man and woman can use their bodies as they please; that he has endeavoured to destroy the authority of the consistory; that he has threatened the ministers, and *spoken evilly of M. Calvin*; that he has corresponded and conspired

* Galiffe, t. III, p. 260-261.

with the king of France against the safety of Calvin and of the country.

On the 26th of July, 1547, Gruet ascended the scaffold. The sword of the executioner struck off the head of a man already in the pangs of death.

Calvin was not satisfied; he wished a prosecution to be instituted against Gruet's book. You know what this book was: some rags of paper, found upon the house-tops, in the fire-place, and in the dirt box: informal fragments, which they adjusted, and out of which they formed some thirteen leaves. Were these leaves the production of Gruet? The poet could no longer answer. The council was ignorant how to institute a prosecution against these hieroglyphics. Calvin was consulted, he drew up the proceedings, and even wrote the very sentence against the seditious leaves.

ADVICE, WHICH CALVIN GAVE TO THE COUNCIL IN THE PROCESS WHICH WAS TO BE INSTITUTED AGAINST THE BOOK OF GRUET, PREPARED IN APRIL OR MAY 1550.—THIS ADVICE IS WRITTEN IN CALVIN'S OWN HAND.*

Since *Messieurs* have been pleased to consult me, as to the book of Gruet, it seems to me before every thing, that they should juridically cause the hand to be recognized, not so much as regards the man, who already is sufficiently condemned, but for the consequence, that it may not be thought, that they were with levity moved regarding an uncertain book, and also with respect to the adherents and accomplices.

This done, it seems to me that the abolition of the book should not be as a sepulture, but with testimony that they hold it in such detestation as it merits, were this only for the sake of example. True it is, that it becomes us to abstain from all dishonest words, which should not come from our lips; that such blasphemies, so execrable ought not to be recounted; as if we had no horror of them, but in pursuance of the rule, given to us by our Lord in his law, it is expedient that faithful magistrates should specify the impieties which they punish. Moreover, *Messieurs*, know that this is necessary for several reasons which I leave them to consider, although those indicated by God should be sufficient for us.

The form. It would seem good to me as the first subcorrection, that there should be a dictum or narrative like the following. Though in such a year, on such a day, James Gruet, as well for enormous blasphemies against God, and mockeries of the christian religion, as for wicked conspiracies against the public weal of this city, for mutinies, other sorceries and crimes, had been condemned, inasmuch as they have found a book written with his own hand, as has been sufficiently recognized, in which are contained several blasphemies so execrable, that there is no human creature who must not tremble in hearing them, as in general to make sport of all christianity, even to say of our Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God and king of glory, before whose majesty the devils are constrained to humble themselves; that he is a scoundrel, a liar, a fool, a seducer, a wicked and miserable man, a fantastic wretch, a churl, full of boastful and malignant presumption, who merited to be crucified, that the miracles he operated were but sorceries and monkey capers, that he pretended to be the son of God as the pretend to be in their synagogue, that he acted the hypocrite, having been hung as he deserved to be, and died miserably in his folly, a senseless fool, a great drunkard, a detestable traitor and hung malefactor, whose coming brought the world nothing but all kind of wickedness, unhappiness and roguery, and all kinds of opprobriums and

* Manusc, tiré des Arch. de Berne.

outrages which it is possible to invent. Of the prophets, that they were nothing but fools, dreamers, fantastic fellows; of the apostles, that they were marauders and rascals, apostates, gawks, hair-brained persons. Of the virgin Mary, that it is to be presumed she was a prostitute. Of the law of God, that it is worth nothing, any more than those who made it; of the gospel, that it is only falsehood, that all the scripture is false and wicked, and contains less sense than the fables of Æsop, and is but a falso and foolish doctrine. And not only does he thus villainously rave against our holy and sacred christian religion, but also he renounces and abolishes all religion and divinity, saying that God is nothing, making men like to the brute beasts, denying eternal life, and vomiting such execrations, as must cause the hair to rise on the head of every one, and which are such stinking infections as must render a whole country cursed, so that all good persons having a conscience should demand pardon of God, for the fact that his holy name has been thus blasphemed amongst them.

Upon this, it appears to me, that sentence should be passed in such or the like form. Although, the writer of the book already by just judgment has been condemned and executed, nevertheless that the vengeance of God may not rest upon us for having endured or dissembled an impiety so horrible, and also to give an example to all *the accomplices and adherents of a sect, so infected and worse than diabolical*, and even to stop the mouths of all those who will seek to excuse or hide such enormities, and to manifest to them what condemnation they merit, *the messieurs have ordained:*

The sooner, the better; for already has this unfortunate book been too long in the hands of *messieurs*.

Process against Gruet's book as it was pronounced. Following the process drawn up in form in the year 1547, in the month of July, before my very dreaded seigniors the syndics, judges of criminal causes of the city, at the instance of seignior, the lieutenant, and of the fiscal officer of this city, for causes standing against James Gruet, as well because of enormous blasphemies against God and mockery of the christian religion, as for wicked conspiracy against the public weal of this city, for mutinies and other sorceries, by him perpetrated and confessed, for which he was condemned and executed, be it known to all: that it has since happened, that in the house of said Gruet next to the roof, in the hearth and dirt-box of said house, a paper book covered with parchment has been found, which but recently has been placed in the hands of justice, and in which, amidst other writing, are contained thirteen leaves written with the hand and letter of said Gruet, against which justice has been demanded by the fiscal officer of this city.—Item, the writing of which has been juridically examined by persons worthy of credit and recognized to be that of said Gruet.—Item, in which book and 13 leaves thus juridically recognised, are contained several blasphemies so execrable, that there is no human creature who must not tremble to hear them, as in general a mockery of all christianity.—Item, and not being only against our holy and christian religion; but also containing renunciation and abolition of all religion and divinity.—Item, and in said book are written enormously damnable, and to the whole world intolerable blasphemies against God, the creator of heaven and earth.—Item, and also specifically and expressly against his son, our Saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost.—Item, and also against the honour and chastity of the glorious virgin Mary, his mother.—Item, and for a commencement of his damnable blasphemies, there is written something against the person and doctrine of Moses, through whom God gave his holy commandments and holy laws to his people, the children of Israel.—Item, and also all the holy patriarchs and prophets comprised in the holy scriptures are by name blasphemed.—Item, likewise there are falso statements and blasphemies against the apostles of Jesus Christ, and the holy evangelists and all the disciples.—Item, and also particularly against the whole of the holy scriptures as well of the Old as of the New Testament.—Item, and also against the whole mystery of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and against all the miracles which he has operated on earth, and particularly against his holy resurrection.—Item and finally: these 13 leaves fully written and completed by said Gruet are quite full of such abominable, horrible, and more than ever man saw or wrote, detestable blasphemies against

the divine power and essence of God and all religion, that one dare not from very horror even read or pronounce them :

Sentence. And we, the syndics of Geneva, judges of all the criminal causes of this city, having seen and heard the prosecution instituted before us by our fiscal officer, and the contents of the book written by James Gruet, who was by our justice justly condemned and executed for his misdeeds in the month of July, 1547, and the recognition of the letter and hand writing of said Gruet, author of this, having been manifested to us by good witnesses worthy of credit, and the whole being heard in detail, said book and writing manifesting to us that this James Gruet wrote enormous, damnable, detestable, and abominable blasphemies against God, his son, our Saviour J. C., and the Holy Spirit, the holy patriarchs, prophets, disciples, apostles, evangelists, the glorious virgin Mary, against all the holy scriptures, against all divinity, and against the whole christian world.

For these causes, and in order that God's vengeance may not remain over us for having endured or dissembled an impiety so horrible, and also to stop the mouths of all those who would excuse or conceal such enormities, and to show them what condemnation they merit, we, sitting in our tribunal in the place of our predecessors, after having taken counsel and advice of our fellow citizens, having God and the holy scriptures before our eyes, saying in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen;—by this, our definitive sentence, which we render in writing, the aforesaid book being here before us, sentence, judge and condemn it, to be by the executor of our justice carried to the place du Bourg du Four, before the house of said Gruet, writer thereof, and there cast and thrown into the fire, till it be burned and reduced to ashes, that the memory of a thing so abominable may perish, and to give example to all the accomplices and adherents, if any such be found, of a sect so infected and worse than diabolical, we commend to you our lieutenant this our sentence, to cause the same to be put into execution. On Friday, May 23d, 1550, this sentence was given and pronounced by N. Claude Du Pan, syndic, and immediately executed.

A singular prosecution this, instituted against stray leaves of wicked purport, which are culled from among the sweepings in order to be invested with the form of a book ! Supposing that Gruet wrote these impious lines, he repented for this, since he had thrown them to the winds and rain. The panegyrists of Calvin say that the law was precise ; that blasphemy and heresy were punished with death, in the Genevese legislation. Undoubtedly ; but if the poet blasphemed, it was in secret ; and God only can punish him in this life and in the next. Gruet was not amenable to any human tribunal. And we are reasoning in the hypothesis, that these thirteen leaves, "found in the hearth and dirt-box," are from the pen of the punished man, whilst, according to Galiffe, "this book was only produced after Gruet's death, and there is nothing to prove that he was its author."*

What a lesson is found in the prosecution and death of the poet ! Let the reformation then boast,—as it did when Farel appeared,—that thought henceforth shall be free. Behold the executioner exhibiting to a child of Geneva, these words, written in the code of the despot :

"Any one contravening this, either in word or WILL, is a rebel against God, and merits grievous punishment."

And the despot, the blessed apostle of Geneva, as he is still termed in our day, pauses not in his course. Blood calls for blood, and he

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* Galiffe, t. III, p. 262, note. The writer adds: The most inexcusable crime of Gruet was, that, on the margin of a copy of Calvin's book against the Anabaptists, page 415, he wrote: "all fudge."

will pour it out profusely. For a moment he is about to leave the street to the libertines, who will not have courage enough to preserve their conquest. He has other enemies to combat : behold him now wrestling with human individuality, in the various religious manifestations which it produces :

With the operation of the reformed word, in the Saxon symbol and its two representatives, Luther and Westphalius ;

With human liberty, in Castalion ;

With the merit of good works, in Bolsec ;

With freedom of thought, in Servetus.

We shall study each of these phenomena in the intellectual life of Calvin, in which an idea of constant aggression, against every idea discordant with his theocratical principles, continually domineers.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE REFORMED WORD IN THE LORD'S SUPPER.

LUTHER. WESTPHALIUS.

LUTHER.

Renewal of the dispute on the institution of the Lord's Supper.—Zurich and Wittenberg.—Calvin vainly essays to reconcile the two churches.—Luther's decree.—Tergiversation in Calvin's language regarding the Saxon monk.—Luther, the Pericles of the reformation and the servant of Christ.—Moritz Goltz, the bookseller.—The Protestant reformed churches have never been able to produce a uniform symbol.

At the death of Zwingle, the church of Zurich was divided into various sects: the Significatives, the Tropists, the Energicals, the Arbanonarians, the Adessenarians, the Metaphorists, the Iscariotists, and the Nothingarians.

The dispute, for a moment tranquilized, was revived again on the slightest historical accident. Melancthon vainly endeavoured to appease his master. Luther declared, that, as long as there remained a drop of blood in his veins, or sufficient ink in his inkstand to fill his pen, he would wage war against the Sacramentarians. In 1543, he wrote to Froschauer, that the Saxon church could not live in peace with the heretical church of Zurich. And in his annotations on Genesis, published the year following, he acted the part of the Eternal Judge, and condemned Zwingle, Ecolampadius, and their adherents, to eternal flames. In the meantime, Zurich remained faithful to the word of its apostle, whom it venerated as a martyr. In honour of the memory of the soldier of Cappel, Bullinger had just published that work which was designated as the song of the swan: * the *Christiana fidei expositio ad Christian. regem*: a singular libel, in which Zwingle caused Hercules himself to chant the hosanna of the blessed in the kingdom of heaven. "A vile olympus," said a Lutheran, "into which I should be unwilling to enter, for fear of being knocked down."† The appearance of Zwingle's book occasioned the Sacramentarians to renew the

* Bullinger, *Hist. Eccl.* fol. 232.

† Lanat, in *Hist. sacram.*—Florimond de Reymond, p. 174.

accusations which they had already circulated against Luther, whom they represented as a soul full of hate, puffed up with pride, adoring only his own inspirations, and nailed to every personal idea like a murderer to his gibbet. Luther's wrath knew no bounds, when he was informed that Leo Judæ, the successor of Zwingle, and some other ministers were labouring at a new translation of the Bible, which, in fact, was published in 1543.

We can understand the indignation of Luther. To touch that translation, which Mathesius regards as one of the most extraordinary miracles of God in favour of his church; to attack that version, in honor of which Pomer had instituted a festival, called *the translation of the Bible!* In vain did Zurich, in defence of its doctors, cite the fourteen hundred passages corrupted by Luther, in the New Testament, and repeat with Bucer, in the dialogue against Melancthon: Martin is unwilling for any one to contradict him, let him have himself adored; Luther laughed at the silliness of his enemies, applauded himself in his glory, and, in the face of all Germany, set himself up as the god of intelligence, of fortitude, and of reason.

The Sacramentarians ironically asked Luther, why, in the new edition of his translation, he had changed thirty-four passages of the Gospel of St. Mathew. They wanted him to tell them, how the Holy Ghost, who had been his Hebrew teacher, had permitted him to commit such gross mistakes;* and they said, as two centuries later did Ph. Odelem: "Show us then Martin's true bible!"† The Sacramentarians this time had the laughers on their side.

Then, between the Saxons and the Zurichers began, not as formerly, one of those rude combats, in which they struck with daggers steeped in the waters of the Linmat and the Elbe; but a struggle, in which they fought with pens. It appeared as if both parties had forgotten how to employ the pen, and had lost the use of that corrosive ink which effected such wonders at Marbourg and at Augsburg.

The Zurichers commenced the contest with a pamphlet, the whole venom of which is in the title: "A summary of the teaching of the evangelists of Zurich, chiefly regarding the Lord's Supper, against the calumnies, the outrages, and the insolence of doctor Martin."‡

But the pamphlet did not correspond with the title; Calvin has given its character perfectly, in styling it "a libel of a fasting child."

Luther did not take up the gauntlet; but hatred still rankled in his breast. Some days previously to his death, he wrote: "Happy the man who has not walked in the counsel of the Sacramentarians, who has not been found in the ways of the Zwinglians, who has not seated himself in the chair of the Zurichers."§

* Cochl. De Act. Luth. 2550.

† Welches dann des Luthers rechte Bibel sey?—In der abgenöthigten Anmerkung über M. J. Christ. Rochs abgewiesenen Indifferentisten, pag. 67.

‡ Wahrhaftes Bekenntnisz der Diener der Kirche zu Zürich, was sie lehren, insonderheit vom Nachtmahl, auf das Schmählen, Verdammnen und Schelten von Doctor Martin Luther.

§ Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilia sacramentariorum, nec stetit in via Cinglianorum, nec sedit in cathedra Tigurinatorum.—Ep. Jacobo Probst, ecclesiæ Bremensis doctori, 17 jan. 1546.

Calvin for a moment flattered himself with the hope of reconciling divided minds, by means of his hermaphrodite system. Farel, who believed in the future success of the Genevese trope, advised his friend to go to Zurich, where his word, sustained by the Holy Ghost, would operate a reconciliation, which Philip of Hesse had in vain tried to effect at Strasbourg. Calvin did not allow himself to be deluded regarding the dispositions of the hostile communions.

“What should I go there to do?” he wrote to his friend; “first, I have not read the pamphlets which have so violently stirred the bile of Luther. I know already what the Zurichers would answer me: they would boast the patience of which they have given proofs, and their efforts to soften down the humours of the doctor. Bullinger himself, in one of his letters, complained, not long since, of the harshness of the Saxon, and told me how conciliating he and his party had shown themselves. It would be necessary to tame Martin; but to say to the Zurichers that they must ask his pardon! It is more to be feared, lest they go and stir up the mud.”*

Calvin is tormented in contemplating this son of Peleus, as he calls Luther, who listens to no advice, and marches upon his path, without fear of thickets and mountains. He would have Luther approximate to Zwingle, and to effect this approximation, he believes in the omnipotence of his *treatise on the Lord's Supper*, which is welcomed no where.

“But of what terrible malady is your Pericles ill?” he wrote to Melancthon. “Whom has he induced to think with him, by all his tumults of words? Let him play his real game of a furious fool. Certes, I revere him, but he does me wrong. And what is most unfortunate is, that no person is found to repress, or even to calm an impetuosity so insolent.”†

The Genevese reformer was still more confidential with Bullinger, because he was acquainted with the dispositions of his correspondent. He has no fear now that his revelations will be abused; he writes:

“I learn that Luther, with his insolent petulance, attacks us all together: I cannot decently hope that you will observe silence; for, after all, it is not just to be treated so badly, and not dare defend oneself. I acknowledge that Luther is a man of fine genius, that he has received extraordinary gifts from heaven, that he has an admirable fortitude of soul, a constancy above all trial, and that to this day he has combated the Antichrist. I have frequently said, that, were he to treat me as an incarnate demon, I would still not the less rank him as a great servant of Christ, but also great for his faults. Would to God he had employed against the enemies of the truth that bile, which he ceases not to pour out against the servants of Christ!”‡

During ten years, the private opinion of Calvin regarding Luther had undergone no variation. Already, in 1538, he was a man of vanity and falsehood, labouring under gross hallucination, an absurd doctor,

* Cavere multo ante oportuit ne camarinam moverent.—Farello, 10 oct. 1544. Manus. Gen.

† Ep. Melanch. 28 jan. 1545.

‡ 25 nov. 1544. Bullingero.

who maintained that material bread is the body of Christ; an insolent opponent of the truth.*

But language changes with circumstances. It happens that Calvin needs Luther's patronage for his book against the Nicodemites; now, the writer's words are sweet as honey; and the Augustinian monk is transformed into a glorious minister of Christ, into a respectable father, whom God illumines with his Spirit.† For the honour of Calvin, they ought to tear up his correspondence; in perusing it, one would imagine himself at Wittenberg at the cradle of the reformation, when Luther writes to Leo X.: "Very holy father, give life, kill, call, recall, approve, reprove, thy voice is the voice of Christ;"‡ and at that very hour, without changing his pen, he completes his libel "on Adam and Christ," in which, with joyous heart, he mocks at the Pope and his thunders.

This morose monk died, bequeathing to Leo Judæ, Calvin, and the Sacramentarians, the following testament, written in his own hand:

"Seeing heresies heaped upon heresies on every side, and that the devil puts neither limit nor term to his rage and fury, in order that after my death they may not be able to make use of my writings to defend the errors of the Sacramentarians, as has already been done by some brainless fellows, corrupters of the supper of the Lord and of baptism; I have desired, before God, and before men, to make my confession, in which, with the Lord's aid, I wish to persevere and present myself before the tribunal of Jesus Christ. Should any one after my death say: If Luther were alive, he would be of another opinion regarding such or such article, because he never gave it due consideration. Let such person know, that then I should be of the same opinion I am now. I have weighed all articles well; I have, time and again, reviewed them in comparison with the holy scripture, all of which I will defend as courageously as I have done the Lord's Supper. I am not drunk, and I treat of nothing inconsiderately. I know what I say, and am aware of the judgment I am to undergo at the advent of Jesus Christ. Let no one, therefore, think that I amuse myself regarding matters of such great importance; the thing important, by the grace of God, I know satan. What would he not do with my writings, since he has dared corrupt the holy scripture?—I say, likewise, of the Lord's Supper; that in it, the true body and the true blood of Jesus Christ in the bread and wine, is eaten and drunk, even though those who give and those who receive it have lost faith, or abuse the sacraments: this is my faith, all true christians believe it, and also the scriptures teach it. What was not explained with sufficient clearness, has been enough expounded in books, that have been published during four or five years past. I beg upright and pious persons to be witnesses of my confes-

* *Neque enim fastu modo et maledicentia deliquit, sed ignorantia quoque et crassissima hallucinatione.... illum fœdissime errare judico.... quis tamen non excuset Zwinglium præ insolenti quam narrant Martini ferocitate?*—Bucero, Genevæ. 12 jan. 1538.

† *Vale, vir præstantissimo, christi minister.* 12 cal. feb. 1545.—See chapter, entitled: *THE LIBERTINES*, under head of *the Pamphlets*.

‡ *Das Büchlein von rechten Verstand, und Adam und Christus sey.*—Witt, 1518.

sion, and implore God to give me the grace to persevere and accomplish the course of my life; and if, in the struggle of death, temptation should force from my mouth anything contrary to this, I disavow it, and by the confession which I make, I protest that such thing can only come from satan: So help me God. Amen."*

Once Luther was sleeping in his tomb, then began the chants of Calvin: the monk of Wittenberg, with lips swollen with bile, is no longer a worthy apostle of Christ; the turbulent Pericles, who became furious in attacking the disciple of Christ, is a champion that has spent his life in destroying the Antichrist.† And why, then, these antilogies? The reason was, that the combat regarding the Eucharist was still raging, and the Genevese reformer, in order to rally the dissident churches of Switzerland, needed to have it believed that Luther, before dying, had become reconciled to some of the teachings inculcated in the book *de Cæna*; because, in order to shelter his head from the attacks of his adversaries, he needed an aureola, made out of the glory which radiated from the name of the Saxon monk.

Protestants would have us believe that, before his death, Luther denied some of his dogmas, and especially his formulary respecting the real presence; they stand in need of this apostasy in order to exalt Calvin. But this is a pleasure which we cannot allow them to enjoy. In default of official testimony, they have culled from an obscure writer an anecdote, which they quote in order to prove that Luther did not regard Calvin as a heretic. We ask nothing better, than to recount this little story.

At Wittenberg, there was a vender of old books, named Moritz Goltz, whose house was the resort of students and professors. One day, and it was the Monday after the *Quasimodo geniti*, doctor Martin had just been lecturing on Genesis, and had left the college surrounded by a group of students, when he paused before the stalls of Moritz Goltz.—Well, said he to the bookseller, what do they think of me at Frankfort? Do they still wish to burn the great heretic, Martin?

—Not at all, responds the bookseller; but here is a little book which comes thence, and treats of the Lord's Supper. Its author is master Johan Calvin, who wrote it originally in French; Nicholas des Gallars has translated it into Latin. It is said, that the author is a young man quite full of science and piety, and that, in this book, he has manifested how your honour has been misled, and also Zwingle and Ecolampadius, regarding this article of the sacrament.

—In verity! cried Luther, laughing, let me see it, then, Moritz, that I may glance through it.

Then Moritz went to the shelves of his shop, and took down an octavo volume, which he presented to the doctor.

Luther seated himself, and began to read with attention the first pages of the pamphlet; then he glanced rapidly over the first chapters

* Luth. in 3 parte de cæna.—Tran. de Fl. de Remond.

† Non dissimulanter testamur eum nos habere pro insigni Christi apostolo, cujus maxime opera et ministerio restituta hoc tempore fuerit evangelii puritas.—Quanta doctrinæ efficaciam hactenus ad profligandum Anti Christi regnum ac simul propagandam salutis doctrinam incubuit!

and the table of contents. When he had done, he returned the octavo to the bookseller, observing :

—“On my faith! Moritz, this is a man of faith and science: had *Œcolampadius* and *Zwingle* treated the question as he does, the dispute would neither have been so long nor so bitter.”

Math. Stoius, then a disciple of Luther, and afterwards a doctor of medicine, has often recounted this anecdote at the court of the *Margrave Albert of Prussia*.*

But what do they wish to prove by this anecdote? That Luther had passed from the Saxon reality to the Genevese trope, and that, seduced by Calvin's argumentation, he had, in his old days, abandoned his cherished symbol, and lamented the ink and anger which he had expended in his dispute with the Sacramentarians? But, before descending into the tomb, he has protested, as we have seen, against the part which they want to make him play. He has really died impenitent, carrying with him into his grave, his impanation, his adamantine necessity, his serf-will, and his anathemas against *Œcolampadius*, *Zwingle*, and the Sacramentarians. If a person were willing to adopt the opinion of certain writers of the Genevese school, he must sacrifice Luther to Calvin, and henceforward regard the Saxon reformer as a renegade from Catholicism, and from the church which he had founded himself.

And how is it, that they do not perceive that Luther's apostacy would not prove the identity of the Genevese and Saxon symbols? In vain would they endeavour to make us believe in the doctrinal unity of the reformed churches, when the worm of the Lutheran sepulchre, crushed by the heel of *Emser*, separated itself into sixty-four different pieces; and old *Ronsard* sang loudly in France :

Comme un pauvre vieillard qui par la ville passe
 Se courbant d'un bâton, dans une poche amasse
 De vieux haillons qu'il trouve en cent mille morceaux,
 L'un dessous un egoust, l'autre près des ruisseaux,
 L'autre sous un fumier et l'autre sous un antre,
 Où le peuple artisan va descharger son ventre :
 Et puis en choisissant tous ces morceaux espars,
 D'un fil il les ravaude et coust de toutes parts,
 Puis s'en fait une robe, et pour neufve la porte :
 La secte de Luther est de la meme sorte.

But the spectacle of those intestine divisions, doctrinal transformations, antilogies, of those prodigies of variations, retractations, and contradictions, does not in the least alarm Protestant historians, who, with great coolness, propound the statement :—That there is unity between the two churches, the reformed and the protestant church, if not of teaching, at least of faith in Jesus Christ. But then we will ask Calvin's last biographer, to explain to us the anger of John of Noyon

* This recital seems to be taken from a German work, entitled: *Ausführliche, wahrhafte und beständige Erzählung vom Sakramentsstreit, durch Christoph Pegel, professor at Bremen, in 1600.* He was a crypto-Calvinist, and is known for his quarrels with the Luthorans, and his book: *Examen Theologiæ Melancthonis cum explicationibus.*—See, *Das Leben Johann Calvins von Paul Henry*, p. 501 and the following, t. II.

against Westphalius, Pighius, and Gentilis, Protestants, who apparently believed in Jesus Christ and in the merits of his blood?

The Protestant and reformed churches can unite in a common hatred against the Catholic church; they can repeat what Luther said:—“Should the Pope cast aside his triple crown, should he descend from his seat, acknowledge that he is a heretic, that he has troubled christendom, and shed innocent blood, we could not regard him as a member of Christ’s communion: we should look upon him as the Antichrist in person.”* But never will Geneva and Wittenberg elevate themselves to a common affirmation, and present us a uniform symbol. They will never deceive us, who have, with our own eyes, beheld the condition of those dissident sects, agitated by rationalism, mysticism, pantheism, deism, atheism, and all those negations, which spring from the principle of private judgment. Do you wish to be acquainted with the two churches: In one, the Lutheran church, a man can call himself a christian after having written the life of Christ as Strauss wrote it; in the other, the Genevese church, one can call himself disciple of Jesus, after having, like M. Cheneviere, written a pamphlet against the divinity of Christ. Strauss and Cheneviere! behold two living witnesses, sufficiently magnificent, it seems to us, to prove the misery of the Protestant principle.

WESTPHALIUS.

Pamphlets of Westphalius.—Dispute with Calvin.—Libels of the Genevese reformer.—Various citations.—Reflections on this controversy.

Calvin did not meddle with the disputations of the Saxon school concerning mere ontological problems; whether, because the fame of them never reached Geneva, or, because he had need to collect all his energies in order to combat the adversaries of the Eucharistic trope, which was attacked by the German Protestants on every side. Some of the theologians of the school of Zurich were overcome by lassitude, such as Bullinger and his disciples, who consented to be reconciled with Calvin. Joachim Westphalius branded this alliance with the stigma of apostacy, and provoked ardent controversies.†

The signal for hostilities was given by the pastor of Hambourg, in a Latin pamphlet, entitled: *Farrago confusanearum et inter se dissidentium opinionum de Cæna, ex sacramentariorum libris congesta.* (Magdeburg). This libel, written with vigour, is sown with personalities and insults most manifest. Opinion hesitated. Then Westphalius published a second libel, more virulent than the first, in which he

* Wenn der Pabst würde seine dreifache Kron weg werfen, und von seinem römischen Stuhl weichen, und öffentlich bekennen, dasz er geirret, und die Kirche verwüestet, und unschuldig Blut veegossen hat, so können wir ihm doch als ein Glied der christlichen Kirchen nicht wider aufnehmen, sondern wir müssen im für den rechten Antichrist halten.—Tisch-Reden, 416, 417.

† Henke, t. III, p. 325. Höninghaus, das Resultat, c. 8

announced, in positive terms, the fall of christianity, if Sacramentarianism were not banished from all the cities which it had begun to infect. The word of the Hamburger was no vulgar word : minds were excited, and war was declared between the Calvinists and the Zwinglians.

At this epoch, a colony of evangelists, assembled at London, under the authority of John de Lasco, debarked on the coast of Denmark, in the midst of a rigorous winter, and received orders from the magistrate to seek an asylum elsewhere. The vessel again put to sea, and the evangelists found armed men to prohibit their landing, at every point at which they desired to debark. At Lubeck, at Rosteck, at Wismar, at Hambourg, orders were given to repulse the heretical vessel with violence, and, beaten by waves and tempests, it went to pieces upon the rocks. Some persons escaped from the wreck with their lives, and, to find pity, were compelled to be silent as to their origin, and especially with regard to the name of John de Lasco, who was accused of having adopted the ideas of Zurich and Geneva.*

The libels of Westphalius were offensive to the Genevese church. Calvin had to intervene for the defence of his dearly beloved daughter. He showed himself full of wrath and hatred. He was not acquainted with his adversary, whom insult stimulated. Westphalius was a skillful colourist, of the school of Luther; by his style, he invested the most vulgar raillery with poetic beauty. He accepted the combat, and published two virulent books against his enemy. What is remarkable in this controversy is, that Calvin, at the very time he was casting bar-room insults into the faces of the pastors of Hambourg, chants his evangelical charity, his dove-like simplicity, and his almost girlish amiability.

“Very fine,” said Westphalius, “I could exhibit certain pages in which thou hast included more than thirty falsehoods, and as many atrocious insults? Each word is impregnated with venom: moreover, as all the world knows, these are but the customary ornaments of thy style.”†

And Calvin replies:

“How could I do otherwise in this, than as the proverb runs: Let a rough ass have a rough rider, that he may not exult too much in his fury.”‡

“True it is that Westphalius bitterly complains of my evil-speaking, and in a manner for me very odious, were there any colour for it. I acknowledge that at times there is a pungent word in my book; but I have used this to serve as a grain of salt, the more that I was displeased to find so little savour in this man, who boasts himself a minister of

* Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, t. IV, 113.

† Possem ostendere aliquas pagellas quæ singulæ contineant plura quam triginta mendacia et convicia. Alicubi verba pene singula suffusa sunt hoc veneno, etc. p. 418, 419.—*Apologia confessionis de cœna Domini contra corruptelas et calumnias Calvinii scripta a Joachimo Westphalo, Ecclesiaste Hamburgensi.* Ursellis., 1558, in-12.

‡ Collection of opuscles, or little tracts of M. John Calvin, in fol. Geneva, 1566.

Against the calumnies of Joachim Westphalius.

the gospel. . . . But, as to thee, I know not what spirit moves thee : for, so much art thou inflated with wind, that if thou dost not, by mouthfuls, cast foam on all sides, it seems that thy stomach is full of it, as if thou didst retain some sad thing which weighed heavy on it.

“ Inasmuch as Westphalius had to deal with a Frenchman, he has brought forward one of my country, in whose person he renders me odious. He says that we have revived anew the heresy of Berengarius. And if thou dost hold this one to be a heretic, why dost thou not forthwith give the countersign, and enter into the Pope’s camp ? But, indeed, we are not to care much in what place thou dost reside, inasmuch as thou esteemest thyself in good favour with the band of Antichrist. Behold a hundred and fourteen horned bishops, in the midst of whom presides Pope Nicholas. These force Berengarius to contradict himself. Thou makest no difficulty to give thy opinion in approbation of their tyranny, as if they had justly condemned some heresy.”

In retracing this struggle between the two most advanced representatives of the reformation, Westphalius and Calvin, we still behold the old parchment bound volume, with its corners eaten away by time, which contains the acts of the dispute. It belonged to a lover of books, who, to enhance its price, ornamented it with the portraits of the two disputants. The head of Westphalius, drawn by a pupil of the school of Albert Durer, floats amid luminous rays, which display this verse of Horace as a motto :

Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

And, to say the truth, the Lutheran champion exhibits no semblance of fear.

Calvin has the physiognomy of the blessed ; nothing is wanting to him but the halo ; the engraving of the Dutch artist, remarkable for its ingenuity, has succeeded to diffuse life over features, which engravers have rarely animated. Below the portrait, are read these four Latin verses :

Angelus e cælo veniat, num scribere posset
Clarius, an melius verba docere Dei ?
Vox tua non hominem sonat, et qui spiritus ex te
Fatur, olympigenos exsuperat genios.

Was this an epigram, affixed to the commencement of his little volume by the lover of books ? In reading some pages farther on, we had no doubt of this.

“ Dost thou hear, dog ! dost thou hear, madman ! dost thou hear, brute !” and similar apostrophes, addressed by Calvin to his antagonist, who, moreover, listens in silence, allows “ the angel who has descended from heaven” to clamour, and rage, and afterwards replies to him :

“ Very holy father, why then dost thou preach to us passive obedience to thy decrees ? Why so many menaces, and a hell ready prepared to burn us, if we obey not thy commandments ?”*

* *Cur obedientiam nobis stricte imperat beatissimus pater ? Cur et nos dam-*

Calvin wanted to remain master of the field of battle. He wrote his "last warning," *Ultima admonitio*, in which insults fall thick as hail. But the ardent Lutheran responded by new pleasantries.

"No, no," said he, "I will not be silent; thy basilisk may vomit on me its venomous drivel, in order to poison me, yet I speak, and I will speak."*

If there be a question in the world, in treating which the writer should seek for mild words, in order to convince his adversary, it is the question of the Eucharist, that sacrament of love. And yet there are no vulgarisms, sarcasms, outrages, with which Calvin's Institutes have not inspired the partisans of the reformation. Beza, in defending the opinion set forth in this book against the Saxon dogma, has imitated his master. He calls Eilmann, the Lutheran minister who advocated the real presence, "an ape, an ass with a doctor's cap upon his head, a dog swimming in a bath, an asinine sophist, an impudent rogue, a sycophant, a polyphemus, a monster, half monkey, half ogre; a carnivorous animal, a cyclops, a papist."†

Let us see whether science, united with an exquisite politeness of style, will meet with favour from Calvin. Will Castalion be more fortunate than Westphalius?

nat pro hæreticis si non obedienter obtemperemus, nisi ut deterritis calamus excidat? Apologetica aliquot scripta magistri Joach. Westphali quibus et sanam doctrinam de Eucharistia defendit, et fœdissimas calumnias sacramentariorum diluit.—Ursellis, apud Nocol. Henricum, 1558.

* Basiliscum suum ita veneno implevisse se putavit, ut facile aspectu interimeret.

†D'Artigny, *Nouveaux mémoires d'histoire*, etc., t. II, p. 163.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CASTALION AND HUMAN LIBERTY.*

Castalion, the type of the learned man of the sixteenth century.—A Poet, Rhetorician, Philologist.—His sojourn at Strasbourg.—Preceptor at Geneva.—Disputes with Calvin.—Is exiled.—Controversy concerning freewill.—Polemics of the reformer.—Calvin's pamphlets.—Calvin accuses Castalion of stealing.—The poet's defence.—Castalion dies from hunger.—His epitaph.

His real name was Sebastian Chateillon. Spon and Leti give, as his place of birth, a little town of Dombes, of which St. Vincent of Paul at a latter period was curé. In his childhood he was fond of reciting, with a tragic accent, verses which fill the mouth, and cause a great noise in their issue from the breast.† One day, when, being alone, he was amusing himself in the actor's art on the banks of the Saone, some person, who was observing the poet, began exclaiming: *Castalio! Castalio!* Chateillon imagined himself transported into Greece, saluted the muse who had just baptised him, and henceforward called himself Castalion.‡

He is the type of the literary man of the middle ages. He laboured twelve hours a day, arose with the sun, sang Greek in the morning, Latin after dinner, and Hebrew in the evening.

As soon as he had attained the age of twenty, he began roaming through Germany, the land of science, securing means of subsistence by vending Virgil or Homer. Purchasers were numerous. Castalion was not difficult to be pleased. He tells us himself, that one of his grandest repasts was black bread steeped in milk. He thus lived upon something less than six cents of our money. In case of need, after having corrected the translation of his pupil, he took a saw and cut wood, or went to the market in search of provisions for his household. Providence reserved for him a life replete with sufferings, which he endured like a philosopher.

In 1545, he published, at Bale, four books of dialogues upon historical passages selected from the Bible. Bale, that ancient city, quite

* Cast. Defensio. Scaligeriana prima. Bayle, art. *Castalion*. David Clément, *Bibl. cur.*

† Poeta et Græcæ plane levitatis Musopatagus.

‡ Quod ego nomen audiens a Musarum fonte Castalio derivatum: adamavi atque amplexus sum, meque omisso deinceps Castellionis nomine patrio, Castalione appellavi.—Cast. def. p. 21.

perfumed with Latin, was filled with wonder; it imagined that Castalion had never lived any where but in the Rome of Augustus. At a later period, Melancthon, on receiving a copy of the Greek poem of Sebastian upon St. John the Baptist, was so delighted, that he began reciting long extracts from it to his auditors of Wittenberg. But for the biblical name of the hero, they would have imagined it some antique fragment brought into Italy by some of those Hellenists, to whom Rome and Venice at that time offered a refuge. Unfortunately, in those days of religious agitation, the muses themselves aspired to be theologians. Castalion's muse imitated the rest; she left the sweet shades of the Tiber, to throw herself into the abyss of predestination. But the poet, so roughly used by God, doubts neither of his goodness nor his mercy; like Catholics, he represents Providence, as an affectionate and tender mother, who has predestined her children only to eternal happiness, while leaving them that free-will, which Calvin and Luther have changed into an inexorable necessity.

On the arrival of Calvin at Strasbourg, Castalion went to visit the reformer, who was delighted with the science of the exile. Then between these two souls began an intercourse, which afterwards was to be troubled with such melancholy contests. Castalion, with his rustic confidence, bestowed upon his friends all the treasures of his skill in languages, and even in medicine; for, in his perambulations through the mountains, the young Bressian had studied botany, and he knew secrets, for the cure of diseases, which few practitioners then possessed. Calvin had rented him a small room, for which Castalion paid his rent regularly.* One day, Calvin having use for his little chamber, dismissed the poet; but the poet soon returned again. The valet of the grand lady, "Miss des Vergers," who had taken Castalion's place, fell sick. He was a native of Dombes; Castalion saved him.

After his recall from exile, Calvin invited Castalion to Geneva, and caused him to be appointed regent of the college. The reformer thought he would find in the poet his former table companion of Strasbourg. But several years had glided by, and the poet had apostatized, and turned theologian. Now, figure to yourself a monk of Cologne, with the learning of Melancthon, and the intemperate tongue of Carlstadt. The regent set to work to study the Bible, which he resolved to translate. While labouring at his version, he became desirous to make a noise like Luther; and, to be more sure of agitating the religious world, he conceived the idea of denying the canonicity of the Canticle of Canticles, which he represented as an indecent idyl produced by the brain of some libertine. The idea was admirable! Castalion considered himself too much of a theologian to submit his manuscript to the eyes of the reformer. Calvin's self-love was wounded. Castalion, who, when the pest was making such frightful ravages, had offered himself to nurse those infected, while the other ministers were concealing themselves, for fear of death,† placed as slight an estimate upon the

* Castal. defensio, p. 26.

† Chatillon, regent, presents himself to be minister of the pest-hospital; several ministers refuse to go there, saying, that they would rather go to the devil. *Fragments biographiques des registres de la ville*, 1 mai, 1543, p. 10.

courage, as upon the theological skill of the Genevese. He sought to be made minister, but was refused: they had denounced him to the consistory. Upon the registers of Geneva, under date January 14th, 1544, we read: "M. Calvin has reported that Bastian, regent of the schools, is a very learned man, but has some opinion, for which he is not fit for the ministry; and, besides, he complains of his salary for the school."

He received the annual sum of four hundred and fifty florins; Calvin, at that time, had double this amount.

The council gave orders to Castalion to content himself with his emoluments, and to exercise greater vigilance over his pupils.

Castalion guessed who was his denouncer, and sought to be revenged.

He asked to have a discussion with Calvin. The council decided that the discussion should take place "between them secretly, not wishing that such things should be published."

In his catechism the minister asked:

"What signifies: he descended into hell?" The child responded: "It means that Christ has not only suffered a natural death, which is a separation of the soul from the body, but also, that his soul has been distressed with wonderful agonies, which St. Peter calls the pangs of death." The minister continued: "And for what reason was this done, and how?" To which the child answered: "Because, inasmuch as he presented himself to God to make satisfaction in the name of sinners, it was necessary that he should feel this horrible distress in his conscience; and even, as if God had been irritated against him, while in this abyss, he exclaimed: My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?"*

Castalion had chosen for his text: He descended into hell, (*descendit ad inferos.*) His rival was teaching publicly, that Jesus had suffered in his soul the pains of the damned. It is said that, in this discussion, the poet was admirable for his logic, his force, and his sarcasm. Another time, when disputing with Calvin, he opened his bible at this passage of St. Paul: "Exhibiting ourselves the ministers of God, full of charity," and from this text he extemporized an exordium *ab irato*, replete with antitheses, which fell like real tongues of fire upon the heads of all present,

"We, servants of God!" exclaimed the regent; "behold the real servant of God, Paul; but as to us, we are the slaves of our appetites, and of our passions. Paul passed the night in watching over his beloved church, and we pass the night in play; Paul was sober, and we are drunkards; Paul was troubled by seditions, and we occasion them; Paul was chaste, and we revel in debauchery; Paul was cast into chains, and we bind chains on those who have offended us; Paul leaned upon the arm of the Lord, and we upon an arm of flesh; Paul suffered, and we torture others."†

The ministers looked at each other, rubbed their hands across their

* Omnes pœnas sceleratorum persolvit, diros cruciatus damnati ac perditii hominis in anima pertulit, omnia irati et punientis Dei signa expertus est.

† Farello, 30 maii 1544. Manus. Gen.

brows, and essayed to disturb the orator, who did not permit himself to be intimidated, but ended as he had begun, and as Calvin says, like a veritable gladiator, who wanted nothing but blood.*

Castalion could no longer remain in Geneva. He therefore abandoned the city, but decked with all the laurels of the combat. He carried with him a certificate, drawn up in very honorable terms, which Calvin had given him. The reformer dreaded Sebastian, and he had reason. Beza has stated, that the regent was obliged to expatriate himself; this is a falsehood. Beza must more than once have heard Calvin repeat, that Sebastian had left the republic voluntarily, without there having been the slightest grounds to reproach him on the score of morals or doctrine.† Danæus represents him as a demoniac, a scurvy fellow, of whom, with God's aid, Geneva was fortunate enough to get rid.‡ He would not have spoken otherwise of a Catholic.

Castalion took refuge at Bale, where the senate appointed him professor of Greek. The poet was forced to resume the monk's cowl. Calvin calumniated him.

On the appearance of a work of Castalion, on predestination, the dispute blazed forth anew.

The theological world was for a long time held in suspense, by the struggle between these two intelligences, which was often intermitted and revived. It regarded the greatest problem of philosophy ever agitated by the schools, and upon the solution of which depended, whether humanity should stand forth, free or enslaved. It was, therefore, a question of moral liberty or servitude.

In opening Calvin's book, we perceive that he comprehended all the importance of the combat; for he wants to slay his adversary, even before he has seized his weapons, and upon the blank page of his libel, he writes: "Reply to a calumniator." From the very beginning of the work, he hides himself in God, in order to ward off the strokes of his antagonist. "The blows which you aim at me," says he, "shall pass through my bosom in order to reach the Eternal Truth;§ and this it is, which forces me to weep."

But Castalion is not like those German monks, who, when too strongly pressed, seek refuge as quickly as they can, under the soutan of Scotus or the mantle of Aristotle; he believes in himself, and only in himself.

"Without liberty, there is no evil, there is no good;|| what, then, becomes of morality?"

—Morality, responds the reformer, is in the will.

Castalion smiles and replies: "But who operates this will; is it God?"

* Fuit omnino sanguinaria oratio.

† Non aliqua vitæ macula, non impium aliquod in fidei nostræ capitibus dogma.

‡ Tanquam spuma, expulso, expurgata est civitas. Danæus, Epist. dedicat. de Hæresi, ad senat. Genev.

§ Hoc tantum doleo quod per latus meum configitur sacra illa æternaque Dei veritas. Calvin., in Resp. ad calumniatoris præfationem.

|| Castal., apud Cal. Theol., p. 629.

Calvin proceeds: "Good results not from the act, but from the thought: pride, avarice, envy, are not in God, but in man. But how does he allow the being, whom he has commanded to follow the way of truth, to sin, how does he nail this being to error? This is a mystery which he has concealed?"*

But Castalion laughed, and exclaimed: "I do not understand thee."

And then Calvin did like Luther, when too closely pressed by Emser:

"Nor do I comprehend, nor do the angels: I adore; and those, who will not humble themselves, are rascals, blackguards, dogs, who bark at virtue."†

After the punishment of Servetus, whose defence Castalion wished to undertake, the contest was renewed, but upon a different arena: the question was, to know whether the reformer had the right to shed the blood of a heretic. Calvin appealed to God, to sustain the privilege of the sword.

In order to destroy the ancient regent, he wrote two libels, in which we meet with full pages of wrath; one of them is entitled: "Response to certain calumnies and blasphemies;" the other is in Latin: "Calumniæ nebulonis cujusdam." They constitute a double rhetorical theme, in which the writer, to vilify his enemy, transforms him into a thief.

Castalion defended himself nobly. This time, it was not merely his reputation as a literary man, but his bread, of which they attempted to rob, not only himself, but his wife and eight children; for, if Calvin spoke the truth, the poor professor of Greek was obliged to leave Bale, and die of famine. Happily, Calvin had lied.

Castalion's reply ought to be noble, its language without violence, its polemics without passion: that is to say, for success, it was necessary for him to avoid resembling Calvin. This was what he had promised.

The humanist first responds to what he terms the *farrago* of the accusation.

"In thy libel, oh Calvin! thou heapest upon me all the insults which thy hate could inspire; I am a blasphemer, a barking dog, an ignorant being, an impudent fellow, an impostor, a debauchee, a charlatan, a blackguard! Thou cryest: May God close the mouth of this satan!‡ But thou forgettest then, Calvin, that thou art the author of the *Life of a Christian*, (*Vita hominis Christiani*), which contains such sage precepts, that a certain person has advised me to write to thee to ask, whether the *Calumnies of a blackguard* and the *Life of a christian*, come from the same pen.§ What then! Did I resemble the

* Deum severe prohibere et vetare constat quicquid est contrarium suo mandato. Cur autem volens errare sinat et arcano decreto errori addicat quem viam rectam tenere jubet, sobriæ modestiæ est nescire. Cal., de Æterna prædestin.

† Hæc mysteria qui non capiunt ea reverenter adorare et admirari debent et exclamare: o altitudo.... sunt improbi et impuri nebulones, blaterones, canes, pietati oblatrantes....

‡ Compescat te Deus, satan.

§ Castal. Defensio, p. 2.

portrait which thou hast sketched of me; was I full of pride, ingratitude, fraud, impudence, blasphemy, and impiety? And if thou didst know all these defects, tell me, then, why, in spite of my repeated refusals, thou and thy friends forced me to accept the regentship of the college of Geneva? How! hast thou selected as teacher for the youth of the city, which thou hast decorated with the name holy, a man, quite covered with vices, though thou didst know me so well? Tell me, then, why that fine certificate of life and morals, which thou didst give me when I voluntarily left the city?*

“Thou reproachest me for the food thou gavest me at Strasbourg! I lodged with thee, it is true, for about a week; after which I was compelled to give up my room to Miss des Vergers, who came to thee with her son and her valet; but I paid thee for what I ate.†

“Thou and Beza! how cordially you do hate me! Whatever evil is said of me, you believe it, or feign to believe it; but of the good, you will believe nothing. Your enemies induce you to accept every thing regarding me they please; you deceive them, as they deceive you, in telling to them a thousand fables of your own invention concerning me.‡ Have you not represented me as a dangerous cabalist, having in his employ a host of valets dispersed through the city and the country; in such sort, that certain Frenchmen, who came from Strasbourg to Bale, expecting to find me like a satrap in the midst of a hedge of satellites, quite resplendent with gold, were greatly astonished to meet but a poor little man, quite needy, humbly lodged, and only thinking of living in peace with all the world. When the magistrates are unwilling to listen to me, you strive to dishonour me, by accusing me of things infamous; you pursue my books with your wrath and your anathemas; you write books against me, and you labour to deprive me of the means of reply.”

Having come to the charge of theft, brought against Castalion by Calvin, the defence continues the same, always calm; but in the professor's reply, there is a revelation of poverty which brings tears from the eyes; and Sebastian aimed not at this effect.

“Tell me, then,” asked Calvin: “Some time ago, with thy harpoon in hand, seated upon the Rhine, thou wast gathering wood to warm thyself at home, didst thou not voluntarily steal what belonged to others?”§

—“And who has told thee this?” answers Castalion, with tears in his eyes: “thy spies have deceived thee. Reduced to the most frightful misery, and not wishing to abandon my translation of the holy books, (for I would have preferred rather to beg from door to door), I took a hook, and went to seek the wood that was floating down the Rhine, and which belonged to no one; this I secured, and afterwards burned

* *Quæro ex te quorum hominum est pueris instituendis præficere hominem, quem tu sceleratum esse scires, idque in ea urbe quam vos sanctam etiam impressis libris appellatis?* Def., p. 18-

† *Castal. Def., p. 26.*

‡ *Def., p. 40.*

§ *Quæro ex te dum proximis annis, tibi harpago in manu erat ad rapienda ligna quibus domum tuam calefaceres, an non te propria voluntas ad furandum impulerit?* Calvin., in *Calumn. nebulonis*, p. 748, *Tract. Theol.*

at my lodgings, in order to warm myself. Is this what thou callest stealing?"*

Poor Castalion! a poet, orator, theologian; acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and yet reduced, in order to warm the fingers which age has begun to freeze, and his poor little children and aged wife, to watch for a morsel of wood, which the tempest has uprooted and cast upon the waters of the Rhine! He tells us himself that, in the morning, when the Hauenstein was covered with dense clouds, he thanked heaven, and waited with impatience for the tempest, in its might, to strew the Rhine with the ruins of the Alpine forests. Did not this wood, the offering of that good God, as he terms him, belong to the poet, as the grain of wheat, which the wind drops upon the highway, is the property of the bird? Calvin, the former friend of Sebastian, was not as charitable as the tempest: in place of sending some bread to his brother, he denounces him to all Germany and France, as a robber! And whilst he was thus leaving the former school-master of Geneva to die of hunger, his table was covered with white bread, made expressly for him by the baker, and which was called the bread of M. Calvin.

And Calvin was amusing himself by railling at the poor old man.

"When master Castalion drinks," said the reformer, "he has the custom, before tasting his wine, to say: *Tu quis es?* (who art thou?) If the wine be tolerable, he replies: *Ego sum qui sum*; (I am who am); If it be excellent: *Hic est filius Dei vivi.*" (This is the Son of the living God.)

But God also abandoned Castalion, who was more unfortunate than the bird of heaven, which has its nest, its foliage, and its pastures. The tempest was silent, the forests of Jura were no longer shaken: not the slightest morsel of wood could he steal from the river, and sell at the city market, if not needed to cook his food! Then, he took a line and went to fish in the river, or a spade to dig in some of those little gardens, with which each house in Bale was ornamented. "I love rather to fish," he said, "for while waiting for the fish, I study."

Castalion died from hunger,† like that little lamp of which he speaks in his Moses, which expired for want of oil. Bale understood the loss it had sustained by the death of Castalion; but it was too late. Even the very earth was not to rest lightly upon this professor, whom misery continually pursued! He had been deposited in the tomb of Gryneus: a tardy homage to so much merit; but a professor of the family of Gryneus caused the tomb to be searched, and was guilty of the impiety of exhuming the body. On that day of profanation, three Polish gentlemen chanced to be passing through Bale, and they remembered that Castalion had been their master, and caused the body to be borne into the grand church. Whilst placing it in its last abode, the Latin muse was engaged in preparing an epitaph for one of her most cherished votaries: and, in this funeral chant, she included the whole life of the poet:

* *Capiebam interdum successivis horis harpagone ligna quæ solet dum exundat Rhenus secum rapta devehere, quibus domum meam calefaccerem. Hoc tu furtum interpretaris. Certo non bonus, neque candidus interpres. Publica sunt illa ligna et primi occupantis.* Castal. Def., p. 12.

† *Mortuus est ex paupertate.* Scaligeriana, p. 45.

Jejunas crebro cœnas et prandia nudo
 Sumere cum parva prole solebat agro.
 Quin etiam urentis quæ posset frigora brumæ
 Pellere, vel tenues rite parare cibos,
 Ex Rheno manibus venientia ligna trahebat,
 Cum gravis ingentes fuderat imber aquas.
 Nec pudor interdum pisces captare sub undis;
 Nec pudor et rastris findere pingue solum,
 Ut charam uxorem posset sobolemque tenellam
 Hinc alere ac sortis damna levare suæ.

Montaigne has offered this learned man a tribute of piety, which we are delighted to recite :

"I learn, to the great shame of our age, that, under our view, two persons distinguished for their learning have died from starvation : Lilius Gregorius Giralduus, in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio, in Germany. And I believe that there are a thousand men, who would have invited them on advantageous terms, and aided them, had they known of it. The world is not so generally corrupt, but that I know a man, who, with great affection, would desire to use the means left in his hands by his friends, as long as fortune will allow him to possess them, to relieve from necessity personages remarkable for some sort of worth, whom misfortune sometimes pushes to extremity, a man, who, at least, would put them in such condition, that, except for the want of good conversation, they would be contented."*

* Essais, liv. 1, ch. 34.

The following is a list of the principal works of Castalio :
 Dialogorum Sacrorum libri IV. Bas., 1545.—Version of the Sybelline verses with notes.—A Latin translation of the Psalms of David, and of the Canticles of the scriptures, 1547.—A Greek poem on John the Baptist, and a Latin paraphrase of the poem of the prophet Jonas, 1548.—A partial translation of Homer, Xenophon, and St. Cyril.—A Latin translation of the XXX. dialogues of Ochino.—Latin version of the Bible, Bale, 1551.—A French translation of the Bible, Bale, 1555, dedicated to Henry II. Theodore Beza pretends that the jargon of Poictou, the grossest of all the jargons of France, would seem less barbarous than the style of Castalio. On the other hand, Richard Simon certifies that an elegant and polished style is found in Castalio's translation, (Hist. Crit. du vieux-Test. t. II, ch. 25).—A Latin translation of the Theologia Germanica, under the name of Joannes Theophilus.—Dialogi de prædestinatione, de electione, de libero arbitrio, de fide.—Defensio translationis Novi Testamenti contra Th. Bezam.—In capit. 9, ep. ad Rom. comment. de prædestinatione et justificatione.—De non puniendis hæreticis, also attributed to Socinus.—Defensio contra Calvinum et Bezam.—Peter Ramus has given the following testimony to Castalio : " Utinam tanti ingenii tamque bonis artibus ac literis eruditi vis illa in hoc unico græcæ professionis argumento versari malisset; nihil mea quidem sententia in isto genere laudis Basilea comparandum habuisset." Peter Ramus, in Basilea, p. 52.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BOLSEC, THE MERIT OF GOOD WORKS.

The pastor Saint-André preaches Calvin's predestination at St. Peter's.—Bolsec attacks the preacher, who is defended by the reformer.—Bolsec is thrown into prison, and interrogated.—His defence.—He is retained in irons.—Interference of the churches of Bale and Berne.—Zurich demands the death of Bolsec.—He is set free, leaves Geneva, and is pursued by the hatred of Calvin.—History of Calvin's life and morals.—Bolsec calumniated.—He is vindicated by Protestant writers.

WHEN Luther, seated amidst a group of Germans of the pure blood, that is, copious beer drinkers, heard the name of the Pope pronounced, his brow contracted, his eye glowed, and his lips were curled with a satanic smile; and then began to fly among the revellers a deafening volley of ridicule, sarcasms, jests, against the Roman pontiff, that is, against the precursor of the Antichrist. During the first years of their joyous meetings, the guests of the Wittenberg tavern, nearly all renegade priests or monks, amused themselves in baptizing the then reigning Pope with the name of Antichrist: among the mountain peasants of Pollesberg, it was an article of faith, that Leo X. was really the man of sin foretold by the prophets. After the death of Leo X., Adrian, his successor, was saluted with the same name. Adrian having descended to the tomb, Clement inherited the cursed title. But then some persons, better acquainted with history, caused the revellers to remark, that, in the space of twenty years, the world had contained three Antichrists: at least too many by two, if we would not accuse the prophet Daniel of falsehood. Then, for a moment, the Pope was nothing but the precursor, the image, or the *mythos* of the Antichrist.

To the Genevese Protestants, Bolsec stood in the same relation as the Pope did to Luther. Drelincourt saddles him with all the sins which a human being can ever carry in this world: he makes of him a blasphemer of the holy name of Jesus, a falsifier, a liar, a simoniac, a man without faith or God.

He opens the pits of the abyss, and, in the midst of dense clouds of smoke, there comes forth, "a wicked wretch, sold to iniquity, visibly possessed by a lying spirit; a monster, more horrible, and more worthy of public execration, than any ever produced by hell; this is Bolsec."*

This wrath can be explained.

* Drelincourt, Défense de Calvin, p. 100 et passim.

Bolsec, like Westphalius and Castalion, seduced by the new language which the reformation spoke in France, had abandoned Catholicism, and sought a refuge at Geneva. There, he went to work, reading the holy scriptures, taking seriously the advice given by Calvin, in his sermons and writings, to study the inspired word. Unfortunately, after a sufficiently long examination, he had modified the articles of his faith, which he had embraced too precipitately, and, upon predestination, he had adopted ideas different from those entertained by the author of the *Christian Institutes*: he had not comprehended Calvin.

One day, in the year 1542, Saint-André, pastor of Jussy, who would not have been able to dust the books of a monk of Cologne, developed this passage from the pulpit, at St. Peter's: "Those who are not of God hear not his word." Chained, like a galley-slave, hand and foot, to the fatalism of his master, the preacher maintained that the soul which God has not regenerated, resists necessarily; that it is nailed to sin, sold irremissibly to death, inasmuch as it does not possess that gift of obedience and submission which the Lord gives only to his elect.

We here behold the logical chain of the doctrines taught in the *Institutes*: Saint-André was repeating the part he had learned.

Now, in the consistory of Geneva, every assistant was allowed to present his objections to the minister who had occupied the pulpit.

Bolsec wanted to speak; and, the service being over, he arose and said:

—"Master, I hold that opinion, regarding the justice of God, to be false and dangerous; it springs from the brain of Valle; it is repugnant to the scriptures, to the fathers, and particularly to St. Augustine."

—"Master Bolsec," responds the minister, "my doctrine is entirely biblical."

—"Twist the scriptures as you please," resumed Bolsec, "if God, for his own pleasure, damns some and saves others, he is a tyrant, and the sinner has his excuse quite ready: he will say that it is not he that is guilty, but the fantastical divinity, which you have created with your own hands."

At these words, a lank, lean figure was seen to arise amidst the groups, which, casting its eyes around the hall, and then fixing them on Bolsec, exclaimed: I accuse thee of calumny and falsehood; for the doctrine of Saint-André is my doctrine. Dost thou pretend that I make God the author of sin?

Then one of the auditors approached Bolsec and said to him: "I arrest thee!" and they cast him into prison. He *had insulted Calvin*.

The ministers assembled, and, in common, drew up seventeen articles, upon which the accused was to be interrogated.

This was a skillfully composed summary of Calvin's dogmatic teaching on predestination, where they constituted, as articles of faith, the servitude of man since Adam's fall, the damnation of a part of the human race, decreed by God even antecedently to the prevision of any demerit, the necessity of sinning, imposed as a law upon a great number of creatures disinherited beforehand, and that of doing good, imposed on some others, who will be glorified without having deserved it:

all the things that have been read in the Christian Institutes, and which at Geneva must be believed, under penalty of no longer belonging, or rather of never having belonged, to that choir of blessed souls imagined by Calvin.

Bolsec, with energy, repudiates this despair-causing and absurd doctrine, falsified by the ideas which God has given us of himself, and by every experience of our intimate sense. According to the view of the philosopher, there may have been inequality in the divine gifts, a greater love for a certain number of elect souls; but towards all, there is a father's love, in all, an entirely free faculty to do good or evil, to be saved through grace, or lost through malice.—Do you deny, said he to his judges, that God warns us by the cry of our conscience, by the maladies of soul and body, by his love and his benefits? And what, then, is this God, who would deceive us thus, who would cause his sun to shine upon our heads, who would spread upon our fields the treasures of his love, who, at each beautiful thought, would cause our hearts to leap with joy? A tyrant, a vulgar tyrant. With your God, having a heart of bronze, who himself impells us to crime, and afterwards laughs at our tears and mocks at our repentance, justice no longer exists upon this earth: and man, coming from the hands of the Creator, is but a bitter derision: better for him had he been left in nothingness.

It was difficult to reply to Bolsec. However, the ministers attempted it, but they involved themselves in the mazes of a terminology, where they lost what modesty and reason they possessed.

Bolsec evidently grew greater, as all these champions of predestination diminished in stature, while vainly tormenting themselves to avoid becoming a laughing stock to the whole theological world.

In prison, he conceived the idea of shifting the question, in order, body to body, to wrestle with Calvin himself. He is admirable in argumentation, when, illuminating that desolating symbol into which the reformer sought to breathe a living soul, he causes to issue forth from it a God, the agent and author of sin! His accusation is brief, sententious, constructed of dilemmas which uphold each other, which present a seried front, and, in their numberless threads, entangle the feet of his adversaries. Calvin needs some means of escape, and he imagines "a will in God, which cannot fail, and an irresistible instinct of sin in man. But man wills, and hence the sin and responsibility. So that, if he do good, it is in virtue of the free will which God gives him by his Holy Spirit; and if he do evil, it is by the necessitating impulse of his natural will, which is tainted by corruption. Miserable sophisms! As if that will, good or bad, were not, according to this doctrine, equally God's work.

The debates were concluded. Bolsec asked to be restored to liberty; but no one having come forward to go his security, he remained in prison, endeavouring to sweeten the long nights of his captivity, by commending himself to the muses, who descended into his dungeon and lulled him to rest; the unhappy man, forgetting theology, imagined himself a poet, and began to sing.*

* M. Picot, in his history of Geneva, gives Bolsec's verses.

Calvin feared that, once the poet was again roused from his revery, he would resume his disputatious habits, and attack the dogma of predestination. He procured that he should be kept a prisoner until advice should be received from the churches of Switzerland, to which the proceedings of his trial had been forwarded. Bolsec, condemned, would have lost his head on the scaffold: this is the opinion of M. Thourel,* who knew Calvin. But happily for the prisoner, Berne and Bale guessed the intention of the reformer, whose dogmatic intolerance had long disgusted them.

Consequently, Berne answered — that care should be taken not to use violence towards disputatious pilgrims; † that if Christ loves truth, he loves charity still more; that Bolsec was neither a wicked nor an impious man; that these quarrels were only calculated to trouble consciences; that care should be taken not to cast them as food before an ignorant people, and that, moreover, the dispute regarded words only.

Bale pursued the same course with Berne, and recommended mildness and silence.

But Zurich preached violence, and clamoured for blood. It wanted the law, which punished the crime of heresy with death, to be applied to the criminal; and yet, thirty years before, Zurich called Zwingle pastor, who had revolted against ecclesiastical and civil authority!

Bolsec soon learned the decision of the Helvetic churches, and then the muses, who had for a moment abandoned him, again descended into his prison, and the theologian commenced to give thanks to God, and to chant his own restoration to liberty.

But Calvin was watching at the doors of the dungeon; he, only, could open them, and he willed that they should stay closed. Then began a struggle, or rather a comedy, between the council and the ministers: the council thought, that full and entire liberty should be restored to the culprit, that no brand of heterodoxy should be put on him, and that he should be allowed to live in quiet at Geneva. Calvin demanded that a sign of infamy should for ever be branded on the brow of Bolsec, that there should be a corporal punishment. They scolded each other. The counselors assumed the air of soliciting mercy for the criminal, pretended to a cold charity and a simulated meekness; Calvin, affected, ends by yielding, and the council rendered the following sentence:

“We, the syndics, in the prosecution of thee, Jerome Bolsec, by the criminal lieutenant; it appears that thou hast, with too great audacity, raised thyself in the holy congregation; thou hast proposed an opinion contrary to evangelical truth; it has been made manifest to thee by the word of God and by the sentence of the churches, that thy opinions are false; thou hast been unwilling to acknowledge it: therefore, thou art worthy of grievous punishment. Nevertheless, we are desirous to act towards thee with mildness, and to commute thy punishment; hence, we banish thee for ever from the territory of Geneva.” ‡

* Hist. de Genève.

† Calvin à Genève, p. 218.

‡ Calvin à Genève, 219.

Bolsec packed up some books, which constituted his library, and the poetical inspirations of his prison, and went away, cursing a city that banished him for having rebelled against a mystery, which the reformer himself acknowledged that he did not comprehend, "nor even the angels of heaven," as he had elsewhere declared.

He was living at Thonon, engaged in his medical profession, when he learned that the question of predestination was again agitated, and that Calvin was labouring to obtain, from the judges of Berne, a decree of exile against him. Then he left his patients, and started for Berne, where he soon arrived. "And while passing on horseback with the postillion, he was perceived by Raymond Chauvet, a companion of said Calvin, who went forthwith to give notice to his friend."* The dispute threatened to be violent; if Bolsec is to be credited, Calvin deserted the arena. But the reformer should not here be accused of cowardice. If he left Berne, the reason was, because the spirit of that city was hostile to the Genevese dogma regarding predestination, and because a dispute on that subject would have been displeasing to the ministers.

Some days after, one of the magnificent seigniors came to implore Bolsec "to evacuate" the Bernese territory.

Calvin had been more skillful than his adversary, upon whom, in the dark, he inflicted a double stroke with the stilet: exile and silence.

Never had man been more bitterly punished for his apostacy than the physician of Lyons. Seduced by the honied word of the reformation, he had believed that it came to bring liberty to fallen man; but, vain soul, and amorous of noise, no sooner have his lips opened to lisp some doubts against the Genevese symbol, than he is cast into prison, humbled, ignominiously chastised! And the one who pursues him with such cruel perseverance, is that young man, whom formerly he beheld, at Paris, hiding himself under the robe of an ancient philosopher, in order to whisper into the ear of Francis I. a few pale words of a dead language in favour of the Lutheran innovators. The trial had been very severe; his heart no longer holds to the illusion; he will re-enter the fold of Catholic unity, sufficiently tried by the reformation to justify a belief in the sincerity of his conversion.

He had seen this reformation, represented, in the temple, by those ministers of whom Calvin exhibits so sad a portrait; in the consistory, by those titled spies, whose denunciations were rewarded by fines collected from the accused; in the pretorium, by that Colladon, who tortured his victims to their last breath; in the councils, by those citizens who had laved their hands in the blood of Gruet; in the doctor's dwelling, by a young man, ready to perjure himself in order to immolate a man odious to the reformer; and in the state, by that theocrat, the living personification of hypocrisy, intolerance, and fanaticism. How could he avoid, with face crimsoned with shame, to return to Catholicism?

But before dying, he wished to write Calvin's life.† When this

* Vie de Béze, par Bolsec.

† Histoire de la vie, mœurs, actes, doctrine, constance et mort de Jean Calvin, jadis ministre de Genève, imp. a Lyon, in 8vo., par Jean Patrasson, 1577.—The work met with great success. It was reprinted the same year by Mallet, at Paris, (Lelong. Bib. p. 78, No. 1741); at Cologne, in 1580. It was trans-

book, for the first time, fell into our hands, we cast it from us as a shameful libel, after we had glanced over the first chapters. All testimony was against Bolsec: Catholics and Protestants equally accused him.* But, after a patient study of the reformer, we are now compelled to admit, in part, the recital of the physician of Lyons. Time has declared for Bolsec; each day gives the lie to the apologists of Calvin. Had they not, up to this day, denied the existence of that letter, in which the reformer, in 1545, prophesied the fate of Servetus, if ever he came to Geneva? That letter has been found again: Bolsec had not lied about it.

Beza has vaunted the meekness and logic of his friend, in the tournament with the pamphleteer; and three centuries later, a voice is heard exclaiming: "I have detected the wrongs of Calvin: Bolsec, in his theological duel, showed himself wise and enlightened."† When Bolsec demands the reformer to account for the blood of Gruet, Beza presents himself to accuse the writer of blasphemy; and to-day, M. Galiffe, after having collected the documents of the prosecution, cries out to Calvin: "It is thou who hast killed Gruet!" and he says the truth. Bolsec evokes, one by one, the souls of those patriots whom John of Noyon put in irons, drove into exile, or hurried to the tomb; and Beza, to every name, ever repeats the same formula: "a falsehood!" But M. Galiffe, in his turn, also awakes those shades, by shaking that dust in which they are slumbering in the archives of the republic; and, like Shakspeare's ghosts, they throng round in funeral array, and each, in passing, howls his cry of reprobation against the reformer. Refuse, if you dare, such witnesses! Who knows? perhaps at length will be found at Noyon that *fleur de lis*, the stigmas of which Bolsec accused Calvin of carrying on his shoulders.‡

We have arrived at the epoch of a literary resurrection: the dead are coming to life again. Drelincourt and Beza had chanted the sanctity of all those pretended evangelical labourers, whom Calvin had invited

lated into Latin, at Cologne, in 1580, and into German, in the same city, in 1581.

* Upon his copy, Bunemann had written: "Bolsec et Rescius sunt nobile par calumniantium, quorum verbis nemo, nisi nullius fidei homo, fidem adjungat."—In the acts of the national Synod, held at Lyons, in the month of August, 1563, we read: "Jerome Bolsec, an infamous liar."—Aymon. *Syn. nationaux*, in 4to., t. I, part. 2, p. 49.—Varillas says of the history of Calvin, that it is written in an extravagant style.

† Calvin a Genève, 219-220.. Picot writes: "The too absolute character of Calvin manifested itself in a striking manner in this quarrel. It is difficult to believe that Calvin well understood the arguments which he employed."—*Histoire de Genève*. t. II, p. 18.

‡ For the examination of this question, which we have not the courage to agitate, consult: 1st. *Ombre de Rousseau à Calvin*, in 8vo, printed at Geneva.—2d. *Discours sur le crime contre nature et la flettrissure reprochés à Jean Calvin par Roisselet de Sauclieres, fils, de Nimes, Montpellier, 1839*; a pamphlet of 107 pages, in which the writer proves that the accusation had been made long before Bolsec: by Surlus, in 1558; by Turbes, under Francis I. and Henry II.; by Simon Fontaine, in 1557; by Stapleton, in 1558; by La Vacquerie, in 1560 or 61; by de Mouchi, in 1562; by Du Preau, in 1560; by Whitaker, before 1570.

to Geneva; but a Protestant hand has shaken the manuscripts of the republic, and one morning, by the light of the sun, rising behind the Saleve, we read these lines by M. Galiffe: "Several of the reformer's colleagues gave grounds for certain scandalous histories, *the details of which cannot be admitted into a work designed for the perusal of both sexes*: I shall be able to publish some of them in Latin for the edification of hypocrites".*

M. Galiffe is as indiscreet as that Lutheran poet, who, speaking of Wittenberg in the first days of the reformation, said:

"Whoever passes through this gate is sure to meet a hog, a student, or a prostitute."†

M. Galiffe's hypocrites are not monks of Cologne, but beings, kneaded out of the clay of Drelincourt, who devoutly believe the story, told by Luther, about the six thousand skulls of new-born infants, found, near Rome, in the pond of a convent.‡

Bolsec himself awakes, after a sleep of three centuries, and comes forth from his tomb to listen to this glorious judgment from the mouth of an adversary:

"Most of the facts, recounted by the physician of Lyons, are perfectly true."§

* Galiffe, Notices, t. III, p. 381, note.

† Komm zu Wittenberg ins Thor, so begegnet dir ein Schwein, Student oder Hure.

‡ Tisch-Reden, p. 464.... Hätte in demselbigen Teiche bei sechstausend Kinderköpfe gefunden.

§ Galiffe, t. III, p. 547, note.

CHAPTER XL.

MICHAEL SERVETUS.—1553.*

“Those who accuse Calvin of having been cruel and sanguinary, should examine themselves, and should name some one against whom this holy man has practised cruelty, and whose blood he has shed.—They reproach him with the death of Michael Servetus, the Spaniard of cursed memory; but this is with great injustice. On this score, not a word can be said against Calvin.”—DRELCINCOURT, *Defence of Calvin*, in 12mo., 1667, p. 282-283.

John Frellon, printer at Lyons, forms Calvin's acquaintance.—Servetus, at Hagenau, writes against the Trinity.—His erratic life.—He arrives at Lyons, and attaches himself to Frellon.—Leaves Lyons, and establishes himself at Charlieu.—Afterwards at Vienne.—Peter Palmier protects Servetus.—The Ptolemy.—The Bible annotated.—Frellon brings Servetus into relation with Calvin.—Questions of Servetus to Calvin.—Disagreement.—Correspondence.—The *Christianismi Restitutio*.—Some quotations from this work.—Calvin denounces the book to the police of Lyons.—Fruitless pursuit of the official of Vienne.—Calvin's denunciation.—Arrest of Servetus.—His flight.—He arrives at Geneva, is denounced, and imprisoned.—His request to the council.—Interrogatory.—Calvin's insults.—Prosecution and death of Servetus.

In the year 1540, at the sign of the coat of arms of Cologne, in the street Merciere, at Lyons, there dwelt one Jehan Frellon, printer and bookseller.† This was the worthy counterpart of Froben, the book-publisher of Bale, who, in the morning, corrected a proof of *Æcolampadius*, and in the evening put to press a manuscript of Erasmus.

Calvin, on his return from Ferrara, had passed by way of Lyons, and bought some new works from Frellon. The street Merciere, was then, as in our days, a long, narrow, crooked street, damp and gloomy,

* L'abbé d'Artigny, *Nouveaux mémoires d'histoire, de critique et de littérature*, Paris, 1749, t. II, p. 55.—Henri ab Allwoerden, *Vita Michaelis Serveti, Helmstadii*, 1728, in 4to.—Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Geschichte des berühmten spanischen Arztes Michael Serveto*, Helmstadt, 1748.

† John Frellon for a long time had his brother as partner. Father Colonia, in the literary history of the city of Lyons, says, that both of them “were attached to the Catholic religion.” But Jehan had an inclination for the new notions, as may be inferred from his connection with Calvin; this is Mosheim's opinion: *Allein unter der Hand war er Reformirt gesinnet und Kalvins starker Freund*, p. 37.

overhung on either side by tall houses, which shut out the sunlight from those who frequented it as purchasers. At the farther end of the store, in which new pamphlets were spread out upon two large oaken counters, there was a chamber which was made to serve alike for eating-room, parlor, and work cabinet. There it was that Frellon kept all suspected books, which he procured, for strangers, from Germany or Switzerland. He would have taken great care not to sell any of them to his fellow citizens, so much dread had he of cardinal de Tournon, archbishop and governor of Lyons, and especially of Mathew Ory, "penitentiary of the Apostolic See, and general inquisitor of the kingdom of France and all Gaul." It appears that Calvin was deceived in regard to the bookseller, and mistook for religious zeal, tendencies that were purely mercantile.

Calvin, at Paris, forgot Frellon. But on returning to Geneva, after his exile, an epistolary correspondence was established between the minister and the merchant. Calvin sent to Frellon heretical books, which, secretly, Frellon sold for high prices; and for which, most of the time, he either paid the reformer nothing or very little: both were looking to the interests of their profession.

At this epoch, Frellon was often visited by a stranger, who was born at Tudelle, in the kingdom of Aragon, and was about forty years of age; a veritable literato of the mediæval ages, quite crammed with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; a physician, theologian, and alchemist: *Michel de Villeneuve*. This was not his real name; when they were alone, Frellon called him, master Michael Servetus. But it is probable that he was ignorant, that his friend was the author of a book published at Hagenau, in 1531, under the title: *De Trinitatis erroribus*;* for Frellon, the merchant, would not, in open daylight, have received a heretic, who, had he been known, would have been imprisoned by the inquisition. This pamphlet is the work of a sectary who had lost his senses, in which the dogma of the Trinity is brutally attacked, and treated as a papistical vision, a mythological chimera, a metaphysical ideality.

At Hagenau, the bookseller, the poet, and the author had been embarrassed by their fears. The work, printed in a hurry, was full of

* Here is the complete title: *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem. Per Michaelem Servetum, alias Reves ab Arragonia Hispanum. Anno MDXXXI, in-8, 119 sheets.* There is no name, either of city or printer: it is a work extremely rare.

In the fifth book are found different passages which prove that Servetus had divined the circulation of the blood. We shall cite two of these.

Fit autem communicatio hæc non per parietem cordis medium, ut vulgo creditur, sed magno artificio a dextro cordis ventriculo; longo per pulmones ductu, agitur sanguis subtilis. A pulmonibus præparatur, flavus efficitur, et a vena arteriosa in arteriam venosam transfunditur: deinde in ipsa arteria venosa inspirato aeri miscetur et expiratione a fuligine expurgatur. Atque ita tandem a sinistro cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per diastolen attrahitur, apta supellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis.

Ille itaque spiritus vitalis a sinistro cordis ventriculo, in arterias totius corporis deinde transfunditur, ita ut qui tenuior est præcipue in plexu sub basi cerebri sito, ubi ex vitali fieri incipit animalis, ad propriam rationalis animæ rationem accedit.

faults. Do you imagine that Michael Servetus, admonished by the cry of indignation which the perusal of his book awakens, is going to repent? You are mistaken. In his advertisement of his dialogues on the Trinity,*—another libel, which, the year following, he published in the same city,—he asks indulgence, not for the blasphemies which he has spread through the *De Trinitatis erroribus*, but for the faults which the ignorance of his proof-reviser allowed to remain uncorrected. He weeps over the barbarisms of his style,† but has not the least chagrin on account of his bold impieties.

Germany, which, since the advent of Luther, seized upon every human teaching, in order to quiet the doubt which devoured it, recoiled, alarmed at the audacity of Servetus. Melancthon was afflicted with sadness, and wrote to the senate of Venice to denounce the follies which sullied the book of the sectary.‡

Then, for the Spaniard, commences a life of torments, struggles, and despair. At Bale, he disputes with Œcolampadius, and leaves that city, exulting in his triumph, and begging his bread upon the highway. Arrived at Strasbourg, his teeth chattering with cold, and not having eaten any thing for the last twenty-four hours, his most pressing business is to hurl defiance at Bucer and Capito.§ The challenge is accepted. They discuss the Trinity, the consubstantiality of the word, which Servetus boldly denies, without dread of the magistrate. Bucer, who had heard Munzer and Carlstadt, is shocked at the language of the stranger, and in place of replying to him, he curses him, devotes him to the torments of futurity, to the vengeance of the judges of this world, and declares that he will never dispute with a demon disguised in human form, and whose bowels ought to be torn out by the executioner.||

The next morning, Michael, quite proud of having excited such a tempest of wrath, and regardless of body and soul, journeyed towards Paris. On the way, the idea seized him of renouncing theology, in order to practice medicine, and some days after, he was studying under Sylvius and Fernel, the two celebrities of the epoch. When he had acquired a sufficiency of science, he took it into his head to make a noise, and wanted to dispute with the faculty. The combat was protracted, and ink flowed in floods. . . . Servetus must have a great victim: he selected Galien. The quarrel grew so fierce, that the parliament had to interfere, and give orders to the physicians to live in peace with the Spaniard.¶

* Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo, de justitia regni Christi capitula quatuor, per Michaelem Serveto, alias Reves, ab Arragonia Hispanum. MDXXXII, in-8.

† Quod autem ita barbarus, confusus et incorrectus prior liber prodierit, imperitiæ meæ ac typographi adscribendum est.

‡ Melancthonis Epistolæ, 1539.

§ D'Artigny, p. 60.

|| All the historians speak of a dispute with Capito: we do not comprehend this. Capito was an Anti-trinitarian himself, as is proved by Sandius, in his *Bibliotheca antitrinitariorum*. Freistadii, 1684, in-8vo.

¶ Servetus published at Paris: Syruporum universa ratio ad Galeni censuram diligenter exposita: cui post integram de concoctione disceptationem, præscrip-

Servetus then turned professor of astrology. Students flocked to hear him in crowds. He foretold the future. One day, he announced to his auditory that, on the following night, Mars would be eclipsed by the moon, and that this occultation indicated a general conflagration, the death of potentates, the ruin of the church, pests, and other things, "*et alia.*" The faculty of medicine, through the ministry of M. Segulier, had Servetus summoned, and injunction was laid on the astrologer, as "on all those who meddle with making almanacs, not to speak and write *de eventibus rerum externarum*, who ought to be satisfied with writing and speaking only *de ordine rerum naturalium*.*

Disgusted with medicine, and still more with physicians, Servetus threw himself, body and soul, into the geographical sciences, which they were then beginning to cultivate. Bilibald Pirckheimer, that diamond of Germany, according to Periander, *gemma soli teutonici*, had quite recently (1525) published a Latin edition of Ptolemy. It is this work that Servetus revises, elucidates, arranges, and desires to present to the Parisian world: but, among the publishers of the capital, he does not find conditions sufficiently advantageous, and negociates with a printer of Lyons, where his Ptolemy appears in 1535.

His wanderings recommence. This man, whom doubt harrasses, finds rest nowhere. On his way to Lyons, his star guides him to the house of John Frellon, who, finding the stranger a man of science, attaches him to his printing office, in quality of proof-corrector. It would have been a lucky thing for Frellon, had Michael Servetus, who knew every thing, even to the cabalistic art itself, loved repose and quiet. But his erratic fancy struck her tent almost as soon as it was erected; ever dissatisfied with God, with men, and with herself, being like that Athelstan of the German poet, who is seeking for happiness in the clouds, when it would have been so easy for him to find it in his own heart.

After a few days sojourn at Lyons, Servetus embraces his friend Frellon, embarks on the Rhone, and lands at Avignon, the city of the popes. Soon again his vagabond whim seizes him: he returns to Lyons, and there, like the swallow, remains one whole summer; and, the winter having arrived, he goes to build his nest at Charlieu, a little city adjacent, where he resumes the practice of medicine.

In this little town, which, like Tudelle, his own Aragonese city, was crowned with mountains, verdant in spring, and cool during summer, it would seem that he was happy. Bolsec has written: "This Serve-

ta est vera purgandi methodus cum expositione aphorismi: concocta medicari. in-8, 1537. Reprinted at Venice in 1545, at Lyons in 1546.

* Segulier, for the rector and University of Paris, and the dean and faculty of medicine in said city.—Lefebure, for the dean and rectors in the faculty of medicine.—Marthac, for Villanovanus.—The decree runs: Prohibition and defense to all printers to print an almanac and prognostications forbidden by the divine and canonical constitution, and the said court has ordained, and does ordain that all the ephemerides and prognostications of this year shall be taken and seized, wheresoever they shall be found, and shall be brought to the clerk of said court. Done this 8th of March, 1538. Cited by Boulay: *Historia academiæ Parisiensis*, t. VII, p. 321; contra astrologiam judicariam.

tas, who was arrogant and insolent, as those certify who knew him at Charlieu, dwelt there near Rivoire, about the year 1540; being forced to leave there on account of his extravagances, he withdrew to Vienne in Dauphiny.* What extravagances? Bolsec does not inform us. Perhaps Servetus was merely obeying that impetuous passion for moving, which drove him hither and thither, like another wandering Jew. Since he had abandoned truth, it was necessary for him to keep marching: this was his chastisement.

It was at Lyons, and not at Vienne, that the unhappy man sought refuge. As he was entering that city, his eyes were attracted by a figure in violet robes: he once more beheld Peter Palmier, archbishop of Vienne, whom he had known at Paris: a noble prelate, who was fond of patronizing the votaries of learning, and whose purse had so frequently been opened to Michael de Villeneuve, as Servetus called himself. Henceforward, Michael had an assurance of repose for his declining years: the prelate gave him lodgings in his palace at Vienne.

Blessings never come singly. Beside the archiepiscopal palace, stands the printing office of Gaspard Treschsel, who had been attracted to Vienne by the liberal patronage of Peter Palmier. This establishment, managed by a skillful man, is rich in Greek, Hebrew, and Roman characters. What more could be desired by the Spanish pilgrim? While speaking with the prelate, he dreams of a second edition of his Ptolemy, long since exhausted, and which he will dedicate to his Mecenas. Already he even arranges in his brain a fine Latin epistle, in which shall be read:—"Princes, who command the world, must be acquainted with the world;"—an allusion to Francis I., who so generously opened an asylum to the muses. "And this knowledge is useful to those, who like you, have, in quality of ambassador, visited the different states of christendom."—A beautiful eulogy, which the man of learning addresses to the prince of the church.†

The very morning after their interview, Servetus takes passage on the barge of Vienne, a miserable bark, which, in those distant times, as in our days, plied daily between the two cities. Servetus, in the spirit of a Roman poet saluted the hospitable city, whither he was going to find such sweet leisure, such warm friends, and such ardent sympathies. At Vienne, and at Lyons, he had soon won all hearts; for, a man of the world, he knew how to please and to gain affection.

But soon the demon of vanity came to visit him in his new country. Servetus could not resist the temptations of his enemy. He neglected his patients, in order to attend to that dogma of the Trinity which he was solicitous to overthrow. His Ptolemy had made its appearance, with the dedication to the archbishop, and had won for him abundant

* Vie de Calvin, p. 9. Ed. de 1664.

† The Ptolemy met with great success in the learned world. But the friends of Servetus never forgave him for an adulatory correction of a text of the first edition. In his description of France, speaking of the gift possessed by the king to cure the king's evil by a simple touch, he had at first said: "I have seen the king touch a great number of sick. Were they cured? This is what I have not seen." The reflection savoured of Rabelais. Servetus, in his revision, wrote: "Have they been cured? I have been told, yes."

eulogies. But he wanted noisy honours; the laurels of Calvin would not permit him to sleep. Therefore, to work! the work of an annotator. Hugues de La Porte, another publisher of Lyons, was then preparing a Latin Bible, for which Servetus undertook to write notes. For his labour, La Porte gave him five hundred francs. The Bible appeared, says Calvin, with "impertinent" marginal notes.* Servetus was a rationalist, who rejected the prophetic sense of the holy books.

He had known Calvin at Paris. Both had agreed to enter into a disputation on theological subjects; the judges of the tournament were selected. If we are to credit Beza, the Spaniard's courage suddenly gave way, and he dared not come to the rendezvous. Beza affirms, that he failed through cowardice; † Servetus, from dread of the lieutenant: the excuse is sufficiently good. Calvin did not spare him, whom he termed a "paltry disputer." Servetus had, since then, read the *Christian Institutes*, "a badly composed book," he said, "without originality, unworthy of the noise it has made in the world;" and he longed to measure himself with the author.

Chance came to furnish him the opportunity. Frelon brought him into relation with the reformer. At first, Servetus proposed certain doubts to the Genevese minister, in the form of questions:—Is the man, Jesus, who was crucified, the Son of God, and what is the reason of this filiation?—If the kingdom of Jesus Christ (the church) be established on earth, how does a person enter it, and how is man regenerated?—Must the kingdom of Jesus Christ be received by faith, like the Lord's Supper, and why these institutions in the new alliance? ‡

Servetus was playing the part of the tempter; but Calvin had divined the ruse. He responded with a self-importance which displeased the physician. Servetus, in his reply, assumed the tone of a master. Calvin no longer restrained himself, but treated his correspondent as a mere pupil. From that moment, their epistolary correspondence was but an interchange of insults, after the fashion of the literati of the epoch. The reformer did not disguise his hatred of Servetus. "If ever he come to Geneva, he shall not go thence alive," did he write to Viret; "this is my fixed resolution." § Servetus was not so wicked. He amused himself with joyous heart over the system of predestination

* *Traité théologique*, p. 826. Genève 1576.

† *Histoire des Eglises réformées de France*, t. I p. 14.

‡ I. An homo Jesus crucifixus sit filius Dei, et quæ sit hujus filiationis ratio?

II. An regnum Christi sit in hominibus; quando quis ingrediatur et quando regeneretur?

III. An baptisma Christi debeat in fide fieri, sicut cœna, et quorsum hæc instituta sint fœdere novo?

§ Servetus cupit huc venire, sed a me accersitus. Ego autem nunquam committam ut fidem meam catenus obstrictam habeat. Jam enim constitutum apud me habeo, si veniat, nunquam pati ut salvus exeat. Bolsec adds: The letter of said Calvin has come into my hands, and I have exhibited it to several honourable persons, and I know where it is still. We shall speak of another letter to Farel.

Bolsec had seen that addressed to Viret, and the superscription of which was: *Eximio Domini nostri Jesu Christi servo Petro Vireto, Lausann. Ecclesiæ pastori, symmystæ charissimo.*

and the logic of the Christian Institutes, and laughed at the *free necessity* invented at Geneva, in order to explain the sin of the first man; but he would not have touched a single hair of Calvin's head. He is a man of bad judgment, but good heart. To-morrow, if he meet the reformer, he will shake hands with him. What proves how little gall there was in this soul, is, that he was unable to comprehend that Calvin had given over writing to him. He complains of the reformer's silence. Frellon asks an explanation of Calvin, whose answer was not long delayed.

"Seignior Jehan, as your last letters were brought to me at the moment of my departure, I had not leisure to reply to their contents. Since my return, I avail myself of the first leisure I have, to satisfy your desires; not that I have great hope to benefit such a man in the least, perceiving what are his dispositions; but to essay if there shall be any means to reclaim him, which will happen only, when God has so operated in him, that he becomes another man. Because he wrote to me in so proud a spirit, I wished somewhat to abate his pride, speaking to him more harshly than is my custom. But I could not do otherwise. For I assure you that there is no lesson for him more necessary than to learn humility. This will come to him from the Spirit of God, and not otherwise. But we also should lend a helping hand. If God accord this favour to him, and to us, that the present answer should benefit him, I shall have occasion to rejoice. If he persevere in a style such as he has used hitherto, you lose time in urging me to exert myself for him, for I have other duties, which are more pressing. And I should make it a matter of conscience to attend to them, persuaded that he is but a satan, coming to distract me from other more useful reading. And yet, I pray you, be contented with what I have done; if you behold no improvement. Whereupon, after having, with sincere heart, recommended myself to you, I beseech our good God to keep you under his protection. This XIII. February, 1546. Your servant and devoted friend, Charles Despeville."

The address is: "To sir Jehan Frellon, bookseller, residing at Lyons, in the street Merciere, at the sign of the coat of arms of Cologne."

John Frellon immediately sent Calvin's answer "to his brother and friend, master Michael Villanovanus, doctor of medicine at Vienne," with the following letter:

"Dear brother and friend, the reason why a response has not sooner been sent to your letter, you will discover from the enclosed, and be assured had it been sooner received, I should not have failed to send it by an express messenger, as I had promised. You may be certain that I wrote to said person, and do not think that it was from my failing to write: however, I think you will now be as well contented as if it were sooner; I send you my man, express, in default of having any other messenger; if there be other things that I can do for you, you will always find me at your command, and ready to serve you. Your sincere brother and friend, Jehan Frellon." And on the envelope: "To my good friend and brother, Michael Villanovanus, doctor of medicine, be this present delivered at Vienne."

Servetus prepared his revenge; a large octavo volume of 700 pages,

at which he laboured four years, and in which the Trinity is not better used than the reformer.* At Bale, Marrin, the bookseller, had been seized with fear. After having glanced over a few pages of it, he sent back the manuscript.

Another person would have been discouraged, and then have returned thanks to Providence. Servetus rushed upon death. At that time, Vienne was a commercial and literary city. In it, were several fine printing establishments; among others, that of Balthazard Arnollet, directed by his brother-in-law, William Gueroult, to whom Servetus brought his manuscript. Arnollet and Gueroult perused it. It treated of theological matters which it was impossible for them to comprehend. They looked at the author, without replying. Servetus interrupted the silence: "It is a book," said he to them, "which I have written against Calvin and Melancthon, but to which I do not want to put either my name, or that of the city, or that of the printer. I will pay expenses and correct the proofs. And, besides the price of printing, I will give a hundred dollars, as a bonus." Arnollet and Gueroult allowed themselves to be taken in the snare; and, three months after, in the beginning of 1553, the work was completed. They had struck off eight hundred copies, of which Servetus made six packages; five with this address: "Let the present bales be sent by direction of M. Michael Villeneuve, doctor of medicine, to Peter Merrin, type founder, near Notre Dame de Comfort, at Lyons;"† the sixth, to M. Jehan Frellon, bookseller, in the street Merciere; who was to forward it to that vast depot of the sixteenth century, for heretical books, Frankfort on the Mein. Frellon, curious, opened the package and took out several copies, which he hastened to transmit to Calvin. This indiscretion was to cost Servetus his life.

In perusing some lines of the thirty letters of the ninth book of this work, one comprehends the wrath of Calvin. Servetus has taken Luther for his model. You will not find in it merely,—as some have said, because they never read the work,—irony, sarcasm, and sometimes gross peals of laughter; but the style and imagination of an artist. In his

* *Christianismi restitutio, totius Ecclesiæ apostolicæ est ad sua limina vocatio, in integrum restituta cognitione Dei, fidei christianæ, justificationis nostræ, regenerationis, baptismi et Cœnæ Domini manducationis, restitutæ denique nobis regno cœlesti, Babylonis impiæ captivitate soluta, et antiehristo cum suis penitus destructo.*

This work is divided into six parts:

I. De Trinitate divina, quod in ea non sit invisibilium trium rerum illusio, sed veræ substantiæ Dei manifestatio et communicatio, libri 7. The two last in form of dialogue.

II. De fide et justitia regni Christi legis justitiam superantis et de charitate, libri 3.

III. De regeneratione et manducatione superna et regno antiehristi, libri 4.

IV. Epistola XXX ad Joannem Calvinum Gebennensium concionatorem.

V. Signa LX regni antiehristi et revelatio ejus jam nunc præsens.

VI. De mysterio Trinitatis et veterum Disciplina, ad Phil. Melancthonem et ejus collegas apologia.

The volume forms 734 pages in 8vo.

† Interrogatory of Peter Merrin, extracted from the archives of the bishopric of Vienne. D'Artigny, p. 117.

thirty epistles, he has condensed, in a few pages, the most graphic refutation ever made of the Calvinistic fatalism. And at the conclusion of his reasoning, he throws into his adversary's face, this contemptuous phrase :

“Yes, in Cain and the giants, who were animated by a divine breath, there remained a potent liberty, capable of mastering sin, therefore it is in thee, unless I be speaking to a mere stone or block of wood.”*

In the twentieth letter, Servetus confronts the scripture and the church, and defends authority against the mere letter, as Prierias, master of the sacred palace, would never have dared defend it.†

Sometimes, as we have seen, he takes his inspiration from Luther, and treats Calvin as the Saxon monk did Tetzél; but Calvin was a more wily foe than the Dominican.

The Genevese fox had been long watching his prey: it came to throw itself into his clutches.

Among the French refugees who were at Geneva, was a man named Trie, who, having been guilty of some misdeeds at Lyons, had fled to escape the consular justice. Trie had given himself out for an evangelist, concealing himself from the persecution of the Catholics, and had obtained some aid from the reformer. This refugee had a cousin at Lyons, a merchant, and a good Catholic, Anthony Arneys, who wished, at every cost, to win back the strayed soul to the bosom of the church. There was an active correspondence between the two cousins. Trie exhibited the letters of Arneys to Calvin, who dictated the answers. It is Trie, who is to denounce Servetus. The ruse is admirable. Not a line of the letter of the poor merchant should be lost; he speaks theology like one who has devoted his whole life to the study of it.‡

“Monsieur, my cousin, I thank you greatly for so many beautiful remonstrances which you have made me, and doubt not that you are actuated by sincere friendship, when you try to bring me back to the place I have left. Though I am not, like you, a man versed in letters, I undertake to satisfy you regarding the points and articles which you allege. So much is there in the knowledge which God has given me, that I have plenty to reply; for, God be thanked, I am not so poorly grounded, but that I know that the church has Jesus Christ for her head, from whom she cannot be separated, and that she has no life of salvation, and cannot at all subsist, except in the truth of God, which is contained in the holy scriptures. Wherefore, I shall hold all you shall be able to allege to me concerning the church as a phantom, if Jesus Christ do not preside therein, as having authority, and the word of God does not reign in it, as the substantial foundation; without this, all your formalities are worth nothing. I beg you to reflect, that the liberty

* In ipso Cain nequissimo et in gigantibus ex insito et ab origine inspirato deitatis halitu, supererat libera vis aliqua et dominium in peccatum, teste Deo. Ergo, in te quoque superest, nisi sis tu saxum et truncus. p. 638.

† *De Ecclesiæ potestate.* Ejus potestas quamvis occultetur, supra omnes mundi potestates, adeo ut angeli et dæmones ei pareant. p. 652.

‡ D'Artigny has discovered the correspondence in the archives of the archbishopric of Vienne.

I use towards you, is not only to sustain my cause, but also to give you occasion to think better within yourself. But, to be brief, I am astonished how you dare reproach me, among other things, that we have neither ecclesiastical discipline nor order, and that those who teach us have introduced a licentiousness which causes general confusion: yet, God be thanked, I perceive that vices are better corrected here, than they are under the rule of all your officials. And as to doctrine and the concerns of religion, though among us there be greater liberty, nevertheless, they do not suffer the name of God to be blasphemed, nor bad doctrines and opinions to be spread abroad, without endeavouring to repress them. And I can adduce an example to your great confusion, since I must say so. It is, that with you, a heretic is maintained who well deserves to be burned, wherever he shall be found. When I speak to you of a heretic, I mean a man who will be condemned by the papists as much as by us, or at least who ought to be. For, although we be different in many things, yet hold we in common, that there is only one essence in God, that there are three persons, and that the Father has begotten his Son, who, before all time is his eternal wisdom, and that he has had his eternal virtue, who is his Holy Spirit. Now, when a man shall say, that the Trinity, which we hold, is a cerberus and monster of hell, and shall vomit forth all the villainies, which it is possible to imagine, against every thing that the scripture teaches us concerning the eternal generation of the Son of God, and that the Holy Ghost is the virtue of the Father and the Son, and shall scoff, with beastly mouth, at every thing the ancient doctors have said, I pray you in what place and esteem will you hold him? I say this to obviate all the replies you might make me, that you would not regard as error every thing we say is such: what I tell you, you not only confess to be error, but detestable heresy, tending to subvert all christianity. I must speak frankly. What a shame is it that they put to death, those who shall say that we are to invoke one only God, in the name of Jesus Christ; that there is no other satisfaction, save that which was made in the death and passion of Jesus Christ; that there is no other purgatory, save in his blood; that there is no other service agreeable to God, but that which he commands and approves by his word; that all pictures and images, which men counterfeit, are so many idols that profane his majesty; that the sacraments ought to be kept in such use as has been ordained by Jesus Christ; besides, they are not satisfied with simply putting such persons to death, but they cruelly burn them? Yet, behold one who will call Jesus Christ an idol; who will destroy all the foundations of faith; who will scrape together all the dreams of the ancient heretics; who, even, will condemn the baptism of little infants, calling it a diabolical invention; such a person will have full swing with you, and he will be borne with, as if he had not defeated your zeal. I pray you, where is what you pretend, where is the police of this fine hierarchy which you magnify so much? The man of whom I speak has been condemned in all the churches which you reprobate. Yet is he suffered amongst you; even allowed to print his books there, which are so full of blasphemies, that I need say no more of them. He is a Portuguese Spaniard, named Michael Servetus, as to his real

name, but he calls himself at present Villeneuve, and plays the part of physician. He has lived for some time at Lyons, and now is at Vienne, where the book of which I speak was printed, by one Balthazard Arnollet, who there has established a printing establishment. And, that you may not imagine that I speak from rumour, I send you the first sheet, as a sample. You say that books, which contain nothing else than that we should adhere to the simplicity of the holy scriptures, poison the world; and if they come from other places, you cannot tolerate them; and yet you hatch there, poisons designed to annihilate the holy scripture, and even all that you have of christianity. I have, as it were, forgotten myself, in recounting this example, for I have been four times as long as I intended; but the enormity of the case makes me exceed due measure, and for this reason I shall not say much to you upon other topics. As also, in fact, it does not seem important to respond to you in regard to each article. I shall merely entreat you to enter more deeply into your conscience, to judge yourself, that when you shall be summoned before the Great Judge, you may not be condemned. For, to say all in one word, our only debate is, that God may be heard. Wherefore, coming to a conclusion at present, I shall beseech him to give you ears to hear and heart to obey. In the mean time, may he hold you under his holy protection, and I recommend myself, with sincere heart, to your good favour, and that of my cousin, your brother. Geneva, this XXVI. of February, 1553."

Calvin, as you perceive, knows every thing and tells every thing, even to the very name of the printer. And yet, as if, after such very formal indications, he still feared not to be understood, he adds to his letter the title and first four leaves of the *Christianismi restitutio*. Lieutenant Morin, about whom Beza made such a noise, would not have been more adroit.

Now, it is for the police to do its duty, and it goes to work promptly.

The letters of Calvin, and the detached leaves of the book of Servetus, are placed in the hands of Mathew Ory, the inquisitor, who commissions Benedict Buatier, official of St. Paul, to examine the affair. This having been done, they gave information of the matter to cardinal de Tournon, who was then at his chateau of Roussillon, at some leagues distance from Vienne. This was on the 11th of March, 1553.

On the 12th, Mathew Ory denounces the libel, the printer, and the author to the sieur de Villars, the cardinal's auditor.

On the 13th, Benedict Buatier leaves Lyons to visit his lordship, the cardinal.

On the 15th, the cardinal sends his two general vicars, Buatier and Louis Arzellier, with a letter to M. de Maugiron, "knight of the order, and lieutenant general for the king in Dauphiny." The cardinal demands prompt and due justice.

On the 16th, Louis Arzellier and Anthony de la Cour, vice bailiff, by order of Maugiron, call on the sieur Peyrollier, chief official. Benedict Buatier gives his deposition.

It imported: "That about fifteen days since, certain letters had been received from Geneva, addressed to a person living at Lyons, from

which it appeared that, at Geneva, they were greatly surprised, that a certain M. Michael Servetus, alias, de Villeneuve, a Portuguese Spaniard, was here tolerated, in face of reasons more fully specified in said letters : that from said Geneva had been received four leaves of a book composed by said Villeneuve; that M. Ory, inquisitor of the faith, having examined them in the presence of himself, (Buatier), had become assured that they are heretical, and had written, in consequence, to the sieur de Villars, auditor of his lordship, cardinal de Tournon; that said deponent was also there present, when the cardinal, having sent for the general vicar of Vienne, recommended to him and charged him to give orders for the verification and correction of the above, and wrote concerning it to his lordship, de Maugiron, to aid therein, and send for the vice bailiff, in order that consultation might be had, and measures taken, the most promptly possible."

On the same day, the general vicar, the vice bailiff, the secretary of Maugiron, make a visit to the house of Villeneuve: they search his papers, but discover nothing, except some copies of his apology against the physicians of Paris. They interrogate Servetus, who responds in the most unconcerned manner; William Gueroult, who denies every thing; the journeymen printers, who know nothing about it. They had to give up further pursuit.

But Mathew Ory does not allow himself to be discouraged. There is a heretic, and he must ferret him out. Behold the stratagem which he devises:—Arneys shall write to his cousin of Geneva, to forward to him the complete volume of the *Christianismi restitutio*. Ory dictates the letter.

Poor inquisitor! the Genevese reformer understands the matter better than thou. When thou shalt have obtained the complete book of Michael Villeneuve, what wilt thou do with it? The title page displays neither the name of the author, the name of the printer, nor the name of the city. Shouldst thou show it to Servetus, he would say: I am not acquainted with it.

Patience! Calvin will come to the aid of Mathew Ory. "Here are two dozen pieces written by the hand of the person in question, in which some of his heresies are contained; he will not be able to deny his handwriting."

And Calvin set to work to search his correspondence, and to rummage the letters he had received from Servetus, for the one in which the anti-Trinitarian doctrine is defended in the same terms, with those of the *Christianismi restitutio*.

But Servetus replies:—Master Mathew this is, in fact, my writing, but these are propositions maintained in the epistolary form between Calvin, "whom some called a learned man, and myself, *sub sigillo secreti*, (under seal of secrecy), and after the fashion of a disputation, to see if he would be able to shake my opinion, or I his."*

Wait a moment, Calvin is rich in autographs: "Here are two leaves printed on both sides, with writing on them, in which Servetus teaches various heresies."

* Voyez dans l'abbé d'Artigny l'interrogatoire de Servet.

—But this book, printed in Germany, responds the physician, is from a person of the name of Servetus, a Spaniard, and, besides, I know not from what part of Spain he is, and also, I know not where he lives in Germany, except that I have heard said that he is at Aganon (Hagenau).

Mathew Ory becomes impatient.—This Servetus, the Spaniard, who is he?

The reformer answers :

“This Villeneuve, at present physician at Vienne, is no other than Servetus, alias, Reves, who has been driven away by the churches of Germany, to whom Œcolampadius has addressed various letters with this title, which belongs to him : *Serveto Hispano neganti Christum esse Dei filium consubstantiali patri*, and about whom Melancthon has spoken in many passages of his epistles. As to the printer, there are two of them, Balhasard Arnoullet, and William Gueroult, his brother-in-law. The work was printed at the expense of the author, and the book issued from the shop of Vienne.”

Would not a person call this a romance? here are two letters of Calvin, which, by chance fell into the hands of the inquisitor.

“When, my cousin, I wrote to you the letter which you have communicated to those who, in it, were taxed with indifference, I did not imagine the matter was to be pushed so far. My intention was only to show you what is the fine zeal and devotion of those who call themselves pillars of the church, though they suffer such disorder in their midst, and yet so rudely persecute the poor christians, who desire to follow God in simplicity. As the example was remarkable, and I was aware of it, it appeared to me that the occasion was opportune for touching upon it in my letters, as appropriate to the subject I was treating. But, inasmuch as you have manifested what I thought myself writing to yourself alone privately, may God deign profit thereby to purge christendom of such filth, nay, of such deadly pestilence. If they have been pleased to exert themselves for this, as you inform me, it appears to me that the thing is not so very difficult, though I be not able to furnish you, as you request, the printed book : for I will put in your hand more to convict him, viz : two dozen pieces written by the hand of the person in question, in which some of his heresies are contained. If the printed book were brought before him, he could deny it, and this he cannot do in regard to his handwriting. Wherefore, the persons of whom you speak, having the matter clearly proved, will have no excuse, if they dissemble longer, or neglect to look to it. All the rest is indeed here, as well the large book as the other tracts, written by the hand of the author ; but I will confess one thing to you, that I have had great difficulty to obtain from M. Calvin what I send to you ; not that he is not anxious that such execrable blasphemies should be suppressed, but because it appears to him to be his duty, since he has not the sword of justice, rather to convict heresies by doctrine, than to pursue them by such measures ; but I have so importuned him, manifesting to him what reproach of levity might be made me, if he came not to my aid, that at length he has consented to give me what you will see. As to the rest, when the case shall be brought into good

train, I hope, with time, to recover from him a ream of paper or thereabouts, which is what this fellow has caused to be printed. But it seems to me that, for the present, you have a sufficient pledge, and that now there is no necessity for more, in order to seize upon his person, and institute proceedings against him. For my part, I implore God to be pleased to open the eyes of all those who speak so badly, that they may learn to judge better of the desire which animates us. And since, from your letter, it appears that you are unwilling to entertain further the proposal you before made me, I dismiss it also, in order not to trouble you, hoping, nevertheless, that God at length will cause you to perceive that I have not hastily embraced the party to which I hold, commending myself to your kind favour, I pray God to keep you under his protection. Geneva, this 26th of March."

The second letter is still more important, and it reaches Mathew Ory in a manner equally mysterious.

"I trust, my cousin, that I shall, in part, have satisfied your demand, by sending you the handwriting of him who has composed the book, and even in the last epistle, which you have received, you will find what he declares about his name, which he had disguised, for he excuses himself for having caused himself to be called Villeneuve, though his name be *Servetus, alias Reves*, saying that he has taken his name from the city in which he was born. As to the rest, I will, if God please, keep the promise, that, should there be need, I will furnish you the tracts which he has caused to be printed, which were written with his own hand, as well as his epistles. I should already have taken the trouble to secure them, had they been in this city; but for the last two years, they have been at Lausanne. Had they been in the possession of M. Calvin, I doubt not, for all they are worth, he would have sent them back to the author; but as he had also addressed them to other persons, these have retained them. Nay, from what I have formerly heard, the said gentleman, having answered what should have been sufficient to content a reasonable man, and having seen that this was of no use, in regard to such a work, did not deign to read the rest, because already he was too much annoyed by the foolish reveries and babbling, which the other merely reiterated, ever singing the same song. And, that you may know, that it is not now for the first time that this wretch endeavours to trouble the church, trying to seduce the ignorant into the same confusion with himself, twenty-four years since, he was rejected and driven from the principal churches of Germany, and had he been found in the place, never would he have left it. Among the letters of *Æcolampadius*, the first and second are addressed to him, with this title, which belongs to him: "*To Servetus, the Spaniard, who denies Christ to be the Son of God, consubstantial with the Father.*" Melancthon also, in some passages, speaks of him. But it seems to me that you have an easy task to furnish proof from what I have already sent you, not only to commence the whole, but to push the matter forward. As to the printer, I do not send you the grounds upon which we have concluded that the work was printed by Balthazard Arnoullet, and William Gueroult, his brother-in-law; but we are well persuaded of this; and in fact, it cannot be denied. It is very

possible that it will have been done at the author's expense, and that, with his own hands, he will have received the copies; but you will certainly find that the impression came from the office which I indicate. Inasmuch as the messenger requests to be despatched quickly, having, besides, presented your letters very late, for fear, as I believe, of being solicited to do well, I have made my answer brief, and I beg you to excuse haste. It appears to me that I forgot to write to you, that, after you shall have made what use you please of the epistles, you would not lose or destroy them, but return them to me. Here I will conclude for the present, ever commending myself to your kind favour, without forgetting my cousin, your brother, being rejoiced that God has blessed him with issue, as you write to me. Also, I desire to be recommended to all the family, praying God to direct you by his Holy Spirit, to do what may be agreeable to him. Geneva, this last of March."

Servetus is now in the hands of ecclesiastical justice: Mathew Ory must perform the functions of his office; the laws of the country require it, and he has no means of evading it. But, thanks to Calvin, the inquiry, the interrogatory, the re-examination of the criminal, the proof of the crime,—all these things will take but a moment. Whilst preparations were in progress for the commencement of the prosecution, Servetus was confined.

In the prison, there was a garden, with a platform, whence a person could leap into the court-yard of the pretorium, the door of which was always open. What bungling jailors were these inquisitors, who placed Servetus in a prison, open on every side, left with him his servant, aged fifteen years, and ordered that he should be treated "honestly, and according to his station!"* In our days, justice would take other precautions: she would not allow the sum of three hundred crowns to be given to the accused, as was done by the grand prior. Let an angel now come to liberate him: one appears, having assumed the features of the only daughter of the vice bailiff, a child of fifteen, whose life the physician had saved, and who, with clasped hands, and weeping, succeeds in softening the heart of her father. The vice bailiff gave orders to the jailor to shut his eyes, and he was obeyed. Perhaps, also, and this is believed at Vienne, Peter Palmier favoured the escape of the prisoner.

He shall be free; may God guide and reclaim this poor silly man, to whom we are indebted for one of the most beautiful ascetic books, possessed by Catholicism,† whose brain has been injured by the perusal of the pamphlets of the reformation, and who, like Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin, wanted to become the head of a sect, from a love of glory. He said to himself: "Carlstadt and Zwingle have attacked the real presence; Ecolampadius and Capito have made war on the sacraments of the church; Calvin has blasphemed the divine foreknowledge; I will attack the Trinity, and the world will talk about me." This

* D'Artigny, p. 100.

† The *Thesaurus animæ Christianæ*, which Servetus published under the name of Desiderius Peregrinus, at first in Spanish, and which since has been translated into Latin, French, Flemish, and reprinted a thousand times.

world, which, as yet, had only reached the edge of the abyss of rationalism, was afflicted with sorrow, and it abandoned Servetus.

On the 7th of April, then, at four o'clock in the morning, with a night-cap on his head, and concealing his hat and doublet under his morning-gown, Servetus asks the jailor for the key of the garden, and obtains it. He has soon leaped from the platform, scaled the wall, traversed the palace court-yard, and reached the gate of the pont du Rhone. Whither shall he now direct his steps? It is his plan to go to the kingdom of Naples, and there live by the practice of his profession. But, whether because he dreaded to fall into Catholic hands, or feared to inquire his way, he takes the route for Switzerland, instead of that to Piedmont; and after about three months of traveling, alarms and sufferings, he enters Geneva, on the 15th of July, and stops at the tavern *de la Rose*. He had already spoken to the hostess, and given her commission to procure for him a barge to transport him to a point, whence he might easily reach the road to Zurich; but, the lake being in commotion, his departure was delayed to the next day. What kept Servetus at Geneva on this and the following days? This has never been known.

On the 13th of August, the chanter, followed by a syndic selected by Calvin,* presents himself at the lodgings of the stranger, arrests him, and conducts him to prison. Servetus was making preparations for his departure. The person who denounced him was an infamous being, formed from the same clay with that Nicholas de Trie, whose acquaintance we have made. He was called Nicholas de la Fontaine, former cook for the family de Falaise.† Calvin called him "my Nicholas."‡ In the Genevese legislation, the denouncer had to give himself up as prisoner, and submit to the penalty of the Talion, or law of retaliation, in case he had lied: this was done by Nicholas. The judges assembled, and the accusation was produced, containing thirty-nine articles upon which he desired Servetus to be interrogated. These thirty-nine articles, drawn up by the reformer, were selected here and there from the writings of the prisoner: the *block* and *stone* of the *Christianismi restitutio* had not been omitted.

Servetus responded calmly. His judges were entirely unacquainted with religious matters. La Fontaine had accused the Spaniard, "that, in the person of M. Calvin, minister of God, in the church of Geneva, he had, in a printed book, defamed the doctrine which is preached, pronouncing all the insults and blasphemies which it is possible to invent." But when Servetus had demanded that these insults and blasphemies should be specified, the valet, embarrassed, knew not what to answer.

* Tandem huc malis auspiciis appulsum unus ex syndicis, me auctore, in carcerem duci jussit.—Calv. ep. ad. Sulzerum. 9 septemb.

Nec sane dissimulo mea opera consilioque in carcerem fuisse conjectum.—Ref. err. Serveti, p. 187.

† Is famulus fuit aliquando coquus nobilis cujusdam nomine Falesii.—Hist. de mort Mich. Serveti. Mosheim, 448.

‡ Nicolaus meus ad capitale judicium pœnæ talionis se offerens ipsum vocavit.—Genevæ, 20 aug. 1553. Cal. Farell.

On the 16th, the interrogatory was resumed, but this time in presence of the ministers, whom the judges had called to their aid. Servetus, on beholding Calvin, could not repress a shudder of terror: the session was stormy. If we must credit the reformer, Servetus there developed and defended pantheistical ideas. Calvin, scandalized by these doctrines, was unable to restrain his wrath!—How then, wretch, he exclaimed; if every thing be God, this pavement which we trample under foot is also God?—Yes, undoubtedly, replied the Spaniard, this floor and every thing that we behold around us, is but the substance of the Divinity!—So, then, resumed Calvin, the devil would be God?—And do you doubt of this! murmured the prisoner, smiling.*

Servetus desired an arena where he could, at leisure, hurl his thunderbolts of wrath into the face of Calvin. On the open field, he loudly accused his enemy, called him calumniator, spy, informer, and man of blood.—He has in such sort pursued me, he exclaimed, that it depended not on him, that I have not been burned alive. He added:—that Calvin had several times insulted him, and even by printed books.†

On that day, and during the entire duration of the prosecution, Calvin mounted the pulpit in order to insult his enemy.‡ In his prison, they had left him paper, pen, and ink; but its doors were closed against all who might have had either the pity or courage to visit the heretic.

For La Fontaine's counsel, Calvin had selected Germain Colladon, a fiery apostate, a bloodthirsty man, who often discharged the double office of jurist and hangman's valet. The books of Servetus were in Latin, and not one of the judges understood that language.§ Colladon chose the passage which he translated before the accused, who had been unable to obtain counsel. On the 16th of August, Colladon and La Fontaine asked to be allowed to read various writings of Melancthon and Ecolampadius, regarding the doctrine of Servetus, who vainly protested against the reading of them.

They opened the Ptolemy, published at Lyons, and edited by Servetus, and Colladon commented on the passage, where "the holy land is represented as a sterile country, in opposition to the account of Moses, who boasts of its fertility." "An atheistical speech," repeated the judge.—Listen to the response of Servetus: I have done nothing but translate; it is Ptolemy who is the atheist.

You imagine, perhaps, that this is unanswerable. Calvin speaks: "I was very glad," says he, "to stop the mouth of this miscreant, and I asked him why he had endorsed the labour of another? and so much was this vile dog confounded by such pressing reasons, that he could only snarl, and say: let us proceed, there was no harm in this."||

* Si quis pavementum hoc calcando se Deum calcare tuum dicat, an non te pudebit tantæ absurditatis? Tunc ille, ego vero et scamnum hoc, et quicquid ostendes, Dei substantiam esse non dubito.—*Refut. err. Serveti*, p. 703.

† Interrog. Mosheim, 157.

‡ Ipse eum in carcere absentem quotidianis concionibus ad populum inviosissime traduxit, etc.—*Contra libellum Calvini*, p. 25.

§ Sicuti Genevenses magistratus ex opinione Calvini Servetum judicarunt, ipsi ignari totius rei, quippe homines illiterati.—*Contra libell. Calvini*, p. 62.

|| *Traité théologiques*, p. 346.

They passed to the examination of the Bible. They interrogated the accused upon the fifty-third chapter of Isaias, the prophetic sense of which they charged him with having perverted, by attributing to Cyrus what regards Christ, "as to the effacing of our sins, and the bearing of our iniquities."

"To which the said Servetus responded, that the principal is to be understood of Jesus Christ; but as to the history and the literal sense, it must be understood of Cyrus, and that ancient doctors have given to the Old Testament two significations; viz: the literal and mystic sense."

Calvin pressed the accused:—"Vere languores nostros ipse tulit; dolores nostros ipse portavit; afflictus est propter peccata nostra:" Truly he hath borne our griefs; he hath carried our sorrows; he was afflicted for our sins: The blackguard, says the reformer, continued obstinately to behold in these prophetic words concerning Christ, nothing but his king Cyrus!*

The dispute upon the Trinity was long and animated. Servetus admitted three persons in God, but to personality, he gave a signification very similar to that given it by the ancient Sabellians. In his opinion, the *hypostasis* represented a quality, and not an entity. With all the energy of his soul, he repelled the blasphemy which they attributed to him, in a comparison of the Trinity with the head of Cerberus.†

If, in the unity of the Divine nature, there be not three realities or persons, what then is Christ?—The man Jesus, responds Servetus, is called the Son of God, because he is composed of the three elements which are found in God,—fire, air, and water; which, moreover, are only in God in the condition of ideas, as are all other substances. And he proceeds to explain his philosophic system, in which God, the universal essence, absorbs all bodies, is the fountain and principle of every thing that exists, the whole and part, commencement and end; who is not diffused through existence by fractions, but reposes therein in all his plenitude.

La Fontaine demanded his liberation,‡ according to the terms of the law: the tribunal accorded it, as Calvin had foreseen.§

In the interrogatory of the 21st of August, the dispute again turned upon the Trinity. In the mean time, Servetus had time to collect a host of texts from the writers of the primitive church, to prove the orthodoxy of his doctrine. Calvin brought forward a passage from Justin, which was to settle the question. "But," says the reformer, "Servetus did not know Greek! Seeing himself thus caught, he began to exclaim: Give me a Justin *in Latin!* And how is this? I said to him, there is no Latin translation; what, then, dost thou not understand Greek, and pretendest to be perfectly acquainted with Jus-

* Calv. Refut. errorum Serveti, p. 703.

† Calv. Refut. err. Serveti.

‡ Dismissus est e carcere Nicolaus die tertio quum frater meus se sponse-rem dedisset: quarto absolutus est.

§ Auctor ipse tenetur in carcere à magistratu nostro et prope diem, ut spero, daturus est pœnas.—Calv. Eccles. Francoford. Pastoribus S. D. Genevæ, 6 cal. sept. 1553.

tin! Where, then, are all those fine testimonies with which thou ex-testest thyself to overwhelm me?"

Servetus, "a paltry scholar, who is not even acquainted with the alphabet of his own language!"* Observe that, in order to publish his Ptolemy, he had to collate a large number of Greek and Latin manuscripts, a fact well known to the reformer; and further, that in his theological writings, he frequently quotes the Septuagint, and for the explanation or illustration of passages of the New Testament, he searches Greek writers not yet translated. But Calvin then had never opened the *Christianisimi restitutio*? On the title page of the book, there is an epigram in two languages: Greek and Hebrew.

Servetus was conducted back to prison. If we shall credit the author of the *Contra libellum Calvini*, they resolved to cause the unhappy man to die amid the torments of the torture; the instrument was already prepared, but Peter Vandel, one of the members of the council, threatened to reveal the crime, if it were accomplished!†

Servetus, who had faith in the justice of men, had addressed the following supplication to the magnificent seigniors:

"Michael Servetus, accused, humbly supplicates, setting forth, that it is a new invention, unknown to the apostles and disciples of the ancient church, to institute criminal prosecution for the doctrines of the scriptures, or for questions antecedent to them. This is manifest, first, from the Acts of the Apostles, chapters 18 and 19, where such accusers are dismissed and sent to the church, when there is no other crime but questions of religion. Likewise, from the time of Constantine the Great, when there were great heresies of Ariens, and criminal accusations, as well on the part of Athanasius, as of Arius, the said emperor, by his counsel and that of all the churches, decreed that, according to ancient doctrine, such accusations should not have place, even when there should be a heretic such as Arius was. But that all their questions should be decided by the churches, and that whoever should be convicted or condemned by these, and was not willing to return by repentance, should be banished: which punishment has been, at all times, observed against heretics in the ancient church, as is proved by a thousand other histories and authorities of doctors. Wherefore, my lords, according to the doctrine of the apostles and disciples, who never permitted such accusations, and according to the doctrine of the ancient church, in which such accusations were not allowed, the said supplicant begs that the criminal accusation against him be dismissed.

"Secondly, my lords, he begs you to consider, that he has never offended on your territory, or elsewhere, and has neither been a disturb-

* Atqui græcum sermonem nihil magis legere quam puer alphabetarius potuit. Tunc se turpiter deprehensum videns, stomachose latinam translationem sibi dari petiit.—Ref. Err. 703.

† Idem facere probabant Genevenses Serveto, si verum audivi. Cum enim de libro et de omni veritate sua sponte confessus esset, admotus est insuper ad gehennam, sic vocant illi patrio sermone tormentum, et excarnificatus esset, nisi intercessisset Petrus Vandalus senator et idem Calvino summus inimicus: ut intelligatis eos qui sunt paulo clementiores non posse esse Calvinii amicos.—Contra Calv. lib., p. 63.

er nor a seditious person. For the questions, treated by him, are difficult, and addressed only to learned persons. And during the whole time he was in Germany, he never spoke of these questions to any but Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Capito. Also, in France, he has spoken of them to no man. Besides, he has ever reprobated and reprovèd the Anabaptists, who were seditious against the magistrates, and desirous of making all things common. Therefore, he concludes, that, for having brought forward certain questions of the ancient doctors of the church, he ought in no wise for this to be molested and detained by a criminal accusation.

“Thirdly, my lords, inasmuch as he is a stranger, and unacquainted with the customs of the country, and ignorant how to speak or proceed in trial, he humbly supplicates you to give him an advocate, who may plead for him. Doing this, may it be well with you, and may our Lord prosper your republic.

“Done in your city of Geneva, August 22, 1553.

“MICHAEL SERVETUS, de Villeneuve,
“*In his own cause.*”

The judicial tribunal being in session on the 23d of August, the lieutenant read thirty questions, which he was about to address to Servetus; they regarded his family connections, his literary relations, and his travels.

They asked him: “If he has been married, and if not married, how, in his virility, he has been able so long to refrain from marrying?”

Servetus replies: “That he has never married, *quia impotens erat, quum ex una parte ablatus, ex altera ruptus esset.*”

They wish to know why, in his writings, he has declaimed so violently against Calvin.

Servetus excuses himself, maintaining that Calvin’s language has been greatly more violent.

On the 27th, he reappeared before the tribunal for the last time. They required all the intervening period to prepare a reply to the supplication of the accused. The response was the work of Calvin: it is brief, dry, and dogmatic.*

Servetus said: “Secondly, my lords, he begs you to consider that he has never offended, on your territory or elsewhere, that he has neither been a disturber nor a seditious person.”

The judge replies: “That the heretic is not like the disturber, that his crime troubles society, which has the right to punish him any where he is found.”

Servetus resumes: “but, at least, my lords, inasmuch as I am a stranger, and ignorant of the customs of this country, and how to plead, you will allow me an advocate who will speak for me.”

They answer him, that a heretic is outside the pale of the common law.

And the interrogatories recommence. This time, they proceed to scrutinize the private life of Servetus, to find some folly of his younger years, some scene of debauchery, some grand infraction of the sixth

* Act. Jud. MSS.

commandment. The lieutenant wants to discharge the physician's office; he seeks to find out whether the accused has not represented himself incorrectly, and asks him, *ubi absolutus fuit hic impotentiae casus*, and he is not satisfied with the answer: "When I was very young." He wants to know whether, in him, the flesh never has been rebellious.*

Servetus answers: Never.

And the lieutenant pursues the matter:

—In joking with the hostess of la Rose, you said to her that there were "plenty of women, without marrying."

—"Truly," said Servetus, "I made that speech, and joked in order to create an impression *quod impotens non eram*, for I had no reason to let it be known.

What magistrates! what a tribunal!

In the mean time, fear or remorse had seized some of the judges. In order to renew their courage, they requested Calvin to furnish a formal refutation of the errors of Servetus.

The minister employed nearly fifteen days in this work: his letter to Sadolet had cost him only a few hours labour. In the mean time, the unhappy Spaniard lay upon straw, devoured by vermin. On the 15th of September, he addressed a new supplication to his very dear signiors: his letter, after the lapse of three centuries, still has the power to cause tears to flow.

"MY VERY HONOURED SEIGNIORS,

"I very humbly entreat you to be pleased to abridge these long delays, or liberate me from this prosecution. You perceive that Calvin is at the end of his devices. Not knowing what to say, he, for his own gratification, seeks to keep me in prison, that I may rot here. I am devoured alive by lice; my breeches are torn, and I have no change of doublet, and no shirt, but a very mean one. I had presented to you another supplication, which was drawn up according to God; and to defeat it Calvin has alleged Justinian. Certes, he is unfortunate in citing against me what he does not himself believe. This is a great shame for him, and still greater, because now have elapsed five weeks that he has kept me here strongly imprisoned, and never has brought forward a single passage against me.

"My lords, I had also demanded of you a lawyer or advocate, as you had allowed to my opponent, who did not need one so much as I do, since I am a stranger and ignorant of the customs of the country. Nevertheless, you have allowed one to him, and not to me, and have liberated him from prison before the cause has been investigated. I request my case to be transferred to the council of the Two Hundred, together with my supplications; and if I can appeal there, I do appeal, protesting for all expenses, damages, and interests, and for the *pæna*

* Zu welcher Zeit er denn so gebrechlich geworden wäre, wenn man ihn geschnitten, wenn er den Bruch, über den er klagte, bekommen habe? Die Antwort war: er wisse dieses so eigentlich nicht, doch mogte er ohngefahr fünf Jahr alt gewesen seyn, da ihn dieses Unglück betroffen hätte.... Ob er niemals Unzucht getrieben habe? Sie ward kurz mit Nein beantwortet.—Mörsheim, p. 182.

talionis, (law of retaliation) as well against the first accuser, as against his master, Calvin, who has made the cause his own.

“Done in your prisons of Geneva, this 15th of September, 1553.

“MICHAEL SERVETUS,
“*In his own cause.*”

Tiberius would have been softened. The council desired that a shirt and some linen should be given to Servetus, but Calvin opposed it, and he was obeyed.* It is not a Catholic who says this.

Then the unhappy man, bewildered in mind, seized a pen, and drew up the articles upon which he wished to be interrogated :

1. If, in the month of March past, he (Calvin) caused a letter to be written to Lyons by William Trie, full of things about Michael Villanovanus, called Servetus. What are the contents of the letter, and wherefore ?

2. If, with said letter, he sent the half of the first form of the book of said Servetus, on which were the title, the index or table, and some of the commencement of said book, entitled : *Christianisimi Restitutio*.

3. If all this were not sent to be exhibited to the officials of Lyons, to have the said Servetus accused, as actually happened.

4. If, about fifteen days after said letter, he sent immediately, through the same Trie, more than twenty epistles in Latin, which said Servetus had written to him : and sent them in consequence of the request of those persons, that the said Servetus might the more surely be accused and convicted, as in fact followed.

5. If, afterwards, he have not heard that, because of said accusations, the said Servetus has been burned in effigy, that his goods were confiscated, and that he would have been burned in person, had he not made his escape from prison.

6. If he be not well aware that it is not the office of a minister of the gospel to be criminal accuser, or to prosecute a man to death in a court of justice.

My lords, there are four great and infallible reasons why Calvin should be condemned.

The first is, because matters of doctrine are not subject to criminal prosecution, as I have shown you in my supplications, and as I could more amply prove by the ancient doctors of the church. Wherefore, he has greatly abused criminal justice, and sinned against the office of minister of the gospel.

The second reason is, because he is a false accuser, as the present inscription shows to us, and as will be easily proved by the perusal of my book.

The third is, that, by frivolous and calumnious reasons, he seeks to oppress the truth of Jesus Christ, as shall be manifested to you by reference to our scriptures, into which he has introduced great falsehoods, and most wicked things.

The fourth reason is, that, in great part, he follows the teaching of Simon Magus, contrary to all the doctors that ever were in the church.

* Galiffe, Notices généalogiques, t. III, p. 442.

Wherefore, magician as he is, he ought not only to be condemned, but he ought to be exterminated and rooted out of your city. And his goods ought to be adjudged to me, in recompense for my own, which he has caused me to lose, for which thing, my lords, I entreat you.

Done, the above day, 22d September.

MICHAEL SERVETUS,
"In his own cause."

No answer was returned to his petition. He again wrote to his judges :

Very honoured seigniors,

I am detained under criminal prosecution on the part of John Calvin, who has falsely accused me, saying that I have written :

I. That souls are mortal ; also,

II. That Jesus Christ took from the Virgin Mary, only the fourth part of his body.

These are horrible and execrable blasphemies. Among all heresies, among all crimes, none is so great as to make the soul mortal, for, to all others, there is hope of salvation, but not to this. Whoever says this, does not believe that there is a God, and admits neither justice, the resurrection, Jesus Christ, the holy scriptures, nor any thing else, holding that every thing perishes, and that man is one with the brute. Had I said this, and not only said, but publicly written it, to deceive the world, I would condemn myself to death.

Wherefore, my lords, I demand that my false accuser be punished by the *pœna talionis*, and be detained a prisoner like myself, till the cause be defined by death to him or myself, or some other penalty. And to effect this, I inscribe myself against him, under the said law of retaliation. And I am satisfied to die, if he be not convicted, as well of this as of other things, for which I shall arraign him. I ask of you justice, my lords, justice, justice, justice.

Done in your prisons, September 22d, 1553.

MICHAEL SERVETUS,
"In his own cause."

Ever the same silence.

And still once more Servetus cries out in behalf of that body, which they abandon to "miseries," that he dares not even name.

Magnificent seigniors :

For the last three weeks, I have been desiring and entreating you to give me a hearing, and have never been able to obtain one. I beg you, for the love of Jesus Christ, do not refuse me what you would not refuse to a Turk, who asked you for justice. I have some very important and necessary things to say to you.

As to what you had ordered, that something should be done to keep me clean, no attention has been paid to it, and I am in a worse condition than ever. And, besides, the cold torments me greatly, because of my colic and rupture, which brings upon me other miseries, which I should be ashamed to describe to you. It is extreme cruelty that I have not even permission to go out to remedy my necessities. For the

love of God, my lords, give orders for this, or else from pity or a sense of duty.

Done in your prisons of Geneva, October the tenth, 1553.

MICHAEL SERVETUS.

Always, the same silence.

On the 21st of October, the tribunal assembled: the deliberations lasted during three days. Some of the judges, but these were few in number, were of opinion, that the punishment should be imprisonment; nearly all decided for capital punishment. The kind of death remained to be determined: death by fire obtained the majority. At first, Ami Perrin had affected to be sick, in order, at the day of judgment, not to have to answer for the blood of Servetus; but this blood at length clamoured so loudly, that Ami arose from his bed and came to the council.

Calvin has dared cast a stigma on this glorious action.

“Our tragic comedian,” he writes, “after having feigned to be sick during three days, came to the council, in order to save this wretch, and blushed not to demand that the case should be called before the council of the Two Hundred; but the sentence was rendered without controversy.”*

“The sentence having been passed, with the advice of the ministers of the churches, they handed over the said accused Michael Servetus, to the good will of *Messieurs*, and to show cause from day to day.”

On the morning of the 26th of October, they came to warn Servetus that the sentence of the judges would be executed on the next day. At this terrible information, the prisoner began to weep and to sue for mercy. Calvin has found means to insult these tears.

“Let not blackguards,” says he, “boast of the obstinacy of their hero, as if it were a martyr’s constancy. It is the stupidity of a brute beast that he exhibited, when they came to inform him of his fate. As soon as he had heard the sentence, he was seen, sometimes with fixed eye like an idiot, and again howling like a madman. He ceased not, after the manner of Spaniards, to bellow, mercy! mercy!”†

Be thou praised, Castalion! thou hast found some noble words with which to brand Calvin.

“But the warrior also trembles at the sight of death, and his alarm is not that of a brute! Ezechias sighed when they came to announce to him a death less cruel than the one destined for Servetus! Job, that hero of patience, caused lamentations to resound like the moanings of a dove, when his enemies brought him information less frightful than

* *Cæsar comicus, simulato per triduum morbo, in curiam tandem adscendit ut sceleratum istum pœna eximeret. Neque enim erubuit petere ut cognitio ad ducentos veniret. Sine controversia tamen damnatus est.*—Ep. ad Far.

† *Cæterum ne male feriati nebulones, vecordis hominis pervicacia quasi martyrio gloriantur, in ejus morte apparuit belluina stupiditas, unde judicium facere liceret nihil unquam serio in religionem ipsum egisse. Ex quo mors ei denunciata est, nunc attonito similis hæerere, nunc alta suspiria edere, nunc instar lymphatici ejulare. Quod postremum tandem sic invaluit ut tantum hispanico more reboaret misericordia, misericordia.*—Cal. op. Gen. 1597. All. woerden, p. 101.

that heard by Servetus. And did not Christ, from the tree of the cross, exclaim : My God ! my God ! why hast thou forsaken me ?”

On the next day, the day of the execution, William Farel, by order of the council, presented himself to accompany Servetus to his punishment. After some vain words to procure a recantation, the minister advised him to reconcile himself with Calvin, before dying. Servetus consented to see the reformer, who soon made his appearance, attended by two members of the council.—What do you want with me ? said Calvin to the Spaniard.—To ask you to pardon me, if I have offended you ?*

“ God is my witness,” replied Calvin, “that I have not retained memory of the evil that may have been done me. Towards my enemies, I have only employed mildness ; towards yourself, I have manifested nothing but good will, and you have responded only by outrages. But I beg you, let us not speak of me : you have no time except to think of God, and to recant.”

Servetus kept silence : Calvin believed his part ended, and took leave of the unhappy man without embracing him.

The doors of the prison were thrown open. The people were moved to compassion, on beholding that living skeleton, whose head had become white amid his chains, gazing from side to side, as if he had expected the angel of the Lord. Some eyes were even moistened with tears.

The procession paused before the city hall, and the clerk, with a loud voice, read the sentence of death. Servetus listened in silence.

“ We, the syndics, judges of criminal causes and of the city, having
 ” seen the process drawn up in form, and brought before us, at the in-
 ” stance of our lieutenant, in said causes, against thee, *Michael Serve-*
 ” *tus de Villeneuve, of the kingdom of Aragon in Spain*, by which,
 ” and by thy voluntary confessions made in our hands, and several times
 ” reiterated, and books produced before us, it is to us manifest and evi-
 ” dent that thou, Michael Servetus, hast for a long time set forth false
 ” and fully heretical doctrine ; despising all remonstrance and correc-
 ” tion, thou hast, with malicious and perverse obstinacy, perseveringly
 ” sown and propagated it, even to the printing of public books, against
 ” God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; in short, against the
 ” true foundations of the christian religion, and for this hast tried to
 ” cause schism and trouble in the church of God, whereby many souls
 ” may have been ruined and lost : a thing horrible and dreadful, scan-
 ” dalous and infectious, and thou hast not had shame or horror in op-
 ” posing thyself totally to the Divine Majesty and Holy Trinity, but
 ” hast taken pains, and exerted thyself obstinately to infect the world
 ” with thy heresies and thy stinking heretical poison. A case and crime
 ” of grievous heresy, detestable, and meriting grievous corporal punish-
 ” ment. FOR THESE CAUSES, and other just ones moving us to this, be-
 ” ing desirous to cleanse the church of God from such infection, and to cut
 ” off from it such a rotten member ; having consulted with our fellow

* Dasz er ihm alles dasjenige, womit er ihm beleidiget, verzeihen möge.—Mosheim, p. 223.

"citizens, and invoked the name of God, to give a righteous judgment, sitting as a tribunal in the place of our elders, having God and his holy scriptures before our eyes, saying: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; by this, our definitive sentence, which we here render in writing, we condemn thee, *Michael Servetus*, to be bound and taken to the place *de Champel*, and there to be attached to a stake, and burned alive, with thy book, as well written with thy hand as printed, until thy body be reduced to ashes; and thus shall thy days be ended, to give an example to others, who might wish to commit like offence. And to you, our lieutenant, we commend our present sentence, commanding you to put the same into execution."

When the reading of the sentence was concluded, a valet struck, with his staff, the condemned man, who fell upon both knees exclaiming: "The sword! in mercy! and not fire! or I might lose my soul in despair! . . . If I have sinned, it is through ignorance." Farel raised him up and said to him, urging him: "confess thy crime and God will have mercy on thy soul."—I am not guilty, replied Servetus, I have not merited death; may God be my help and forgive me my sins. "In that case, said the minister, I must abandon thee." Servetus, became afraid, and was silent. At intervals he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and murmured: "O Jesus, son of the living God, mercy! mercy!" *

Having reached the place of punishment, Servetus fell on his face upon the earth, uttering frightful yells.

Farel turned towards the people, to whom with his finger he indicated the unhappy man, who was biting the dust with his lips.—"Behold! said he to the spectators: that man whom they are about to burn, is a learned man, who perhaps wanted to teach nothing but the truth; but behold him in the hands of the devil, who will not release his grasp. †

* Die Geschichte des Michael Servetus. 1. Buch. p. 222, and the following: The account of the last moments of this heresiarch is taken from an *unedited* letter of Farel to Ambrosius Blauren, which Henr. Hottinger has cited in his history of the Swiss reformation, p. 304, and from the *Historia de morte truculenta Michaelis Serveti hispani*, inserted in the work entitled: *Contra libellum Calvinii quo ostendere conatur hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse*, p. 137.

† The anonymous writer, who has refuted the book of Calvin *de hæreticis puniendis*, makes use of the recital of Farel to prove that Servetus was not guilty of error. "Si quid male scripserat errans fecerat, sicut ipsemet Farelus ad populum ante rogam Serveto testatus est." *Contra libellum Calvinii*, p. 68.

This, moreover, is not the only Protestant testimony which is favourable to Servetus.

M. R. Watson, author of a history of the life of Wesley, several times reprinted, quotes a passage extracted from a manuscript journal, in which Wesley affirms that he had read in the collection of the acts in the prosecution of Servetus, found in the Bodleian library, this confession of the unfortunate Spaniard: "I believe that the Father is God, that the Son is God, that the Holy Ghost is God."

Wesley, after a confession so formal, believes himself justified in accusing Calvin of calumny.

From this account of Watson, it would appear that the acts of the trial of

Keep good watch over yourselves, for fear satan should do the same with you."

Then the minister bending down to the ear of Servetus, who had risen and was kneeling, said to him: "Servetus, there is still time, wilt thou make the avowal of thy crimes, and recommend thyself to the eternal Son of God?"—Servetus murmured: "To God! to God"!—"Is that all?" resumed Farel." The victim looked at him fixedly and replied. "What do you want from me? To whom can I better recommend my soul than to God, my creator?" Farel continued: "There is a notary here who will note thy last wishes; hast thou left a wife and children?" The victim shook his head. The minister added: "Dost thou not wish to recommend thyself to the prayers of those assisting?" Servetus said, yes, and Farel exclaimed: "Servetus here asks you to pray for his soul;" and, drawing near to the sentenced man, he conjured him for the last time to confess Jesus Christ the eternal Son of God: the Spaniard's lips remained closed. Then, Farel, turning towards the people, said with a loud voice; "Hearken, Satan is about to seize upon this soul;"* and he went away to some distance.

At Champel there was a stake deeply fixed in the ground. To this they bound Servetus by means of an iron chain. His neck was fastened with four or five turns of a thick rope; his head was covered with a crown of straw well sprinkled with sulphur; the book of the Trinity was suspended to the stake. He remained a long time in this attitude, exposed to the gaze of an immense crowd. He besought the executioner to abridge the preparations for punishment. The executioner, whose hand trembled while amassing round the victim, in the form of a circle, fagots of green wood, was unable to proceed faster. He put fire to the pile, which ignited slowly, and the flame of which blazed and enveloped the Spaniard with a luminous net-work. The feet of the sufferer were concealed in the fiery focus, his head swam amid clouds of sulphur and smoke, through which his lips could be seen moving in prayer. At the moment that the flames rose up to devour his face, he uttered a howl so frightful, that the silence of death fell upon the immense multitude. Some of the people, moved with compassion, ran to aid the executioner, and to stifle Servetus under flaming fagots. But one more murmur was heard: "Jesus, eternal Son, have mercy on me." Servetus appeared before God—and Calvin closed the window where he had come to seat himself to assist at the last agonies of his enemy.† In returning to his lodgings, the reformer collected in his mind the elements of the book destined to justify him in the eyes of the reformed world. The book made its appearance in 1554, under the title: *A faithful exposition of the*

Servetus, have passed from Geneva to England; but at what epoch, and how? This is not indicated.

The proceedings, against Servetus which formerly existed in the archives of the Archbishopric of Vienne, are no longer found there. The revolution of 93, has dispersed all the records.

* Calvin à Genève, p. 230-231.

† James Fazy, *Essai d'un précis sur l'hist. de la république de Genève*, t. p. 276; d'Artigny, p. 152.

errors of *Michael Servetus*, and a brief refutation of the same, wherein is taught that heretics are to be coerced by the right of the sword.

He stood in need of absolution from the guilt of blood, shed in contempt of all laws human and divine; for, a usurper, at Geneva, of the civil and ecclesiastical power, stained with heresy, a stranger to the city, he had no right to sit in judgment upon Servetus, whose crime, moreover, ought to have been punished only in the place where it had been committed.

The people, horrified, withdrew in silence, and Farel left Geneva and returned to Neuchatel.

Some days previously he had written to Calvin: "I cannot comprehend how you could hesitate to kill corporally a wretch, who has killed so many christians spiritually! I cannot believe that there are judges sufficiently wicked to spare the blood of that infamous heretic."*

The copy of the *Christianissimi Restitutio*, which we have used in writing this biography, belonged to Colladon, one of the judges of Servetus, "who decided for the torture, even after the confession of the accused, in order to learn something more."† Upon the title page is found the name of the jurist. The heart is wrung with compassion on beholding this mute witness of the agonies of the Spaniard. In it, we behold the heretical passages which the eye of Calvin has detected in the volume, and which are recognized by the transversal lines traced by the pen of Colladon. What hand has rescued the pamphlet, the margins of which still bear the marks of the flames?‡ We know not.

* Farel. Calv., 8 septembre 1552. Calv. ep., p. 156.

† Galiffe, t. II, p. 566.

‡ At the head of the work there is a Latin note signed Mead, and thus conceived:

Fuit hic liber D. Colladon qui ipse nomen suum adscripsit. Ille vero simul cum Calvino inter iudices sedebat qui auctorem Servetum flammis damnarunt. Ipse indicem in fine confecit. Et porro in ipso opere lineis ductis hic et illic notavit verba quibus ejus blasphemias et errores coargueret.

Hoc exemplar unicum quantum scire licet flammis servatum restat: omnia enim quæ reperire poterat auctoritate sua ut comburerentur curavit Calvinus.

The index, placed at the end of the volume and written in the hand of Colladon, commences thus:

Index

Horum quæ in impurissimo hocce opere continentur.

Colladon had read this book attentively; for in various passages he has marked typographical faults, of which no mention is made in the Errata.

Mead, physician to the king of England, does not tell us the origin of his copy.

The bales, addressed from Vienne to Merrin, the typefounder of Lyons, containing a part of the book of Servetus, were found untouched in the shop of the founder, and burned at Vienne; the copies, sent from Lyons to Frankfurt, were destroyed by the agent to whom Frelon had addressed them, as is apparent from a passage of one of Calvin's letters.

Verum institor typographi vir pius et integer quum admonitus foret nihil hic præter immensam errorum farraginem contineri, suppressit quidquid habebat.—Gen., 6 cal. sept. 1553.

The books of Servetus, says Grotius, were burned at Geneva and elsewhere, through the agency of Calvin:

Serveti libri non Genevæ tantum, sed et aliis in locis per Calvini diligentiam exusti sunt.—In voto pro pace; Op. t. IV, p. 655.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REFORMATION AND THE BLOOD OF SERVETUS.

Letter of Calvin to Farel, 1546.—History of this document.—George David writes to his brethren of Holland in favour of the Spaniard.—The Helvetic churches consulted.—Advice of Berne, Schaffhouse, Bale, Zurich.—Melancthon and Bucer congratulate Calvin.—Castalion attacks the reformer's pamphlet, *de Hæreticis puniendis*.

In 1546, long previously to the punishment of Servetus, Calvin said to Farel :

“ Servetus has written to me lately, and to his letter has added a large book of his reveries, with certain arrogant boastings, that I should see in it things until now unheard of, and ravishing. He promises to come here, if I agree to it; but I do not wish to pledge my word; for, if he come, and if my authority be considered, I shall not permit him to escape without losing his life.”

We here quote the translation of Varillas.

In 1687, this historian wrote (*Revolutions that have taken place in Europe in matters of religion, tome 8. in-12*): “ The publication of the letters and little tracts of Calvin, in which he avows in express terms that the prosecution of Servetus was instituted by his advice, has not deterred Drelincourt and several other ministers from an attempt to justify him. But that their brethren may no more undertake a cause so desperate, we here warn them, that all the letters of Calvin, regarding the matter in question, have not been printed, and that one exists, the original of which is in safe hands. It was addressed to Farel in 1546, that is to say, seven entire years previously to the trial of Servetus. In it, appears a resolution maturely formed to destroy him, and for which only the opportunity was wanted.”

Grotius had seen it in the library of Paris.*

Ullebogoert had read it at Paris in the library of the king.

Yet, even till this day the existence of that letter had been obstinately denied. Mosheim, in his “history of heresies” proves admirably that it is apocryphal; and when one has read some of the arguments of the German writer it is difficult not to doubt it. It was worth while to verify a fact of such great importance. Our researches have not been fruitless: the letter is in the library of the king (*Bibliothèque du Roi*) in the chamber of manuscripts, n. 101-102, of the Du-

* *Horum Calvinus autem is est qui antequam Servetus veniret Genevam scripsit (exstat istius Lutetiæ manus) ad Farellum, si quid sua valeret auctoritas effecturum ne vivus abiret.*—Grotius, t. IV, p. 503.

pay collection; it is entirely in Calvin's hand, and very difficult to be read, as is every thing written by the reformer; it is dated February, 1546: We present it in a note.*

Of what use here would be an angry commentary? A few lines will suffice.

In 1546, the reformer wrote: "If Servetus come to Geneva, he shall not leave it alive."

An age later, Drelincourt printed these words:

"They reproach Calvin with the death of Servetus, the Spaniard of cursed memory; but it is with great injustice. On this score, not the slightest word can be said against him."

* S. De fratribus quieto nunc animo eris post acceptas Claudii literas. Nuncius qui attulerat, cum a concione redirem post horam nonam, rogavit an meæ essent paratæ; negavi, sed jussi ut domi meæ pranderet cum uxore (eram enim ipse invitatus a Macrino). Statim a prandio adfuturum me promisi ut paucis responderem. Non venit, sed momento se proripuit ut stuporem tam subito discessu. Et tamen visus mihi fuerat juvenis alioqui non malus. Utinam cogitent fratres sibi omnes difficultates ita expediri Dei manu quo citius festinent. Non oportuit cessare Israelitas cum patefactus illis esset exitus, quin mox ad fugam se accingerent. Hoc fuisset epistolæ argumentum nisi nuncius me fefellisset. Verum ultro eos ardere confido.

Nunc venio ad vestra certamina. Si quid adhuc molestiæ vobis improbi facessant, cum istæ literæ venient, breviter complexus sum quænam agendi ratio mihi placeat. Velim autem primum agi viva voce; deinde hoc scriptum aut simile tradi. Ridebitis forte quod nihil nisi vulgare proferam, cum a me reconditum aliquid et sublime expectaveritis. At ego me vestra opinione obstringi nolo, neque etiam æquum est. Malui tamen ineptus esse ita scribendo quam tacendo committere, ut preces vestras a me neglectas putaretis. Si rationibus et hac legitima via nihil fuerit effectum, clam apud Bernates agendum erit ne feram illam ex cavea emittant. De fœdere non satis assequor mentem tuam, nisi, quod suspicor, quo Bernates auxilio vobis sint te ad aliquam conjunctionem animum adjicere. Ut quemadmodum jure civitatis libertatem populi tuentur, ita honesto aliquo titulo tueantur ministros in officio suo. Si id est non improbo; modo memineritis ad hæc extraordinaria remedia tunc demum esse confugiendum, ubi ultimæ necessitatis est excusatio. Deinde ut omnes cautiones adhibeatis ne quid in posterum vobis noceat semel fuisse adjutos, ac pactionis nunc translatae magis vos pœniteat quam pristinae servitutis. Marcurius certe jam locum sibi despondit. Fratrum enim consensum nihil se morari prædicat quia a magistratu et populo expetatur, nec fremere in te dubitat. Denique cum ante tempus malitiam animi sui prodat, machinis omnibus repellendus est, ne emergat in locum unde efficere quod minatur possit. De iis qui sub præsidii specie perpetuam dominationis sedem figere hic volebant rumores sinamus in utramque partem vagari. Civiliter et placide occursum est eorum impudentiæ, ita ut eos sui pigere debeat; spero quieturos nostris quantum possum suadere ut securi dormiant. Servetus nuper ad me scripsit ac literis adjunxit longum volumen suorum deliriorum cum Thrasonica jactantia me stupenda et hactenus inaudita visurum. Si mihi placeat huc se venturum recipit. Sed nolo fidem meam interponere; nam si venerit, modo valeat mea auctoritas, vivum exire nunquam patiar.

Jam clapsi sunt ultra quindecim dies ex quo Cartularius in carcere tenetur, propterea quod tanta protervia domi suæ inter cenandum adversum me debacchatus est, ut constet non fuisse tunc mentis compotem. Ego dissimulanter tuli nisi quod testatus sum judicibus, mihi nequaquam gratum fore si cum eo summo in re agerent. Volui eum invisere; senatus decreto prohibitus fuit aditus. Et tamen boni quidam viri scilicet me crudelitatis insimulant, quod tam pertinaciter meas injurias ulciscar. Rogatus sum ab ejus amicis ut deprecatoris partes suspicerem, facturum me negavi, nisi his duabus exceptioni.

Whilst the trial was pending, George David* addressed to his brethren of Holland and Switzerland, a letter quite full of tears, in behalf of the poor prisoner. George, driven away from his own country, risked his own life in his wish to save that of his brother of Geneva. Bale would have had no mercy on an exile, who should have pleaded the cause of Servetus; George was aware of this, and concealed himself under the name of John de Bruck. The secret was not known till after his death; and then the ministers demanded that the body of George should be exhumed, that it should be burned, and the ashes scattered to the winds, and the senate obeyed them.

The letter of George came too late: the heart of the reformed churches was closed against pity. They had been consulted, and

ZURICH had replied:—Divine Providence has furnished you with a very fine opportunity to prove to the world, that neither your church nor ours favours heretics: vigilance and activity: may the contagion of the the pest be arrested, and may Christ illumine you with his wisdom.”†

SCHAFFHOUSE:—We are certain that you will exert all your efforts to prevent heresy from devouring, like a cancer, the flesh of the christian body. Let there be no disputes. To dispute with a senseless man, is to be foolish with fools.”‡

BALE:—To heal the soul of the unhappy man, you will employ all the wisdom that God has given you: if he be incurable, you will have recourse to that power with which God has armed you, that the church of Christ may cease from suffering, and that new crimes may not be added to old ones.”§

BERNE: May God give you the spirit of prudence and of fortitude, by the aid of which, you may be able to rid both your own church and ours from such a pest.”||

Servetus having been burned, then came the songs of bloody triumph.

Melancthon wrote to Calvin:

“Reverend personage, and my very dear brother, I return thanks to the Son of God, who has been the spectator and the judge of your combat, and who will be the rewarder thereof: The church also, both now and in time to come, will owe you her gratitude. I am entirely of your opinion, and I hold it as certain, that things having been done

bus, ne quæ suspicio in me resideret, atque ut Christi honor maneret salvus. Jam defunctus sum. Expecto quid senatus pronunciet.

Vale frater et amice integerrime; cum sororibus nostri omnes vos salutant. Fratribus dices plurimam salutem meo et symmistarum nomine.

Dominus vobis semper ac vestris sanctis laboribus benedicat.

Genevæ idibus februarii 1546.

JOANNES CALVINUS tuus.

* Den edelen, gestrenghen, erenuesten, vromen und wysen Herren der evangelischer Steden in Swytserland.

† Refut. err. Serveti, 724. Ep. et Resp., n. 159, p. 297.

‡ Cal. Resp. et Ep. 158, p. 296.

§ Ep. et Resp., n. 160, p. 302.

|| Mosheim, p. 214. Schelhorn, has given a more explicit reply of the Bernese ministers in his *acta historico-eccles. seculi XV, and XVI, p. 217.*

in order, your magistrates have acted according to law and justice in putting this blasphemer to death.”*

And Bucer : “ Servetus deserved to have his bowels drawn out and torn to pieces.”†

But Calvin’s canticle is a real poem, in which, to justify the murder of his enemy, he invokes Moses, Aaron, the prophets, Jesus, the apostles, the Old and New Testaments, the two legislations, the Hebrew, and the christian. One is in marvel at the sound of all these glorious names which Calvin cites : it is an endless choir of doctors, fathers, even popes, with whom he is acquainted, and whose testimony he produces. He has forgotten but one thing, viz : his book of Institutes, where in so many passages, now effaced, he formerly defended the heretic against the sword of the law.

Happily, an old schoolmaster of Geneva, Castalion, essayed to give Calvin a lesson of tolerance and of memory. Concealed under the pseudonyme of Martinus Bellius, against Calvin’s writing regarding the punishment of heretics by the sword, he published various pamphlets, in which he shows himself serious without pedantry, jocose without triteness, devout without hypocrisy : It is Aristophanes, discoursing upon matters of theology. Castalion has here taken good care to breathe neither the spirit of Luther nor of Tetzal. To give more life to his word, he sometimes has recourse to the dialogue. He imagines a drama with two actors, Vaticanus and Calvin. The reformer could not complain : Castalion cites him verbatim.

We remember, that, at the moment he was going to death, Servetus wished to see Calvin, who went into the prison, attended by two counselors ; and then a strange scene took place : Servetus asked pardon of the minister, who, calling God to witness, protested “ that he never thought of avenging personal injuries ; that meekness is the only weapon that he has employed to reclaim the unfortunate man ; that already, sixteen years since, he essayed, at the peril of his life, to save a soul that was rushing to its ruin.”‡

Vaticanus does not allow him to conclude : §

“ In truth ! you are about to be made acquainted with the good will of Calvin for Servetus. In the commencement of his commentaries on St. John, there is a preface, in which Robert Estienne eulogizes the meekness of the reformer, in magnificent terms. I open the book, and in the very first pages, behold what I read : “ Servetus, that Spanish rascal,” “ *Servetus superbissimus gente hispana nebulo.*” I extract another example from the book on scandals, *Liber de Scandalis*, p. 59 :

“ From these pages, replete with the drivel and bitings of this mad dog, (he is speaking of Servetus), you may judge what spirit animates the writer : with a stomach craving glory, he swallows the most silly

* Drelincourt, Défense de Calvin, p. 235.

† id. ib.

‡ Me nunquam privatas injurias persecutum ;... quanta potui mansuetudine admonui ! Defensio orthodoxæ fidei... ubi ostenditur hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse.

§ Contra libellum Calvinii, in quo ostendere conatur hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse.

follies and becomes intoxicated with them."* Come now, he that chooses may believe that Calvin offered his life, as he says, to save this hydrophobic dog!

CALVIN.

As I perceived that my exhortations were useless, I did not want to be wiser than the rule, and, according to the precept of the Apostle St. Paul, I abandoned the heretic.

VATICANUS.

This is the holy rule : Admonish the guilty person secretly,—afterwards, call one or two witnesses,—then denounce him to the church. You have proceeded differently : insults,—the prison,—the stake.

CALVIN.

Let us shed tears over the present condition of the papistical church, which can only sustain itself by violence, and where the pastors, forgetting the sacred duties of their office, have nothing but laws of severity to promulgate.

VATICANUS.

Thy hands were still dripping with the blood of Servetus, when thou wrotest these lines ! But thou, also, the pastor of the Genevese church, nay, the intruding pastor, thou hast nothing but severity. Here is an edict, decreed on a certain occasion, when a man, named Trouillet, was bold enough to criticise thy Institutes :

“After having heard in council the learned ministers of the word of God, masters William Farel and Peter Viret, and after them, the respectable master Jehan Calvin and master Jehan Trouillet, and their sayings and reproaches, regarding the Christian Institutes of said M. Calvin, having been often debated, and all things having been well considered, the council decrees and concludes that all things having been well heard and understood, it has pronounced and declared the said book of Institutes of said M. Calvin well and holily made ; his doctrine, the holy doctrine of God ; that he be held as good and true minister of this city, and that, for the future, no one here presume to speak against said book or its holy doctrine. We enjoin on such persons, and on all, the duty of being guided by this. Wednesday, which was the ninth of November, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-two.”

Writers have been found sufficiently blind to undertake a justification of Calvin, but of all stains, that of blood is the most difficult to be removed. At Chateau de Blois, they still show the spot which Guise reddened with his blood in falling under the poniard of Henry III. Not long since, at Geneva, the pastor, Jacob Vernet, implored M. de Chapeaurouge to communicate to him the papers containing the records of the prosecution of Servetus. M. de Chapeaurouge, secretary of state, presented this request to the council, which refused it. M. Ver-

* Ibid.

net insisted. "He desired," says M. Galiffe, "to prove that they had not refused a coat and linen to Servetus, for his money." The syndic, Calandrini, replied to the pastor. Here is the letter, which M. Galiffe has in his possession, and which may be read in the third volume of his *Notices genealogiques*:

"Sir, and very dear cousin,

"The council, interested in preventing the criminal proceedings against Servetus from being made public, does not wish them to be communicated, either altogether or in part, to any person; the literary character of a man can obtain him no privilege in regard to this. The conduct of Calvin and of the council, known from the Notes on the History of Geneva, is such, that it wishes every thing to be buried in profound oblivion. Calvin is not excusable; Servetus placed the light before his eyes, concerning the conduct which should be pursued in regard to heretics, and has not allowed him to avail himself of the plea of invincible ignorance. M. de la Chapelle has justified him, the best he could, from the reproach of having been instigator of the process instituted against Servetus at Vienne. For this, he has supposed a fact, which was to be proved by our registers, but which they will not prove. You think to justify by our registers the severity exercised towards Servetus, in his prison, and from these same registers you would find that those favourable orders were not executed; that, in fine, after the event, Calvin, instead of bitterly deploring it, maintains a thesis, which no christian can defend, and that too, by arguments unworthy of so great a man, even in the opinion of M. de la Chapelle. Avail yourself of the excuse afforded by your sickness, to dispense yourself from a work which can only be prejudicial to religion, to the reformation, and to your country, or which would be little conformable to truth. The trivial reason, that the reformation was not regarded as the protector of anti-Trinitarians, may have closed the eyes of Calvin to the great truths of the christian religion; let us take care not to permit that the dread of being considered advocates of I know not what, should cause us to provoke questions which do not suit us," &c. &c.

CHAPTER XLII.

THEODORE BEZA.—1549—1562.

His infancy.—His poems.—Fears the parliament and leaves France.—Arrives at Geneva, and is welcomed by Calvin.—Opposition of certain ministers.—Beza attempts to justify himself.—Appreciation of his apology.—Opinion of the Lutherans.—Disputation with Baudouin (Balduinus).—He pleads in favour of the punishment of heretics.

Beza tried to justify the punishment of Servetus, less as a jurist than a theologian. They published, that heresy is not amenable to the tribunal of men: Beza proves that the magistrate is armed with a two-edged sword, which he is bound to use for cutting off the head of any one who troubles society.

Let us pause a moment to study the only writer of imagination, of whom the Genevese reformation can boast.

Behold, in what terms Beza gives us an account of his early years: "Well, playing, as is the custom with small children, with some servants, without caring for the contagious malady that then prevailed at Paris, miserable that I was! I caught the scaldhead, a malady in its nature distressing and obstinate, and still at that time incurable, because, although it was in that famous city of Paris, the ignorance of physicians was such, that they could only cure it by means of painful and violent medicines. I feel horror in recalling the tortures I then endured; the anxieties of my uncle, who sought every means, but in vain, to effect my cure. I will recount the singular benefit which God bestowed upon me. The surgeon who had undertaken to cure me, was accustomed to come to the house to bandage me, my uncle, so greatly did he love me, not being able to suffer me to be touched even with the end of a finger in his absence. But he could not support the pain of seeing me suffering so much, which caused him to entreat the host to conduct me every day, together with one of my cousins, who was afflicted with the same disease, to the surgeon's house, not having even the heart to witness me suffering so much misery. My uncle lodged in the University, and the surgeon not far from the Louvre, the bridge aux Musniers being between the two places. We had, every day, to pass over this bridge, followed by our servant, who, as is customary with such persons, did not take such care of us as he should. I remember (and certes, the very remembrance fills me with horror) that my cousin, who had the spirit of a soldier and warrior, often ex-

horted me, to put an end to so many evils, by precipitating ourselves head foremost into the depths of the river. In the beginning, (for I am naturally fearful and timid), I was frightened at such counsel; but at length, yielding to his importunity, and overcome by pain, I agreed to follow him, after he should have first leaped over. Now, we were on the point of putting our design into execution, the devil holding us by the necks for our ruin, when God, taking pity and compassion on us, sent our uncle at that very instant, not thinking of this the least in the world. On beholding the servant following us at a distance, he commanded him to conduct us to the house, and engaged the surgeon to come henceforward to treat us in our chamber. Behold how God then miraculously rescued me from the jaws of satan.”*

Theodore Beza was born at Vezelay, in Burgundy, in the year 1519, and was baptized in the church where St. Bernard had preached the crusade. His paternal uncle, Nicholas Beza,† caused him to come to Paris, resigned to him the priory of Bois-les-Villeselve, and sent him to Orleans to study under Melchior Wolmar, that learned jurist, who had given lessons to Calvin.

Now, imagine to yourself a fine looking youth, vested with a coquetry truly feminine, wearing gloves after the Italian fashion well perfumed with essences, a dress of striking colours, a ruffle nicely plaited, and which he changed four times a week; skillful in all exercises, sitting a horse admirably, wielding arms like a fencing-master, playing at tennis like a courtier, and extemporising Latin verses as well as Catullus: such was Theodore Beza.

He had given moderate attention to the study of law; his whole passion was for the Latin muses. He dreamed only of iambs, trochees, dactyles, and he made some of them, which, it was said, were undreamed of by the chanter of Lesbia's sparrow. When he returned to Paris, he published a collection of his lyrical productions,‡ where, on the frontispiece of the volume, he caused himself to be represented with a crown in his hand, with these two verses in form of a garland:

Vos docti docta præcingite tempora lauro,
Mi satis est illam vel tetigisse manu.

Unluckily, the author had imagined himself in pagan Rome, and celebrated infamous amours, which the parliament condemned to the flames. Among the epigrams of the collection, there was one, especially, which made great noise; the one, in which he chants a student of

* Beza, Epistle to Wolmar, translated by Florimond de Remond.

† Theodore wrote, for his uncle Nicholas, an epitaph in three languages, and caused it to be painted on his tomb, in the parochial church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, where he may be seen represented on his knees between two candlesticks and lighted tapers, praying before the image of his uncle. The Latin epitaph commences:

Marmore de Pario nullas hic stare columnas. Launay.

‡ Theodori Bezæ Vezeli poemata, Lutetiæ: Ex officina Conradi Badii subprelo Ascensiano, e regione gymnasii D. Barbaræ M.DXLVIII. Cum privilegio senatus ad triennium. And at the end: Lutetiæ, Roberto Stephano Regio typographo et sibi Conradus Badius excudebat, idibus Julii M.DXLVIII, in 8vo., p. 100. See David Clement, art. *Beza*.

Orleans, named Audibert, and Candida, the wife of a dress-maker, who dwelt at Paris, in the street *la Calandre*.*

Beza had dedicated his poems to his professor, Melchior Wolmar, who had discovered nothing reprehensible in them, any more than did Joachim Camerarius, two famous Lutherans, as all are aware.†

The parliament, more scrupulous, was about to have the poet cited to answer, when he took to flight, after having sold or farmed out his benefices,‡ and he sought refuge in Geneva, under the name of Thibaut de May.

The minister Launay has not spared the reputation of his co-religionist. "After he had defiled himself," says he, "with all kinds of infamy and sin, which he has not himself concealed, he debauched his neighbour's wife, sold his benefices, and took to flight, not to escape persecution, but the punishment and penalty of his crimes. But before departing, he deceives his farmers, and causes advances to be made him upon the revenues of his benefices, to which he no longer had any right; for which we were greatly annoyed during the conference of Poissy; for one of the widows, with her children, came to clamour after him for satisfaction. This poor woman told me, that he had deprived them of more than twelve hundred francs. To prove his conversion, and that he was assisted by the Holy Ghost, he composed the epistle of Passavant: a fine burlesque against president Liset, to whom he wished the evil of death, because he had condemned him to make restitution of the chalices and ornaments of the people of Burgundy, whose agent he had been in the University of Orleans, and he had gone to sell them on the Pont-au-Change, without saying farewell to his companions, who obtained his arrest."

Beza was still young when he arrived at Geneva, bringing along with him that plebeian muse of the street *la Calandre*, whom he had chanted under the name of Candida: at Paris, she bore that of Claudine. Calvin was charmed with the grace, the fine appearance, the flowery language of his former school-companion, and particularly with that fascination of manners which announced the man of ton and rank. He was another Melancthon, sent by heaven to the Genevese Luther. He was feasted by the reformer, who, at first, had him appointed Greek professor at Lausanne.

The professor met with brilliant success: they flocked to attend his lectures, from Berne, Fribourg, and even from Germany. His language was well cadenced and very correct. Those who listened to him imagined themselves hearing Melancthon. "He had," they said, "the harmonious and abundant style of Luther's disciple, but more warmly coloured."

He was soon promoted to be lecturer in theology, and his auditory,

* Launay.

† Ad hæc accessit gravissima tui judicii autoritas, quæ quidem una tantum apud me potuit ut simul atque ex iis literis quas ad me Tubinga dedisti, hæc nostra intellexi tibi et Joachimo Camerario mirum in modum probari, nihil habuerim antiquius quam ut ea in unum velut corpus congererem.—Epist. Bezæ.

‡ Registres du parlement.

without being more numerous, was changed in its character. The ladies crowd to hear his sermons; they had never seen any one like him in the pulpit. The orator perfumed his dress as well as his language. He was a dandy, seeking to win souls to the gospel by means of worldly airs. Calvin, who had waged so rude a warfare against the head dresses of women, had nothing to say against the curled and perfumed locks of his disciple. Beza, who had seen the gay world of the capital, was a courtier in perpetual adoration before the reformer, whom he intoxicated with the incense of adulation. Calvin was desirous to attach him to the evangelical ministry, but he met with some resistance on the part of his colleagues. Cop, the former canon of Notre-Dame-de-Cluny, Raymond, ex-Jacobin of Toulouse, and the schoolmaster Enoch,—ministers and members of the consistory,—opposed the ordination of this prior, “scented, curled, buckish, still acting the fop, and, though his hair was growing gray, chanting the nymphs of Parnassus and the cupids of antiquity.”

In the dedication of his poems to Wolmar, Beza has mentioned the scruples of certain souls, who were unable to comprehend how a new Corydon should be promoted to the ministry; but he adds that the holy assembly decided that an *erratum* or a *slip of the pen* should not be urged as a crime against a poet, who had but just passed over from the papism to christianity.* Moreover, in 1559, in a new edition, he has attempted to justify the infamous amours, with which he was reproached by the Catholics. “We behold them,” said he, “hurling at my head little verses (for they are unable to reproach me with anything else); but what can they make of these? Very little. In my poetical squibs, I amused myself with an imaginary Candida, whom they wish to make my wife; but a word will serve to confound these sanctimonious gentry: I recommend to the gods, Candida, who is about to be confined: now, it is well known, that I never had any children by my wife.† As to Germain Audebert, of Orleans, I addressed to him, in mirth, some hendecasyllabic verses, in which I manifest to him how great is my desire once more to see him, in order to renew our former bonds of friendship. And these abandoned souls, these pedants, finally, these monks, blush not to transform this Audebert into an Adonis!” But the confession is not complete, we are certain. Audebert, who had lived in

* Tum quod iniquum plane videretur ei qui ad Christum a papismo, velut paganismo, transisset, erratum istud imputare.

† Candidam prægnantem superis commendem, quum nullos unquam liberos ex uxore susceperim.—Epist. dedicat. ad And. Dudithium. Gen. 14 maii 1569.

‡ Gruterus (Gruytere) has inserted in his *Delicia poetarum Gallorum*, the pieces of poetry, which Beza dared not publish: *Adeodati Sebæ Veseliensis juvenilia*. The critic has changed the surname, *Theodorus*, into *Adeodatus*, and anagrammatized Beza's name into Sebæ. The epigram of *Candida and Audebert*, is found in this collection, p. 617. There are other pieces to Candida which elsewhere would in vain be sought for; in such sort, says Ant. Fayus, in the life of Beza, *vita Th. Beza*, that Gruterus may be ranked as the greatest enemy of Beza. These *juvenilia* were composed from 1536 to 1539, a period when the author had sufficiently long ceased to be a Catholic. M. Alexander Martin has, in his fine collection of autographs, a letter of the scholar of Vezelay, which leaves no doubt regarding the religious dispositions of the poet at that epoch.

Paris, was well acquainted with other poetical sins, with which Beza might have been reproached; sins still unpublished, which the Orleans youth knew by heart, and which have been collected by Gruterus, in his *Delicia poetarum Gallorum*: real priapics, in which the poet has chanted sad realities. †

Calvin carried the day, and Beza was promoted to the ministry.

Geneva had obtained a man of talent; for what were Cop, Enoch, and Raymond? mere pedants, dusted over with Latin of the kitchen; whereas, Beza knew enough philosophy to converse with learned men, enough theology to dispute with monks, and had sufficient knowledge of the world to play the part of the ascetic of the Thebaid; moreover, he was a gallant with women, a tactician with courtiers, of admirable self possession in an assembly of cardinals, a flippant rather than an abundant colloquist, prompt in his replies, sarcastic when insulted, a gay reveller, and, in case of need, an expert swordsman.

In a disputation, where he acted as Calvin's vicar, against the jurist Balduinus, Beza had found means to give his adversary a real homily upon frugality. Balduinus, who had frequently dined at Beza's table, was unable to restrain himself, on hearing this eulogium on cenobitical life, from the mouth of the ravisher of Candida, the wife of the Parisian dress-maker.

You must know, that the Calvinist had compared the jurist to a famished dog, prowling around the kitchen, and snuffing the odours of the frying viands.

This dog was, naturally, a snarler, and, if touched with the foot, he was accustomed to bite. Beza had his robes torn, and his leg mangled; and what was more unfortunate for him, they allowed him to cry in his pain, without showing him the least sympathy in the world. Listen to the jurist:

"Thou shalt first be informed, that Balduinus, even when deprived of his patrimony, would be under no necessity to turn beggar; therefore, there is no ground of surprise, that he has been able to come to the aid of Gallas and his family. What, then, dost thou mean by these words: I imagine that I behold him, now, amidst that city of unemployed labourers, again, in the palace among the throngs of jurists and advocates, with his nose in the wind, scenting a dinner? I would be glad to know what honest man has ever scented for thy repasts, after the style of Sardanapalus and Heliogabalus, debauchee that thou art? or thy sacrilegious suppers, where vice came to seat herself, thou incestuous Amphitryon? Who ever drew near thy dining room without stopping his nose, suffocated by those brothel odours which exhale from thy nocturnal banquets? Who would set foot in thy lodgings without fear of being defiled? Odours and smells, abundant even to suffocation. With thee, unfortunately, one is compelled at times to use other than chaste terms; and when there is necessity to speak of Theodore, woe to chaste ears! But I trust that honest persons will pardon me, if my pen allows itself liberties to which it is not accustomed. In truth, thou drunken Satyr, when, being seated by the side of thy Pallas, thou actest the little Plato, Balduinus would have been so happy, had he been able to quaff a similar nectar, and inhale so sweet an ambrosia!" He

then sets to work to paint a bacchanalian scene, in which Beza does not figure alone, and which sufficiently recalls one of the suppers celebrated by Petronius; he afterwards proceeds:

“O, pious repast, O, evangelical *love-feast*, O, philosophic supper! Balduinus, the rustic, would have been jealous to share it; he, who is so little accustomed to the elegance of grand houses, and so great a stranger by nature to such mysteries!”*

The Lutherans have not dealt more lightly with the scholar of Veze-lay. Hesshus reproaches him with “not having been satisfied to have polluted his youth with villainous amours, but with having, moreover, been bold enough to write out his sacrilegious adulteries, and have them musically chanted. And, nevertheless,” he adds, “to hear him speak, you would say that he is some holy man, another Job, or one of the hermits of the desert, even greater than St. Paul or St. John, so much does he every where trumpet his exile, his labours, his purity, and his admirable sanctity of life.”

As soon as he went forth from his table, he cast off his worldly airs, and, in ascending the pulpit, assumed the gravity of a doctor.

His translation of the Psalms obtained great success.

To cause them to be more generally received, they had them set to music: they selected the most popular airs. For instance, *Praise God all ye nations*, was sung to the sound of bagpipes; another was chanted to the village air, *petite camusette*, or to the tune of the song:

Mon bel amy, when far away,
Then think of Pienne.

But when he added all these psalms to the Genevese catechisms, the authorities forbade their use, and “to chant a psalm, made one a Lutheran,” says Florimond de Remond.

The apparition of Beza at Geneva was a real joy for the reformer, assailed as he was by diseases, exhausted by incessant contests with the factions of the city, and disgusted with life. Had the soul of Calvin been more poetic, he would, in verse, have hailed the advent of this muse which heaven seemed to send him, in order to mingle a little honey in that cup of gall and tears, which he was doomed to quaff to the very dregs. In his tilt against Catholicism, he could not avail himself of the pen of any of his colleagues, who by their silly vanities would have spoiled the noblest cause. Farel had in a few years worn out all the greenness of his youth, too turbulent and ardent to be

* O religiosum convivium, O, *agapen*! O cœnam eruditam quam Balduinus et subrusticus, et talis elegantia imperitus, et talium mysteriorum ignarus, atque etiam ab iis natura adhorrens appeteret!—Bald. Responsio ad Calvinum et Bezam. Coloniae, 1564, 81, 82.

At the end of this tract, there is a refutation of Calvin's calumnies regarding the scriptures and tradition. *Refutatio caluniarum de scriptura et traditione*. It is a complete treatise on this point, where the writer, to defend tradition, employs law arguments, nearly as M. Dupin of our days does, in his dispute with M. Salvador concerning the judgment and death of Christ. At each instant, when we stir the dust of the old libraries, we discover these treasures of controversy, to-day, unhappily, either forgotten or too much neglected.

durable; Viret could use but a weak and nerveless phrase. Beza, steeped in Greek and Latin, promised to be as learned and as obedient as Philip the disciple of Luther, and he kept his word. The friendship of these two men lasted through life, and at the death of Calvin, it seemed to gain strength in the bosom of Beza, who vowed a veritable worship to the memory of his father. But there is a sentiment still more holy than friendship, which is truth, and which Beza, through passion, so often abandoned, in his attacks upon those intelligences whom Calvin already had pursued with his wrath. One is filled with sadness, on seeing such streams of insults against the enemies of the reformer, fall, from those flowery lips, as if they had never drunk out of any cup but that of Luther. He denies all the glories which Calvin contests. He finds Westphalius destitute of science, Pighius without scriptural knowledge, Bolsec without theological comprehension. He calls Balduinus a spunger, a parasite, Castalion a thief, and Servetus an incarnate demon. He has nothing to award to the pitiful translation of the Bible corrected by Calvin, but eulogies, and he, who never knew a word of German, takes it into his head to denounce the version of Wittenberg. "Truly" said the Lutherans, "it well becomes a French merry-andrew, who does not know a syllable of our language, to teach the Germans how to speak!"* Bayle himself is frequently forced to indicate the errors, into which Beza, from his admiration for the memory of the reformer, voluntarily fell, either by misrepresenting historical facts, by calumniating the Lutheran or Catholic writers, or by palliating the faults of his coreligionists.

In the question of the Nicodemites, he defends the opinion of Calvin, who required a visible profession of faith: but when he had become the leader of a party after the reformer's death, he was one of the first to advise Henry IV. to re-enter the bosom of the Catholic church.†

His production, *concerning the punishment of heretics by the civil magistrate*, is a soporific theological treatise, in which, to prove the right of the sword against the heretic, he has amassed together all the texts, sacred and profane, that his reading could furnish him. His conclusion is formal:

If the civil power‡ have not chastised the heretic even to the effusion of blood, behold here comes a disciple of Schwenkfeld, of Oslander, or of Servetus, who proceeds predicating from the house-tops and at the street corners. The church drives him away. He essays proselytism and spreads abroad confusion and disorder. If an attempt be made to arrest his progress, he cries: "Let no violence be done to conscience!" and there he goes, continuing his march and enrolling his proselytes. What will the church do? "She will cry out to the

* Schluss. Theol. Calv., lib. 2.

† In the library of Gotha, there are some precious documents regarding the negotiations between Sully and Beza, on the subject of the return of Henry IV. to Catholicism.

‡ De hæreticis a civili magistratu puniendis, adversus Martini Bellii (Castalionem) farraginem et novorum Academicorum sententiam.—Gen. 1570, p. 144 et seq.

Lord, you say, and the Lord will hear her." But the man who is hungry waits not till an angel descend from heaven and bring him bread, after the example of Elias; if he wishes God to come to his assistance, he aids himself, and seeks for food."

And he adds—that the blood of Servetus, the anti-Trinitarian, was holily shed.

Were Beza to return to life, what would he say to professor Cheneviere, who, at Geneva, now quietly sells his pamphlets against the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ?

Men and doctrines—every thing, then, in the reformation undergoes a change, to suit the caprice of the slightest circumstance.

In 1528, the monk of Wittenberg wrote to Linck :

"In no case, can I allow that false prophets should be put to death."*

And some years later : "Drive away the angel Gabriel himself, descended from heaven, if he come to announce another gospel than mine, and hand him over, as a seditious blackguard, to the executioner."†

* Quod quæris, an liceat magistratui occidere pseudopphetas? Ego ad judicium sanguinis tardus sum, etiam ubi meritum abundat. Tum in hac causa terret me exempli sequela, quam in Papistis et ante Christum in Judæis videmus, ubi quum statutum fuisset pseudopphetas occidi, successu temporis factum est, ut nonnisi sancti prophetæ et innocentes occiderentur, auctoritate ejus statuti, quo impii magistratus freti pseudopphetas et hæreticos fecerunt quosquos voluerunt. Quare nullo modo possum admittere, falsos doctores occidi, satis est eos relegari; qua pœna si posterî abuti volent, mitius tamen peccabunt, et sibi tantum nocebunt.—Luther's Briefe.—De Wette, t. III, p. 347.

† Licet angelus esse videatur, imo Gabriel de cælo, tamen non modo pro diaboli apostolo habendum, verum etiam si desistere nolit ab instituto, carnifici committendum velut nebulonem, qui seditionem machinetur.—Com. Luth. in Psal. 71, t. V. Op. Jenæ., p. 147.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FALL OF THE LIBERTINES. 1552—1557. 41

Continuation of the struggle between the patriots and Calvin.—Various changes of fortune.—Philibert Berthelier is accused before the consistory and excommunicated.—Sensation of Geneva.—Communion at St. Peter's.—Refusal of Calvin to distribute the Lord's supper to the Libertines.—The council resumes the right of excommunication.—Scene played by Calvin.—The council yields.—Francis Daniel Berthelier.—Calvin's motives of hatred against this citizen.—He seeks his ruin—Plot brewed by the police.—Death and exile of several patriots.—Daniel is accused of conspiracy against the State.—Tortured by Colladon.—Stratagem to extract confessions from the victim.—Punishment of Berthelier.—Historical reflections.

Is not the struggle, between the old Genevese race and the tyranny of the man whom they have chosen for their master, a curious spectacle? For fifteen years past, there has not been an hour of the day, during which, "the sons of the city" have not courageously combated. The noblest among them have fallen, and their last gasp was a cry of liberty, which God has not heard, because every attempt against authority is a crime, which sooner or later he punishes, and because the patriots have sinned.

Yet it is very difficult to refuse a tribute of pity to unsuccessful courage, especially when it battles with unequal arms. On one side, is Calvin, with all his genius, his cunning, and his hypocrisy; with his informers, his elders, his laws of blood and fire; with Colladon and his engines of torture; with his pulpit, ever open to stigmatize his enemies; and his councils, crammed with refugees, on whom he has conferred the rights of citizenship; on the other, are a few souls marked by public opinion with the name of libertines, without leaders, without unity, and, for the most part, without fortune, having no auxiliaries except the instincts of independence, so deeply rooted in the people. They are not discouraged, and they combat the theocrat by means of raillery, a weapon, feared indeed by despotism, but only in great states. The tavern, as formerly, was still their tribune. All the efforts of the reformer had been unsuccessful to tear away from the people this last asylum of liberty. It was there she came, with still bleeding wounds, to bewail the fall of her sons, whom the despot was daily consigning to exile or death. She had tears for all that were oppressed, no matter to what creed they belonged. It was in these drinking rooms, that the first copy of the pamphlet of Bellius had been

read, translated, and expounded. Sometimes the flow of tears was interrupted by maledictions against the tyrant, and prayers to God. The maledictions were heard by the tyrant; the prayers were not heard by God. In the meantime, the struggle, which seemed terminated, was at intervals revived, and it suddenly changed its aspect. From 1551 to 1552, the libertines saw happy days: they caused a large number of refugees, the sold creatures of Calvin, to be rejected from the corps of citizens; they obtained that those inhabitants, who were neither burghers nor citizens, should be disarmed, and that the ministers should be excluded from the general council.*

Montesquieu has said: "There is no tyranny more cruel than that which is exercised under the shadow of law and with the semblance of justice, when, so to speak, they drown the unfortunate by means of the very plank, upon which they had sought safety."†

This was the snare which Calvin laid for the patriots. In the pulpit, he even by name designated the citizens, who, during the year, had not approached the Eucharistic table. The Cainlike brand was inefaceable, and whoever bore it on his brow, was exposed to the maledictions of the preachers, and the thunders of the consistory.

We must bear in mind that the right of excommunication at first belonged to the council. It was the patriots that had torn it from the consistory, after a struggle of several years. The combat was renewed, and this time the patriots were vanquished: Calvin's perseverance secured the victory.

Philibert Berthelier had been summoned before the ecclesiastical tribunal.‡ They reproached him with nocturnal visits, libertine repasts, and infamous discourses. Philibert defended himself courageously. Without trembling in the presence of the pastoral vesture of some of his judges, he cast into their faces all that he knew of their scandalous morals. A sojourn of some weeks at Noyon had revealed to him strange mysteries regarding the early years of the reformer. He was interdicted from approaching the Lord's supper.§

Philibert quite excited, goes to the council, pleads his cause, and triumphs: The council decides that Berthelier shall be able to receive communion.

On learning this decision, Calvin appears before the senate, and threatens to abandon the city, and to die, if they allow the Lord's supper to be profaned.

The council persists, and maintains its decision.||

On the Sunday following (December 1553), the communion was to take place at St. Peter's; Calvin was to distribute it.¶ The church was filled with an immense crowd, all the pastors were at their posts. The libertines had loudly proclaimed their intention to commune. Calvin ascends the pulpit, and for half an hour, angrily declaims

* Fazy, Précis, etc., p. 277, t. I.

† Grandeur et décadence des Romains, ch. XIV.

‡ Registres du conseil d'Etat, 1552.—Drelincourt, défense de Calvin.

§ Gaberel, Calvin à Genève, p. 107.

|| Id., p. 111. Gaut. VIII. Isaïe Colladon, Mém. sur l'excommunication.

¶ Ep. Vireto, Genève. pridie nonas septembris, 1553.

against the sacrilegious souls who profane the Eucharistic sacrament. The sermon over, he descends, approaches the table, displays the symbols of the Lord's supper, and brandishing his scrawny arms; "cut off these arms, he says, grind my limbs to powder, deprive me of the breath of life; but none of you shall force me to cast holy things to the dogs. Here is my blood, take it, I give it up, but my soul, never."*

This was boldness, a theatrical boldness which produced its effect. The people imagined the name of God implicated in these entirely human disputes, bowed before the minister, and let the libertines pass, who left the temple.

The patriots resumed courage, and came forward, once more, to contest the right of excommunication with the consistory. Their cause was popular; they defended it with so much eloquence, that the council decided, that henceforward to itself alone should belong the right to excommunicate incorrigible sinners. Then was reproduced that scene which already we have so frequently witnessed. The pastors send in their resignations, and make their preparations to leave. The council becomes alarmed, sends in all haste for Calvin, mutters some words of repentance; they embrace, and swear on the gospel to forget the past, and to sacrifice all hatred to the interests of religion.†

This was another act of cowardice, added to all those, of which the civil power had been guilty, from the time it had chosen Calvin for its master. We shall not be astonished at this if we observe, that the council, perverted in its representation by the incessant intrusion of French refugees, daily lost some drops of national blood. The reformer availed himself of his character to destroy his enemies in the opinion of the public. The multitude came at length to see in the Ami Perrins, the Vandels, the De Septs, the Favres, nothing but fallen christians, abandoned to the demon of concupiscence. Ami Perrin passed for an adulterer; Favre for a corrupter of maid servants; Philibert Berthelier for a frequenter of wicked places. When the patriots appeal to the people to save liberty, Calvin hurries into the pulpit, and points to their lips sullied with blasphemies, wine, and impurity. The tears of despair, which gushed from their eyes, he calls comedy; and as if it were not enough to stigmatize their morals, he seeks, moreover, to dishonour their wives, whom he transforms into public prostitutes, shameless adulteresses, and daughters of hell. And these ladies, the elite of society, were allied to counselors, captains of the civil militia, and syndics.

We have already seen with what outrages he pursued Ami Perrin, who at last fell, and was replaced in the syndical magistracy by a creature of Calvin. Peter Vandel, Balthaser and Michael Sept, Peter Verna, after a struggle of fifteen years, met with the same fate as Perrin;‡ Favre and Balthasar Sept were expelled from the council of the Two Hundred. Despair seized upon the most energetic spirits.

* Calvin à Genève, p. 111-112.

† Fazy, Précis etc., t. I, p. 279.

‡ James Fazy. Précis, etc., t. I, p. 279.

Francis Daniel Berthelier owed it to the very name he bore, to resist. He was the last libertine that would not bend his head: Calvin brought it down.

The blood, which flowed in the veins of the patriot, was not Berthelier's only crime in the eyes of the despot. The brother of Francis Daniel had made a journey to Noyon, for which the real motives could never be ascertained. He amassed in Picardy precious documents regarding the first years of the reformer. At Noyon, they said at that time, what is repeated in our days—that Calvin had shown himself a wicked son, an ungrateful pupil, a simoniacal cleric. They had, it is said, opened the registers of the city to the gaze of Philibert, who in them had read, how Calvin had been condemned to the flames for sodomy,* and that, “by a singular favour of the bishop and magistrates, the penalty had been commuted into branding on the back.” Bolsec says that with his own eyes he saw, “in the hands of Berthelier, the attestation of the fact written by a sworn notary.”† Drelincourt accuses the physician of Lyons of falsehood, but he has also denied the existence of Calvin's letter to Farel, which we have cited entire.‡ That journey came near costing Philibert dearly.

In concert with other patriots,—Ami Perrin, Hudriol Dumolard, Balthasar and Michael Sept, Claude de Geneve, and Peter Verna,—he had decreed a grand measure for the public safety: this was to assemble the general council without convocation, unknown to the syndics and inferior councils, and to reinvest the civil power with the right of excommunication.§ This appeal to the general council was not a violation of the constitution; the commune had resorted to it in its struggle with the duke of Savoy.|| The conspirators, like the confederates of Grutli in former days, had bound themselves to each other by a religious oath.

“We promise God,” they had sworn, “to maintain his word and the

* *Inspiciuntur etiam adhuc hodie civitatis Noviodunensis in Picardia scrinia et rerum gestarum monumenta; in illis adhuc hodie legitur Joannem hunc Calvinum sodomix convictum, ex Episcopi et Magistratus indulgentia solo stigmathe in tergo notatum, urbe excessisse. Nec ejus familiæ honestissimi viri adhuc superstites, impetrare hactenus potuerunt, ut hujus facti memoria, quæ toti familiæ notam aliquam inurit, è civicis illis monumentis ac scriniis eraderetur.*—Lessius.

This falsification might the more easily have taken place, as the registers consisted of some quires of simple paper not bound. According to Lessius, the falsification will have been made before 1610, as that is the epoch at which he wrote.

Consult: Discourse on the crime against nature and the stigmas with which John Calvin is reproached, by Roisselet de Sauclieres Jr. Montpellier, 1839:

† “Bolsec, calumniated in an infamous maner by Calvin and Theodore Beza, during his life, has also in our days been scandalously belied. The biographies from the pen of Bolsec contain many inaccuracies of detail, but *most of the facts are perfectly true*. As to what he advances concerning the adventures of Calvin at Noyon, I know nothing about them, and consequently will neither admit nor deny them.” Galiffe, appendix to the article *Calvin*, t. III. Nqt. Genealog. p. 647, note.

‡ See chapter entitled: THE BLOOD OF SERVETUS.

§ Fazy, Précis, etc., t. I, p. 264.

|| Id., *ibid*.

city of Geneva towards and against all, and to live and die for such a quarrel.”*

Calvin was awake and watching. Some days previous to the time fixed upon by the patriots, a commotion, provoked by the reformer, took place on the breaking up of a banquet, at which the libertines had beforehand celebrated their triumph. The watchguard was composed of young men who had taken the places of the libertines in the council.† They commenced by insults, and then recurred to more violent demonstrations; the guard proved the stronger, and the brothers Comparet, both under the influence of wine, were arrested and cast into prison.

And, on the next morning, Geneva on awakening, learned that a conspiracy, set on foot by the libertines, and fortunately frustrated, had menaced her very existence. The word treason was whispered round. Perrin, Balthasar Sept, Verna, and Philibert Berthelier, had barely time to effect their escape from the city. Two days after, the fugitives were condemned to death.

Daniel, master of the mint at Geneva, was then at Dole. Scarcely had he set foot in his native city when he was arrested, cast into prison, and a prosecution was instituted.

He was accused of conspiracy against the state.‡ Colladon, by means of the torture, wanted to extract avowals. Berthelier opened not his mouth. The inquisitor imagined a stratagem, which was designed to vanquish the obstinacy of Berthelier.

Let us allow Bolsec to speak : §

“This Berthelier, generous and heroic, could be induced, neither by remonstrances nor deceitful promises, which the seigniors of justice knew how to make to him, nor by the ministers, who, by Calvin’s persuasion, tried to lull the poor calumniated persons with fine words and promises, to say or do any thing against conscience; for which he was rudely put to the torture. But, however embarrassed by the cord or rack to which they subjected him, he could not be subdued, though the weight of the stones, hung to his feet, was so great, that the cord, with which his hands were tied up, broke three or four times. Seeing this, the seigniors of the council came near bursting with spite; and among them there was one called Amblar Corne, who said to him: “Thou shalt confess this, or else we will give thee enough strokes of the cord to rend away thy arms and legs; for their lordships will never be vanquished by thy obstinacy.” Nevertheless the said Berthelier, persevering ever in the same constancy, and not being willing to say any thing against truth and conscience, they devised a new scheme, which was to send after the mother of the said young prisoner, who

* Id. ib.----The historian adds: certes, these words manifest no bad thoughts, either against religion (the reformation,) or the state.

† Fazy, Précis, t. I, p. 282.

‡ In the act of accusation we read: he has said; “I do not believe in predestination, whatever your Calvin may say about it.”

“He has formed the design of withdrawing the right of excommunication from the consistory to remit it to the council of the Two Hundred.”

§ Bolsec, Vie de Calvin.

had retired to the country of Faucigny, on account of the horrible cruelties practised at Geneva.

This Amblar Corne, one of the seigniors of the council, a very ardent and devoted disciple of Calvin, undertook the charge of going to the said old woman, to bring her to Geneva, for the good and honour of her son, who was in prison, resolved, as it is said, rather to die under the torture, than to say any thing against truth, his conscience, and his neighbour. The said Amblar Corne knew very well how to enchant the old woman with deceitful words and false promises, on the part of the seigniors of the council, declaring that not only her son would be restored to liberty, but moreover, exalted in honours and office, if he were willing to obey the said seigniors, and simply confess what they wished, namely, that the thing was true wherewith he was accused; and that Ami Perrin, and the other aforesaid fugitives from Geneva, had solicited him to be partaker of their conspiracy and enterprise; but that he had been unwilling to listen to them. Confessing only this little, he would be restored to entire liberty, and raised in dignity in said council. Well, he knew so well how to say this, that he lulled the old mother, and persuaded her to come to Geneva, for the preservation and delivery of her son.

“ Having reached the city, she went forthwith to the prison, in which her son was confined, much bruized and cut to pieces with the cord, and showed to him the will and deliberation of the council, to cause him to perish miserably in prison, sooner than that he should overcome the seigniors of the council. Wherefore, the miserable mother exhorted and entreated him to agree to the wishes of the seigniors, and to confess what they desired him, though even it were contrary to truth and his conscience, and that, through this means only, would he be set at liberty, established in dignity, offices, and honours; that promises to this effect had been made her by Amblar Corne, on the part of the whole council. So well knew the miserable mother how to weep, and to solicit her son, that if he had no pity for himself, he should, at least, have some for her, who would be left desolate, without children or support, after his death; and assuring him, regarding the promise which had been made her, on the part of the said seigniors; that the poor young man yielded and promised his mother to do so: whereupon she gave intimation to the said Amblar Corne and others of the council, who, immediately assembled, interrogated him as before, on the aforesaid points, which he boldly confessed, confiding in the words and promises made to his mother. But no sooner had he confessed, and his confession been reduced to writing, than the sentence of death was decreed and published, and executed the same day. The wretched and sorrowful mother, seeing that it had fallen out contrary to her hopes, and contrary to the promises made to her by a member of the council, and in behalf of the whole council; seeing, I say, her son dead; considering herself the cause of this, and a traitress to her own blood, she came near killing herself out of spite and shame. Well, like a maniac, she instantly left Geneva, and went, crying and filling the air with regrets and complaints, to Berne, to Zurich, to Fribourg, and to other cities of the cantons, declaring the detestable and inhuman deed, committed by

her at the persuasion of the seigniors of Geneva, especially of one Amblar Corne, their messenger and agent to effect such treachery; and she demanded justice from God, and from the seigniors of the cantons, against the seigniors of Geneva."

Claude, of Geneva, and the two Comparets likewise perished on the scaffold.

The patriots, who fled from punishment, took refuge in Berne, whither Calvin pursued them. He wanted them to be expelled from Switzerland. Berne refused to co-operate with the reformer in his vengeance, and feared not to manifest aloud its admiration for courage in misfortune. This protection caused Calvin's hatred against the patriots to increase. He obtained, from the councils, a sentence of banishment against the wives of the libertines, the sequestration and confiscation of their property, the suppression of the post of captain general, and the *punishment of death against every citizen who should speak of recalling the exiles.**

Geneva had a calif.

Thus terminated the contest between Calvin and the patriots. Blood only could bestow victory upon the party bold enough to shed it. If, during this long struggle, the libertines were not deficient in courage, it cannot be denied, that they had not enough of that audacity which is necessary for revolutionists. To the last moment, they imagined that bar-room epigrams could kill a man of Calvin's temperament. At Geneva, ridicule was not deadly. Had they known how to rid themselves of the despot by means of assassination, the whole population would have upheld them, and on the day after the homicide, St. Peter's would have been filled with citizens, assembled to return thanks to heaven for the downfall of the tyrant. Suppose thought free at Geneva; a few printed lines would have done justice to Calvin. In case of need, the stiletto might have taken the place of the pamphlet; but the libertines dared not employ it. We do not blame them for this; we will merely say, that they were much bolder in presence of Peter de la Baume. The reason was, that the old bishop always forgave, "and often," says M. Galiffe, "out of season, whilst the new one never pardoned."†

But a people cannot be killed without their blood crying to God for vengeance. And Calvin already endured the penalty of his cruelties. The despot grew old before his time; his nights were full of torments; by day, he was in dread of snares and ambuscades; his soul was gradually invaded by despair. If you penetrate his dwelling, in the street des Chanoines, you will discover him writing to Farel: "Alas! I have presumed too much on my strength: egotism is the monarch that rules mankind: a national spirit, love, charity, morals, no longer exist at Geneva: my heart is stopped..... I tremble for the future."

We shall pause a moment, to contemplate the reformer in his private life.

* Fazy, p. 28.

Cursed, here says M. Galiffe, cursed be the memory of this drinker of blood, who caused the son of Philibert Berthelier to perish on the scaffold.—Not. Gen. t. III, p. 552.

† Not. Gen., t. III, p. 552.

CHAPTER XLIV.

PRIVATE LIFE AT GENEVA.—1541—1560.

The learned man of the revival.—Luther and Calvin.—Political and literary labours of the Genevese reformer.—Solution of different cases of conscience.—Intellectual fecundity of Calvin.—He loves to consult his friends.—His co-labourers.—His correspondence.—His soul.—Death of Idelette.—Calvin at table.—In his dwelling.—His usual reading, the Bible.—Calvin with his theological adversaries.—Never knew any thing but hatred.—Attempts to justify his acrimony of style.—Maladies.—Domestic troubles.

IN the lives of the literary men of the middle ages, there is something of the marvelous, in their passion for study, which manifested itself on all occasions,—at table, in bed, in their walks. Erasmus, while on his way back from Italy, and when crossing the Alps on horseback, arranged the plan of his eulogy of folly, of which, in the evening, he struck out several chapters, in one of those taverns which he so wittily traduces. Castalion, obliged to fish in the Rhine for the support of his family, while waiting for the fish to bite, wrote upon placards, which he had torn down from the columns of the cathedral of Bale. Luther, in order to escape the importunate babbling of his doctress Ketha, took from the kitchen some bread, salt, and melted butter, and shut himself up in his study-chamber, for three days and nights, with locked doors, having concealed the keys, and he would not open, till his wife, out of all patience, threatened to send for the locksmith. Never, also, was the passion for study more prolific: Luther's works, reduced to octavos, would form a real library of our times.

At the age of twenty-seven, Calvin had written the Christian Institutes, a book in itself as voluminous as the Bible, and in which all the questions, that will ever trouble the world to the end of ages, are examined thoroughly. This was his labour and task as sectary and philosopher. His hours of recreation were passed in the composition of a commentary on the book of Seneca concerning Clemency: a laborious work, which runs along some hundred folio pages.

At Strasbourg, he preaches twice a day, has the administration of the French church, gives public lectures on the holy scriptures, keeps up a religious correspondence with his friends of France and Germany, and finds time to labour at various interpretations of St. Paul's Epistles. This activity of the brain seems to be redoubled after his return to Geneva. You will find him every where, and frequently occupied in the

details of ordinary life, which he will abandon to no one. At the temple, it is he who supervises mere material labours; who causes the pulpit to be lowered, that the preacher's voice may be more easily heard; who replasters the mutilated walls; who removes the statues and images; who effaces the monumental inscriptions. From the temple, he passes to the council, where he confers with the syndics and counselors, concerning the municipal administration, the political affairs of the city, the police of the streets, matters of litigation, of civil legislation, and the distribution of alms. From the council, he returns to his lodgings, where he finds his table loaded with letters, consultations, complaints, denunciations, to which he replies immediately. The night comes, and he still toils: three hours sleep are enough for him. During summer, in the evening, he amuses himself with some of the counselors in playing at a game, the skill of which, says Morus, "consists in knowing how to push some keys the nearest possible to a long table."* Throughout his whole life, he was ill from inability to sleep, dreams, and attacks of fever, produced by a fiery blood, which he never even tried to soothe. "On the day, when it was not his time to preach, being in bed, he caused them, about five or six o'clock, to bring him some books, that he might excite himself to composition, having some one to write under his dictation. If it was his week, he was there always ready at two o'clock to ascend the pulpit, and after having returned home, he would retire to bed, or throw himself on the bed in his clothes, and having some books, pursue his labours."† Calvin loves to speak of all these great intellectual exertions. Balduinus, one of the luminaries of French jurisprudence, for a long time acted as his secretary.‡

He writes to Farel: "In truth, I cannot recall to mind a more painful day during the whole year. The messenger, with my letter, must bear the commencement of my work. Twenty sheets to be corrected, my lectures, my sermon, four letters to write, some parties to reconcile, ten persons waiting to consult me! I hope you will pardon me, if I do not entertain you more at length."

This was Luther's life; obliged to write, to give answers, to learn by heart, to dictate, to open his doors to the visits of electors, of learned strangers, of poor persons, and to soothe the poutings of his wife. Idelette, every thing considered, was a far better companion than Bora: she does not occupy the least place in the life of the French reformer. Happily for Calvin, was this; for had his choleric temperament been continually excited by family troubles, what would have become of the republic?

If we wish to become acquainted with the unveiled soul of the theologian, we must study Calvin's correspondence. Here are some cases of conscience, of which the solution is characteristic.

They present to Farel an infant to be baptized, the daughter of a

* Morus, *Eloge de Calvin, en tête de l'Institution*, p. 115-116.

† Péze, *Vie de Calvin*.

‡ Balduinus olim familiaris et scriba ejus. *Papyrus Massô.--Drelincourt*, p. 250.

Catholic, "who had been unwilling to renounce the Antichrist,"* and who says to the minister: "I wish to follow my husband's faith."

Farel refuses the baptismal water, and consults his friend, who answers: "You have done well; it would be absurd to baptize those who do not wish to form part of our body."†

Lælius Socinus, the anti-Trinitarian, demanded of Calvin: "Master, what say you of a *christian* who marries a *Catholic wife*?"

Calvin answers: "A *christian* is not permitted to ally himself with a woman who has deserted Christ. Now, all papists are in this case. He adds: papist and Mahometan, it is nearly the same thing."‡

D. Gossin Zenell said: "It often happens that I have to eat at Catholic tables, where they say the *benedicite* and *grace*; what ought I to do?"

Calvin responds: "Keep your hat on your head; for, to uncover your head, is performing an act of papistry."§

He wrote in Latin with astonishing facility. His mind, fertilized by reading, observation, meditation, and study, poured itself forth without torment or fatigue. He nearly always composed under inspiration; and his language then ran more rapidly than his pen. He took but one day to draw up his response to Sadolet. In general, as we have already remarked, he paid no attention to images; with him, form is scarcely ever brilliant. He addresses reason, and never touches the heart. His wrath but rarely sparkles. It is a brutal wrath, such as is produced at college; it will bear no comparison with that of Hutten, which glows like a burning coal.

At times, it happened that his brain, appealed to in vain, remained sterile; that his thought, in spite of all his efforts, swam in vacuum; that his very language showed itself indocile or rebellious: an accident very frequent in the life of authors. Calvin, master of himself, did not weary himself with chasing an idea which he was certain of finding again. He sometimes waited for entire weeks, and one morning, on rising from his couch, the thought and the sign came to present themselves, of their own accord. Whilst he was occupied at his treatise *concerning Scandals*,|| he experienced one of these attacks of mental paralysis, which lasted several weeks, and which, in no wise, alarmed him: the Epistle to the Galatians was his physician; St. Paul cured him.

Under similar circumstances, Luther would have straightened himself against satan, to whom he would have imputed this mental sterility, and very probably, satan, after a serious struggle, would have yielded.

* Epist. Farelli, Neocomi, 14 julii 1552.

† Absurdum esse ut eos baptizemus qui corporis nostri censi nequeunt.—Farello, 16 Cal. Aug. 1553.

‡ Homini christiano fas esse nego se uxori adjungere quæ sit a Christo aliena. In eo autem seimus omnes papistas.—Lælio Zozino 7 idus decemb. 1549.

§ Quod ad mensæ benedictionem precesque privatas spectat, quisquis retecto capite, eas audit, non obscure declarat illis se subscribere.—D. Gossin Zenello, Genevæ, pridie Idus Martias, 1558.

|| Opusculum de Scandalis inchoatum, quia non ex voto fluebat stylus, ad tempus remisi.—Ep. MSS. Gen. oct. 1546.

Calvin believed much less in the influence of the demon than did the Saxon monk. He attributed these returns of intellectual debility to secondary causes : to indigestions, to chronic hemicrany, to caprices of the brain. He then plunged into the excitement of business ; he preached, he disputed at the consistory, he read, he wrote to his friends from whom he had not even the coquetry to conceal his slight infirmities. For his consolation, he kept the Christian Institutes in his library, an enormous folio, which he contemplated with a sort of pride, and which erected itself, in all its majesty, to inform the numerous visitors, what treasures of words and thoughts were stored in the head of the reformer.

He was fond of dictating aloud. The mechanical motion of the pen fatigued him, and he imposed this task upon a secretary. The work nearly always was allowed to remain in its primitive form, such as it had issued from the brain of the master. One would not understand, without having read him, how very pliant and docile for him is the old idiom of the Roman land, whilst the French muse often jilts him. More than once, do we find evidences, on the paper, of the violence to which she was compelled to yield ; a mutinous maiden, that could only be induced to obey by means of chastisement. Hence, on solemn occasions, when he is desirous to bring about some remarkable conversion, to sustain a learned thesis, to attack the Pope to his face, Calvin makes himself a citizen of Rome, of the Rome of Seneca, and he thinks and writes in Latin. His phrase then is certainly more regular than Luther's ; but it wants that life, that nerve, that fire, which are so abundantly diffused through the polemics of the Saxon. Luther, whether writing in a dead or a living language, is always a creator. Has he need of a word ? If the Teutonic language will not furnish him with it, he invents it. And, with swollen gorge, he laughs when he is asked to show in what lexicon he has come across this unusual term ? And what does it matter if it be a barbarism, provided the reader have comprehended it ? Do they still insist, he answers : " I found it in that inkstand which I threw at the head of the devil, who was tormenting me in my study-chamber, as you are now doing."

Calvin was more chary of his literary reputation. He loved to consult his friends. Farel was his usual judge : it is to him that he sends " The Antidote to the Council of Trent," which the minister of Neuchatel returns to him, having designedly left in it all the brutalities of language, against the fathers of the church. Calvin is beside himself with joy ; he writes : " Truly, my Antidote begins to please me, since it has received your approbation, for I was not at all satisfied with it : considering my daily contests, you must pardon me if my book is no better ; what astonishes me is, that I have been able to write anything passable."*

Des Gallars, a French refugee, who, at a later period, appeared at the conference of Poissy, and in 1571, was preacher to the queen of Navarre, was one of the co-labourers of Calvin. The reformer, in various letters, lauds the zeal and intelligence of the writer, who, under

* 28 décembre 1557.

his name, published a virulent pamphlet against Caroli, in which Calvin's claw is manifest, even in the very title.* Des Gallars was not the person to have branded a learned man, like Caroli, with the name of Theologaster. The libel, at every page, shows the impress of the hand of John of Noyon : it has his correct but pedantic form ; his airs of insulting grandeur, his magisterial surliness, and his doctoral fatuity. There is nothing more easy than to divine Calvin. In his smallest billets, you will detect an odour of religious or worldly aristocracy, which quickly reveals him. In vain does he seek here to persuade us, that des Gallars has presented himself as an ally to his anger : this refugee was too obscure a man to contend with Caroli. Calvin has betrayed himself in his letter to Farel : " If you find that Caroli is refuted with sufficient skill, you must thank me for it ; a little more, and I should have allowed him to bark, so much did I fear lest the form of argumentation should awaken tempests ; but the die is cast. May God bless us ! I was in such good nerve when I seized the pen, that I reached the goal immediately. This style, which runs and flies, is easily comprehended : I had assumed a mask, and I was playing under a fictitious name."†

Though this letter had been left without a signature, we could have named its author. Calvin has rhetorical figures peculiar to himself. When he is desirous of killing his enemy, he calls him a dog. Thus has he done with Caroli, with Servetus, with Castalion. If his adversary be of considerable intellect, then the dog is mad.‡ In his writings, the dog plays the same part that satan does in those of Luther. But, even in this, does the poetical inferiority of the Genevese manifest itself. When Calvin's dog has howled, slavered, bitten, he lies down and goes to sleep ; but Luther's demon, after having howled, foamed, and bitten, transforms himself into a serpent, a frog, a theologian, even a monk of Cologne ; and each metamorphosis furnishes the doctor with new images.

John Gerard, or Girard, and James Bourgeois, both printers at Geneva, have published most of the productions of the reformer. In 1551, John Gerard issued his little tracts (*Opuscles*), and in 1553, the French translation of the Institutes. Colladon is the author of the tables of these works.§

Calvin has left several thousand letters, without counting those which are lost, or which have not been discovered. Nearly all of them treat of theological matters : dogma, exegesis, morals, are therein often treated at the same time. Most of them are addressed to Farel. The pastor of Neuchatel, is the man of the reformation whom he most dearly loves. He rarely scolds him, for always does he do the will of his master, obey all his caprices, show himself humble, submissive, and docile. It is a marvelous thing to contemplate how rapidly time has

* Pro Guil. Farello et collegis ejus adversus Petri Caroli theologastri calumnias, defensio Nicolai Gallasii, in-8, 1545.—Senebier, t. I. p. 342.

† Man. de Gen., août 1545.

‡ Tantum canina illa mordendi latrandique rabies quam ebulliunt omnes ejus scriptorum paginæ satis testatur qualis hominem spiritus instiget.

§ Epist. N. Colladon ad Marcuardum.

worn out the energies of soul of this preacher, at first so full of enthusiasm. At the first hair that turned gray on his head, Farel lost his vigour of speech, his poetry of language, his epileptic gestures, his inflamed eye. You would no longer recognize the dwarf with the red beard, who, in 1532, came to Geneva, to challenge the canons, drive away the bishop, break the bells to pieces, and set up the abomination of desolation in the holy place. His religious ideas have been changed; he has tendencies towards Anabaptism, and never has he freely adopted the dogma of predestination; but he takes care to conceal himself from the reformer. His whole desire is to die in peace, and he would be very careful not to come into contact with Calvin. This is submission, or if you please, philosophy: I did not wish to say, egotism.

The handwriting of the Genevese is often similar to that of the stenographer, replete with abbreviations, the key of which must be sought for, and which render it very difficult to be read. At a first view, a person would pronounce it one of those scrawls of the sixteenth century, which are found in some old study-room of an attorney. Had Tetzels written after this sort, Luther would have lost all patience, and would not have failed to attribute such scrawling to the devil. Besides, Calvin was among the first to laugh at his own hieroglyphics. One day, Beza had addressed to the wife of Coligni one of Calvin's letters, without a signature: the reformer hastens to excuse himself:

"It was not from my foolishness or carelessness, that my letter was sent to you without the name to it, but the too great hurry of M. de Beza, who took it whilst I was sick, and, without looking if it had name or date, folded it and put it in the package. But it is indeed sufficient that you have been able to divine from whom it came; for my hand is little indebted to the graces. Another time, however, I shall be more careful."*

Nearly all Calvin's letters are sealed. "The seal bears a hand and wrist, issuing from the right side of the shield and holding a heart."†

In perusing Calvin's correspondence one thing strikes us forcibly; it is the writer's want of heart. You may turn over, leaf by leaf, the large volume of his private life, and no where will you surprise one sigh of tenderness, one tear of pity, one impulse of love. And yet there are some pages where you would look to be affected: if he relates the death of his first-born, it is in a few lines! In Luther's correspondence, at each instant you behold appearing the figure of old Hans, that miner of Mansfield, who so ardently loved his son; the charitable Cotta, who gave an humble mite to the child of God; the little Margaret, that beautiful angel, whom God so hastily snatched from his Paradise; and those mementos of the son, the father, the friend, the monk with his eyes suffused with tears; and struggle how you may, you cannot help weeping. Calvin had a father, whose eyes he closed in death. He has described that last scene, in a letter to one of his friends, as did Luther, at an age when tears flow so readily; and he could not

* Genève, 5 août 1563.

† Galiffe, t. III, p. 113.

find a single tear! Notice whether his soul ever directs her flight to that spot where the remains of his mother repose? He has even forgotten the memory of the good abbé d'Hangest.* God frequently visited his friends, and among the rest, Farel, who for a moment was at death's door; but never did Calvin cast himself on his knees, to implore the mercy of heaven; never did his lips mutter a single beautiful prayer.

Idelette, his wife, was in danger of death; he writes to Viret: "Salute your wife in my behalf; my wife is like your own, dying slowly. I fear for her; we are already sufficiently unhappy: may God come to our assistance."†

The accomplishment of Calvin's presentiments was not long delayed. Idelette, after protracted sufferings, died in April, 1549: he is about to narrate to us the last moments of the Anabaptist widow:

"You have received news ‡ of my wife's death; I use every effort I can to keep from succumbing under my sorrow. My friends, on their part, forget nothing to alleviate my sufferings. At the moment your brother left us, all hope vanished. On Tuesday, our brethren assembled and began to pray. When Abel came to recommend faith and patience to her, she gave us to know, by a few words which she articulated with difficulty, such was her debility, the whole thought of her heart. On the next day, she recommended her soul to God. Bourgoing, our brother, stayed by the bedside of the sufferer till evening, speaking to her of eternity. Whilst he was speaking, she said: O God of Abraham and of our fathers, thy children have placed their hopes in thee, and those hopes shall not be confounded; I also confide myself to thee. It was rather murmurs than distinct sounds, that issued from her lips; already she could no longer hear, but she manifested the faith which animated her. At six o'clock, I went out; at seven, she became very feeble, but could still speak: pray for me, did she say to the assistants, and implore the Divine mercy. I then returned; she lost speech, but still gave signs of faith. I said some words to her concerning the mercy of Christ, her future happiness, our union on this earth, and that other country where we should meet again, and other pious words, which she heard and welcomed with a lively sentiment of love. At eight o'clock, she slept so calmly, that those, who were watching by her bedside, did not perceive that she had passed away. In spite of all my grief, I do not forget the duties of my charge, and am making preparations for the combat which the Lord destines for me."

Here is a narrative, not one word of which affects us; this is as it should be. How far more affecting would such a scene have been, had it taken place in the chamber of a dying Catholic! We would believe in the efficacy of that prayer, which issues from the lips of the priest and the assistants, and wings its flight to the God of mercy. But if Calvin's system of predestination be true, of what avail are those sighs, those effusions, those appeals to Jesus? If the being, who is about to

* See the chapter entitled: PRIVATE LIFE OF CALVIN AT STRASBOURG.

† Uxori tue plurimam salutem. Mea illi socia est in lentis morbis. Vereor ne quid præter votum accidat. Sed satis nos urgent mala præsentia. Dominus se propitium nobis ostendat.—Ep. MSS., decemb. 1547.

‡ Il ap. Farello, 1549.

die, from all eternity, has been destined to exist under the influence of an iron necessity which impels it to good or evil, is it not predestined, from all eternity, to light or darkness, in order to glorify the justice of the Creator, by its twofold immortality of happiness or misery? Does not Calvin teach this pitiless dogma, in his Institutes? and probably under the empire of this very fatalism he has described the death of Idelette; and therefore was his eye barren of tears, and his mouth destitute of all external sign of sorrow: miserable man, who can neither pray nor weep without denying his own doctrine!

Calvin continued a widower the rest of his life. He was determined to make his adversaries liars, who, laughing, said that the reformation had undertaken a new Trojan war* for a woman's petticoat. Erasmus made this sally, and gave it in its plainest form. The Batavian philosopher, on an occasion of gait, had let drop this saying, which took the rounds through Germany: "The reformation resembles a comedy, which ever winds up with a marriage." And, whatever Calvin may say to the contrary, at Geneva, as well as at Strasbourg and Wittenberg, it equally ended with a nuptial feast, except, that, at Geneva, there was no elector as at Wittenberg, to send the bridal parties a tun of Malvoisie, to contribute to the festal rejoicings.

Yet, the Genevese council showed itself generous towards its guest. It had purchased and furnished a house for him; every year, besides the salary of about one thousand francs, † it gave him twelve dozen bushels of wheat, two tuns of wine: "A considerable token accorded him," say the registers, "in consideration of his being very learned, and put to much cost by persons passing!"

And, in fact, at his table, the reformer often received strangers of distinction, Swiss ministers, or French refugees. His table was well supplied, and especially with wines, presenting always the Sauvagin, the best production of the environs of Geneva, and "the sweetmeats of Spain, both green and dry," which were sent to him as presents. He had a baker, who furnished him with bread made out of the finest flour, kneaded with rose-water, cinnamon, and anise-seed, which was called *the bread of Calvin*. The refugees whom he visited, loved to entertain him well; "In such sort," says Bolsec, "that game and choice pieces of meat began to grow dear, on account of which were produced at Geneva both murmurs and scandal, because of the gluttony of foreigners, and of the French especially, who bought up every thing

* Fingunt adversarii nos mulierum causa quasi trojanum bellum movisse.—Tract. de Scandalis, p. 86.

† We have before us one of Calvin's receipts, which runs thus:

"We, the undersigned and the council of Geneva, to our well beloved treasurer, greeting, and we recommend you to give to our well beloved, respectable M. John Calvin, minister of the word of God, for his salary of the current four months, the sum of 125 florins, for which, exhibiting these presents, we shall give you credit. Given the sixth of March, 1560.

"Signed: BERNARD."

And below:

"I acknowledge the receipt of the above sum from the hands of the treasurer. This 7th of March, 1560.

"Signed: CALVIN."

that was brought to be sold at the Moulard.* Calvin's devotees, those who wore his portrait as a charm, declared that the reformer took no pleasure in good cheer, and this testimony is rendered him by Beza and Drelincourt. Both also laud his disinterestedness; but a modern historian, after having investigated the archives of the city, affirms, "that he was abundantly paid; that they continually made presents to him, and also presented his brother with what their lordships might have claimed for fines and other things, so that, annually, they drew more than at that time was consumed by several families together."†

The council frequently gave him presents. In 1546, it gave a hundred francs for the expenses of sickness; in 1553, thirty francs for his travel from Geneva to Berne; on the 28th of December 1556, wood for his fire; on May 14th 1560, a tun of excellent wine. The council was far more generous towards the reformer, than the elector of Saxony towards Luther, whose wine cellar was kept much better supplied than his wardrobe. It is true that the wine, with which the German princes were so very liberal, had been stolen from the cellars of the convents. Moreover, Calvin was the only minister at Geneva who was treated so magnificently. Some of them were so badly remunerated, that they were compelled to send their sick children to the hospital. In the archives, under date of July the 8th, 1566, we read: "A present to one of the respectable ministers, whose poverty is so great that often he makes his repast on less than a monk's mess." From 1550 to 1560, the salary of elders was fixed at four sous per sitting; that of counselors at six, that of each member of the Two Hundred at two only.

The house, where Calvin dwelt, was situated in the street des Chanoines; it was simple, and like all the rest which surrounded it. One day, Cardinal Sadolet, passing through Geneva *incognito*, was curious to visit the reformer whom he had so gloriously combated. He knocks at the door, and a man with lank jaws, grizzled hair, and clad in a well worn garb, came to open for him; it was Calvin himself. Drelincourt describes to us the astonishment of the prelate, who, himself a courtier of the Medicis, and a guest of a city full of gold, precious stones, and marble, was expecting to behold this great glory of Geneva, environed by numerous domestics; as if the secretary of Leo X, had not had time enough to forget the pomps of the Vatican! It is Calvin, who would have been astonished had he come to knock at the episcopal palace of Carpentras, the courtyard of which, the anti-chambers and apartments, he would have found filled with beggars, paralytics, blind persons, whom the good priest termed his children and his courtiers.

The libraries of the Saxon and French reformers, bore some resemblance to each other. In both, were found the Vulgate, the fathers of the church, and religious pamphlets. Calvin and Luther read little; the Bible was the only book they loved to peruse; they almost knew

* Bolsec, Vie de Calvin, p. 45-46.

† Galiffe, t. III, p. 111-112.

it by heart. In their view, St. Paul was the noblest reflection of the thought of Christ.

Luther compared the Bible to a vast forest of trees, which bore fruits of every savour, and he affirmed that there was not one of these fruits which he had not tasted. Calvin said, that, in the branches of these beautiful trees, there was placed something for all the birds of heaven. In his study chamber, Luther through his whole life kept a wooden crucifix, before which he knelt and prayed: his wedding ring was ornamented with a figure of Christ on the cross. Calvin had no love for images; he thought, like Carlstadt, that man ought not to carve any image with his hand, for fear of falling into the sin of idolatry. Erasmus, as well as Luther, had replied to this iconoclastic argument. Calvin had caused all material representations to be abolished in his temples, from not understanding that images are the Bibles of such as know not how to read. If, during the progress of his life, he meets with a pearl or a flower upon his pathway, you may be certain that he will not stoop to lift it. We sometimes figure to ourselves Luther at Geneva, in Calvin's habitation. What fine inspirations would he have derived from the spectacle of those mountains and streams, that lake, those snows, that verdure, and those glaciers! What chants at sunrise! Then indeed would he have said to Justus Jonas: "could death and sin be removed from this earth, I should delight to dwell in this paradise; but when the old form of this world shall be renewed, and an eternal spring shall breathe upon these worn out robes, what new transformation, what a land of Eden!"* In perusing Calvin's letters, it seems as if the reformer had been doomed to pass his life amid Sarmatian steppes, or Northern forests.† The absence of all emotion at the sight of objects which appeal to the imagination so forcibly, manifests all the coldness of the heart of the Genevese! That sterility of soul is his lot and appanage: he bears it with him as his chastisement. Behold him, when Servetus, on the point of going to death, causes him to be called, that the poor victim may kiss his hand and ask his forgiveness! Study his countenance, you will not detect in it a single symptom of pity: he is like an old judge who has seen weeping all his life, and who has begged God to deprive him of the gift of tears. Also, has he never felt an emotion of love; nor do any love him. They dread, they fear him: but not a soul is attracted towards him by the least sympathy. His heart has no room for anything but hatred, wrath, and envy. All who have known him withdraw from him, because they are unable to endure his arrogant speech, his bilious egotism, his bursts of vanity, and his immeasurable pride. Melancthon reproaches him with a moroseness which nothing can bend;‡ Bucer, with the disease of evil speaking which has passed into the very blood, like the virus of a mad-dog;§ Papire Masson, with an insatiable pride and thirst for

* Da sprach der Doctor: wenn nur Sünde und Tod weg wären, wollten wir uns an solchem Paradiese genügen lassen.—Mathesius.

† Paul Henry, p. 485, t. I.

‡ Præfractam ejus morositatem vituperabat Melancthon.

§ Scriptor maledicendi studio infectus, canis rabidus.--Pap. Masso, Vita Calvini, p. 24.

blood,* under the mask of modesty and simplicity; Balduinus, with an intolerable self sufficiency of which every one complains.† If he be such as his admiring biographers represent him to us, how did it happen, that one by one he lost all his friends, even the most devoted? Caroli, at the disputation of Lausanne, had tendered him the noblest pledges of devotedness. And Caroli, whom at first he had lauded, at length was nothing better than “a mad dog.” The reason, is that Caroli was unwilling to sell his liberty to the reformer. Castalion was one of his beloved disciples, whom he had placed at the head of the college of Geneva; but Castalion falls into disgrace with Calvin, because he understands the *descendit ad inferos* of the Athanasian creed differently from him; and he becomes a mere theologaster, who not being able to support life by means of his science, steals wood at Bale for his subsistence. Pighius, whose learning he had admired, is transformed into a beardless scholar, as soon as he questions the reformer’s authority. Bucer is compelled one day to exclaim: “thou lovest and thou hatest without any other motive than that insupportable *self-love*, which annoys all that are acquainted with thee.” Luther, whom at first he regarded as an angel, soon becomes a wicked woman, who would do much better to employ the gift she has received from God in correcting her own faults, than to be sustaining her shameless blasphemies of the real presence.‡ Search all the pages of Protestant or reformation biography, and you will not encounter a single reputation that he has not attacked, torn to pieces, vilified. He calls, “Luther, in ridicule, the Pericles of Germany; Melancthon, an inconstant person and a coward; Osiander, an enchanter, a seducer, a savage beast; Augiland, minister at Montbeliard, proud, strife making, wrathful; Capmulus, a nobody; Heshus, a stinking babbler; Stancer, an Arian; Memnon, a miserable Manichean.” Hence they were wont to say at Geneva: “better be in hell with Beza, than in paradise with Calvin.”

Hatred was as necessary to Calvin, as love to our Vincent of Paul. If upon his way he encounters some tender soul, he torments himself till hate begins to take possession of him. In vain does it attempt to invoke the law of love which Christ came to bring to mankind; to love is a word that he comprehends not; he seizes it and drives it beyond christianity into the abyss of past time, when the ancient law held sway. And he writes: “And as to what I alledged to you that David by his example instructs us to hate the enemies of God, you reply, that this only regarded those times under the law of rigour which permitted the hatred of enemies. But, madam, such an interpretation would tend to overturn the scriptures, and therefore should

* *Vindictæ appetens et sanguinis fuit, facie cum modesta, ad omnem simplicemque figuram composita, tegens latentem intus superbiam et Philautian.* Pap. Masso, Vita Calvinii, p. 26.

† *Collegæ tui conqueruntur de tua intolerabili arrogantia.*---Id., p. 26.

‡ *Lutherus magnis vitis laborat; intemperiem qua ubique ebullit, utinam magis frenare studisset! utinam suis vitis recognoscendis plus operam dedisset.*---Cal. Ep.

§ *Genevenses inter jocos dicebant malle se apud inferos cum Beza, quam apud superos esse cum Calvinio.*---Papyrius Masso, p. 4.

be avoided as a deadly pest. . . . And to cut short all dispute, let us content ourselves with the fact, that St. Paul applies to all the faithful this passage, that the zeal of God's house ought to devour them. Wherefore our Lord Jesus Christ, in reproofing his disciples, who wished him, as Elias did, to cause the lightnings of heaven to smite those who rejected him, does not alledge to them that they are no longer under the law of rigour, but only shows them that they are not moved by an affection such as that of the prophet. Even St. John, of whom you have retained nothing but the word charity, well shows us that we ought not, under pretence of love for men, to grow indifferent as to the duty we owe to the honour of God and the preservation of his church, since he himself forbids us to salute those, who, as far as lies in their power, turn us from pure doctrine."*

The wrath of Calvin, like his heart, is cold and prosaic. When the Saxon monk gets angry, he hurls at the head of his adversary every thing within reach of his hand; the poetry of the holy books, and expressions of a trooper, gold and lead; he has no time to select, for the blood has rushed to his brain. But Calvin does like the coquet who searches her casket for the pearl which produces the most effect. He ransacks his dictionary of bad terms; he gathers one by one the billingsgate terms he wants, and sets, adjusts, arranges them as he would diamonds. In contemplating the trouble he gives himself, his enemies laugh loudly. Westphalius shrugged his shoulders at the triple apostrophe: "Hearest thou, mean fellow? Hearest thou, madman? Hearest thou, brute?"† And he said: "I am certain that at the Moulard, on any market day, they could insult me more poetically."

And, in truth, what lazzarone of the Largo Castello of Naples is there, who would be willing to undergo the exertion of getting into a rage, for sake of such miserable sallies against the fathers of the council of Trent?

"Hail, Tridenticolists, soldiers of Neptune, ignorant, stupid men, asses and ninnies, legates of Antichrist, slothful bellies, putrid carcasses, horned fathers, sons of the Roman faith, that is, of the great prostitute."‡

Insults without horns, as Luther would have said, and which must have caused the white beards of the council to smile with pity! What is marvelous is, that Calvin, after calling Westphalius a mad dog, Servetus, a blackguard, (*nebulo*;) Bolsec, an animal, the cardinals of Trent, legates of Antichrist, Balduinus, a jackdaw, screech-owl, "passed master in the art of theft," imagined that he had followed the prophets and Christ as his models. We speak seriously.

"It is easy for master Joachim to object to me that my language is

*Letter to the Duchess of Ferrara.

† Audisne latrator?----Audisne, phrenetice?----Audisne, bestia?

‡ Tridenticolas, sub Neptuni auspiciis militantes, indoctos, quisquilias, asinos, porcos pecudes, crassos boves, antichristi legatos, otiosos ventres, patrida cadavera, blaterones, patres cornutos, exitialia monstra, romanæ fidei, id est, magnæ meretricis filios, patres ad sesquipedem auritos.

sprinkled with a black salt of pleasantry, wanton and without savour, and of a biting rudeness after the style of a calumniator. If I am to be called an insulting man, because, master Joachim being too blinded amid his vices, I have held up to him the mirror, to cause him to begin at length to be ashamed of himself, he must necessarily address this censure to the prophets, the apostles, and Christ himself, who have made no scruple sharply to reprove the adversaries of holy doctrine, even those whom they beheld proud and obstinate."

"We are agreed on both sides, that injurious words and the idle stories of jokers in no wise become christians. But inasmuch as the prophets themselves do not at all refrain from using taunts, and Christ taxes deceivers and false-teachers in pungent terms, and the Holy Ghost every where attacks such sort of gentry, crying against them without sparing: it is a foolish and inconsiderate question to demand if it be allowable to reprehend severely, rudely, and intentionally, those who expose themselves to blame and infamy."*

We should see with what pious candour Drelincourt undertakes the defence of him, whom he continually terms "the saint of Geneva, the disciple of Paul, the child of Christ." Balduinus had said to Calvin: "Thy companions complain of thy insolent haughtiness and thy insupportable pride." Drelincourt beomes excited, and, in his reformed zeal, he responds to Balduinus, "thou hast lied." And then sets to work to recount the fine words of the reformer "in refutation of the viper tongue of master Balduinus."

"He charges me with being unable to endure any colleague; but my moderation in bearing not only with my colleagues, but also with those who are under me, and not only in bearing with them, but also in loving them, is so well known, that there is no need of refuting a calumny so futile."

Who would not be ensnared by this very honied language, which would be supposed to have fallen from the lips of some child? But Drelincourt has never perused the correspondence of his father in Christ, and Calvin has forgotten the lines, which he wrote to his dear Bullinger in 1538.†

* Opusc., p. 1821.

† See chapter entitled: RETURN TO GENEVA.

Here are some fragments of a manuscript letter of Calvin, from which we may be able to conceive some idea of the forms of style usual with this writer. We must bear in mind, that it regards one sieur de la Vau, who took the liberty to say, that he comprehended nothing of the system of the reformer concerning predestination.

"Although this poor fellow, la Vau, has nothing but his silly glory, which dazzles his eyes, without his perceiving the ill and injury which he causes: yet, in well considering a certain letter which he wrote from that place, you will clearly perceive, that satan so impels and guides him, for your deception and the destruction of our labour, which we designed for the advancement of your salvation, and also to aid him to break that holy union which, with all our power, we should strive to strengthen and preserve. Now, as I have to reply to a man who has conversed with you, I cannot obviate the scandals which he has endeavoured to occasion, without briefly pointing out to you things regarding his person. By those who understood him, he has always been considered a very presumptuous man, even to rendering himself ridicu-

Do you not now perceive that Balduinus was very wrong to speak of the arrogance of Calvin, and, in quoting the following lines against Westphalius, to say to him : Read then ?

“If Westphalius be unwilling to obey this last admonition which I give him, I shall have him in such esteem as St. Paul tells us to hold heretics. The others also who have censured my doctrines : such as those of Saxony, Magdebourg, Bremen, etc., are so immersed in error that their oldest theologians do not even understand what we teach little children in the catechism. They do not know what the Lord’s supper is, nor what its object : they are brutal men, they have no sense of honest shame, do nothing but cavil, advancing the hyperboles of their Luther, studying only to deceive the people, and to please the world, not caring for the judgment of God, nor of his angels. They are

lous. And would to God, that he had estimated himself according to his own littleness ; for he would discover nothing of which to be proud. But in him the proverb must find its verification, that there are none so bold, as those who are ignorant. Hence the pest, which is the most fatal in the church of God, is too dominant in him, viz : foolish presumption.

“He would far rather be impudent than acquiesce in the truth. I remember, that being at supper, four years ago, when he had foolishly advanced that, at the resurrection, all the children of God would be equal in glory, and I brought against him a passage of St. Paul, directly contrary to this, seeing himself confounded, he had the hardihood to say to me : Well, this is a passage of St. Paul. What could one do with such a phrenetic fellow, who would rather batter his horns against God, than humble himself by confessing his error ? You already, my brethren, in part, behold the causes of the divorce, which this wild beast has caused amongst us.

“Nevertheless, as to the pursuit which he accuses us of having made, in order to bring blasphemers to the gibbet, I assure you that he has lied. But I would be glad to know since what time he has taken it into his head to adhere to Castalion, in this article, seeing that when here, without being required to do so, he pretended great zeal against him. And let him not say, that he was at my instance solicited by one of my friends, to pluck the worms from the noses of those with whom he now has allied himself. For though our brother, master Jehan Vernon, familiarly entreated him to discover the truth, this was only because he could not believe that the common rumour was true, or rather, when la Vau had known them to be authors of so wicked a book, that he would detest them without further investigation. Yet this was done without my knowledge : so far from there having been any grounds to accuse us of suborning. You will be able, consequently, to perceive from his letter what lessons he has received in that new school, in order to defame me with our whole church. He says, that every body here is obliged to kiss my slipper. I think you have enough evidence as to what poms I display, and how I seek to have court paid me. I am very certain, if he held my place, he would make far greater parade. For, since, being nothing, he is so puffed up, the acquisition of but one degree would make him burst altogether. But he proves what a venomous reptile he is, by being sad at seeing such concord here. For this is what he calls kissing my slipper, that they do not revolt against me and against the doctrine I teach, to despise God, in my person, and, as it were, trample him under foot. Those who are so great enemies of peace and union, show that they are animated by the spirit of satan. He accuses me of so causing my books to be authorized, that no one can be bold or hardy enough to contradict me. To which I answer, that the least that could be done by the seignors, to whom God has entrusted the sword and authority, is to prevent persons from blaspheming in their city, against the faith in which they are taught. But it is very well, that the dogs, which bark after us so loudly, cannot bite us.....”

impetuous, furious, light, inconstant men, full of doggish impudence and diabolical pride. They are cruel, destitute of humanity, and persons of the greatest obstinacy. They are hair brained men, cyclopes, of a proud Titanic faction, phrenetics, savage beasts, bold, boastful, obdurate. They think us unworthy that the earth should bear us, and say that if we be not soon exterminated, we should at least be banished among the Scythians and Indians. Finally, they clamour against the inactivity of their Protestant princes, because they do not destroy us with their swords.”*

The reformation has often stirred up the dunghill of Ennius; but Luther found pearls in it sometimes, and Calvin never. In the pulpit, Calvin regaled his auditors with the terms, scoundrels, dogs, pimps, prostitutes.

All these contests, at the street corners, at the temple, the council, in his lodgings, at length so inflamed the blood of the reformer, that he could not endure the slightest contradiction. He was a despot, whom it was more perilous to disobey than the king of France himself.†

One day, a citizen of Lyons came to knock at the reformer's door: “What want you?” was he asked. “Is the brother in?” said the stranger, in a supplicating tone.—“The brother?” responded the domestic, “my master is grand enough for you to give him the title of *monsieur*.” The solicitor was dismissed.‡

Every thing was compelled to bend under his rod; at the least word he fell into a swoon, and was seized by the megrim.§

This was a disease to which he had been subject from his infancy.|| He was often obliged to keep his bed for several hours, in order to assuage the great sufferings in his head. In his correspondence, he complains of these at every moment; but pains, however pungent, could not diminish his courage.

“Yesterday,” he writes to Viret, “I was in bed, sick of my hemigrany; the struggle was protracted: three days of torture. But at Merlin's arrival, I arose and went to seek the envoy of Berne; afterwards, my pains returned even more violent; but this did not prevent me from going into the pulpit.”¶

To the megrim was added a catarrh, which the fine days of spring could not drive away. With an astonishing energy of character, he

* Admon. ult. ad Westp., tit. 3. Translation of Feu Ardent.

† Denique sic dominatur Genevæ, ut eum offendere sit longe periculosius quam regem Galliæ in ipsa regia.—Contra libellum Calvinii.

‡ Venit enim in ejus ædes quidam pauper simplex homo qui quæsitivus an frater esset domi. Cui responsum: “Quid frater? Satis magnus est ut a te dominus appelletur!”—Contra libellum Calvinii.

§ Si Quis in eum liberius locutus est, solebat cadere statim in morbum suum quem hemigraniam appellant.—Contra libell. Calvinii. p. 172.

|| Besides his disposition naturally inclined to wrath, his wonderfully active mind, the indiscretion of several persons, the number and infinite variety of affairs regarding the church of God, and, towards the end of his life, great and usual maladies, had rendered him peevish and difficult.—Beza vie de Calvin.—Drelincourt, *Defense de Calvin*, p. 265.

¶ Mai, 1548.

bore up, and continued to labour. In 1559, Geneva was menaced by the house of Savoy; the hand of God had afflicted the reformer, who, contending with his ills, came with the rest of the ministers to aid in the fortifications. The disease proved the stronger, and he was prostrated: but though his brain was paralyzed, his eye still lived.

Domestic troubles soured his disposition, but could not shake his soul. An attack was made on the morals of his wife; Calvin, in a letter to his friend Farel, energetically denounces the lying assertions made by a minister regarding Idelette. He forgets that he has calumniated the morals of all those whose doctrines he had combated, and among the rest, of Gabriel de Saconay, a priest of Lyons. But he has not attempted to palliate the disorders of his brother Anthony, whose scandalous life was well known at Geneva.*

In the midst of these illusions of the heart, these sufferings of the body, these private troubles, these seclusions from the exterior world, Calvin devoted himself to his Bible, and sought in the inspired volume for words of consolation against his various ills; but, by a wonderful logic, the word, which furnished him powerful aids, soon also wrested them from him, as we are about to see.

* The family of Anthony Calvin, the reformer's well beloved brother, gave an example of complete disunion and great faults.—Galiffe, *Not. Gen.* i. III. p. 111.

CHAPTER XLV.

LITERARY FRIENDSHIPS.

To manifest the abyss, into which human reason must necessarily be precipitated, when not walking by the light of faith, I shall select some of the proudest glories of the reformation. Gentilis, Ochino, for a moment allied in friendship with Calvin, had revolted against the principle of authority. Both, in their search after truth, had started from the same point—the Bible. After long wanderings, Ochino arrived at the deification of polygamy, and Gentilis at the apotheosis of deism. How, then, has the reformation inscribed the names of these two men, with such dissimilar doctrines, on the same page, at the head of which she has written: To the defenders of truth? If God has revealed himself to Ochino, he has concealed himself from Gentilis; or else light and darkness are identical substances.

OCHINO.

Ochino at Sienna.—Success and estimate of his preaching.—Tempted and seduced by the demon of pride.—Revolts against authority.—Is summoned to Rome, and refuses to appear.—Insults the papacy.—Flies to Geneva with a young girl.—Associates with Calvin.—Desires to be free.—Is denounced and banished.—His dialogue on polygamy.

At Sienna,* in the convent of the Capuchins, quite recently instituted, there was a young monk, who lived, as did Luther in the Augustinian cloister, the life of an ascetic, and whom the demon of doubt came to visit in his cell. It is Ochino himself, who has furnished us with an account of his first contests with the flesh.

“In vain,” he writes, in his dialogues, “did I try to mortify my body, to fast and pray: the appetites of the soul became more and more irritating. At length, I read the scriptures, and my eyes were unsealed; then Christ revealed to me three great truths:

“That the Lord, by his death on the cross, has fully satisfied the justice of his Father and merited heaven for his elect;”

* De vita, religione et fatis Bernardini Ochini, senensis, by Gottlieb Struvius.

“That religious vows are a human invention;”

“That the church of Rome is abominable in the eyes of God.”

The poor child, for at that epoch he was scarcely twenty, had no need of aid from the Holy Ghost to discover these three rays of light, diffused through the whole length of Luther's work, *de Captivitate Babylonica*, and stolen by a Saxon monk from a merchant of Lyons, of the name of Waldo.

In possession of these treasures of novelty, brother Bernardino ascended the pulpit and began to preach, but skillfully dissembling the venom of his errors.

Imagine to yourself a style of language, warm as the sun of Naples, splendid as Rome, coloured like the vegetation of Venice, and the effect of which was heightened by a dark eye, the complexion of an anchoret, and theatrical gestures. The hearers were enchanted. Italy could talk of nothing but the extempore discourses of brother Bernardino. Learned men, fashionable ladies, priests, monks, and the mass of the people particularly, crowded the doors of the church where he was to preach. Charles V., on coming forth from the temple, had exclaimed: “Here is a young man that would make the very stones weep.”* Sadolet compared him to the orator of antiquity.† One day, Venice, with her doges, her patricians, her artists, her gondoliers came to the palace of Bembo, to solicit to be allowed to hear Bernardino during the station of Lent. Bembo wrote immediately to the marquis de Pescara, to implore him to induce Ochino, his protégé, to come and preach at Venice. The brother consented.

Afterwards Bembo wrote to the marquis: “Our brother Bernardino is setting every body crazy: men and women, every body is beside himself on account of the preacher: what eloquence, what fascination!”‡

Again, on the next day, he wrote to the curé of Venice: “My Very Reverend Sir, forget not, if need be, to compel brother Bernardino to use meat; for if he does not give over trying to observe the lenten fast, he will never be able to endure the fatigue of preaching.”§

Bernardino was living the life of a christian of the desert.¶ He

* Schröckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, t. II, p. 781.

† Sadoleti *Epist.* in op. *Palearii*, p. 558.

‡ *Lettere di Pietro Bembo*, vol. IV, p. 102, *Opere*, vol. VIII.—Milano, 1810.

§ *Lettere di Bembo*, t. IX, p. 497.

¶ Here is a fragment of one of Ochino's discourses “on letters,” which we reproduce with the orthography and syntax of the epoch:

“Le litere sacre in se sonno buone, dono di Dio e dallo Spirito santo, neintedimeno possano da noi usarsi e bene e male, si come è noto per esperientia, che dove gl'eletti sene servano in honore di Dio, i reprobati sene servano in suo disonore, pur per defetto loro, e non delle scritture. Però, atteso la malignita de gl'impj, forse hanno più nociuto, che giovato al mondo. Ben che Dio, con l'infinita sua bonta al ultimo tutti li disordini reduca a suo honore e gloria. In prima, le litere e le sacre hanno nociuto a molti, i quali sonno stati diligentissimi in havere libri molti, e negligenti in studiargli, gl' eparso d'essere pieni di litere, poi che hanno la libreria piena di libri. Hanno anco a molti nociuto, i quali studiando non hanno atteso a imprimerse nella mente le verita che truovorno; ma a scriverle in carte, tal che restando ignorantissimi, tutto il loro sapere è ne loro scritti, i quali se si perdesseno, si perderebbe anco la loro scientia. Questa fu una delle eause per le quali Socrato dannò le litere, e disse che gl' huomini innanti che si truovasseno le litere erano piu dotti che di poi, perche

walked, as contemporary accounts inform us, with naked feet upon the stones, amid snows and thorns, with head uncovered, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, begging alms from door to door, never drinking wine, but slaking his thirst at the first streamlet he found; at nightfall, placing his sack at the foot of a tree, he slept till the chant of the birds aroused him in the morning. The great had prepared very splendid tables, and very soft beds, for him; but Ochino, when in a city, preferred a little fresh straw to feathers and down, and black bread to the most exquisite dishes. When persons saw him pass, with his beard whitened prematurely, and reaching down to his girdle, with his eye extinct from maceration, his visage that of a martyr about to be cast to the wild beasts of the circus, they knelt down from an involuntary impulse of surprise and respect. And no body imagined that, under the plies of that floating beard, under that hood thrown back upon the shoulders, in those sandals purposely filled with holes, there was twining a serpent which would crush the poor monk to death. Brother Bernardino wanted to make a sensation, and stood in need of the chants of the multitude, of the homages of the great, of the eulogies of the learned,* in compensation, undoubtedly, for the interior joy he had lost in the convent, from the moment he had ceased to believe.

Paul III. made an extensive promotion of bishops and cardinals, and he forgot to give the mitre or the hat to brother Bernardino, who was then preaching with great success in the church of the Capuchins, at Naples. The ascetic of the Thebaid was piqued to the heart. Among his auditors, there was a Spanish refugee, named Valdez,† an apostate, who desired no better occupation than to hunt after all those imaginations that were tormented by doubt, the malady of the sixteenth century. He knew how to read the preacher's eye. The sermon over, he followed Bernardino, flattered him, intoxicated him, seduced him, and cast him into Zwinglianism. It was Faust tempting Margaret. The brother determined to revenge the neglect of Paul III. The pulpit was the theatre of his vengeance; where the orator declaimed against the papacy. Paul summoned the turbulent monk to Rome; but the monk was alarmed, and took to flight, leaving his sack, his sandals, and his white beard in Italy, and carrying with him a young girl, whom he had seduced.

scrivevano nella mente, quello che di poi hanno scritto in carte. Lasso stare, che molti tutt' il tempo della vita, loro hanno gittato, imo e speso in disonore di Dio in leggere, e scrivere cose curiose e perniziose alla salute. Et molti trasportati dalla curiosità, hanno voluto tanti libri vedere, che si sonno confusi e restati senza frutto, si come il campo, nel quale si getta troppo seme. Ed alcuni per questo penseno il giuditio, ma quello che importa molto piu e che hanno pensato, che la vera scientia della theologia sia nelle litere, e questo falso."

Sermones Bernardini Ochini Senensis. Stampato in Venetia, 1543, die tertia novembris, in-18, Sermone 13.—Delle imagini et reliquie. Printed at Geneva, three parts in one volume. 2-3, with the motto: "Pressa valentior."

La quarta parte delle prediche di M. Bernardino Ochino. en lettres aldines.

* Bock, Hist. antitrini., t. II, p. 485. Graziani, Vita card. Commendon, vol. 11, cap. 9.

† Sandius (Bibl. antitr., p. 2) has ranked Ochino, Valdez, Wolfgang, and Fab. Capito, with the anti-Trinitarians.

After his flight, he had amassed materials for a reply to his adversaries. It is a libel, replete with calumnies against Paul III., so disgusting, that the Protestants themselves have been ashamed of it. There was only one man, whose brow was brazen enough to avail himself of it as historical testimony: we have designated Calvin.*

It was to Geneva that Ochino went, in order to behold and converse with the man who then made most noise in the world. The reformer, in magnificent terms, hailed the new comer. "We have here," said he to Melancthon, "Bernardino of Sienna, that illustrious man, whose flight has produced such a sensation in Italy."†

These two persons, who tenderly embraced each other, could not remain long in union. Ochino wanted no master. To attract attention, he sets to work to teach surprising fancies regarding the Trinity, and having been soon denounced by Calvin, he is driven away from Geneva.

Then Ochino sets out again, still on foot, as he had traveled in Italy, with his wife hanging to his arm; and with his heart full of those things which, for nearly twenty years, had kept him from sleeping, he pursues truth, which ever flies before him like a dream. In order to catch her, the Capuchin brother, at every step, casts away some one of those doctrines which embarrass his march; but truth, like an *ignis fatuus*, continues to sport before him, without his being able to secure her. When he arrives at Zurich, his symbol is so exhausted, that the ministers demand from him a profession of faith. He obeys, and swears to live and die in the bosom of the church of Zwingle; and scarcely has he pronounced this oath, when he repents it. He mounts the pulpit, and makes an assault on some of the dogmas of the Helvetic commune; but no one is moved. He appeals to his pen, and in his *Labyrinthe*,‡ he denies almost every truth of christianity; and still he creates no sensation. He is determined to make a noise, however; for this is his manna. Hence, one day, he secretly sends to Bale a collection of his dialogues, the work of a fancy, which, already on its return, still dreams of worldly conquests, of incense, and smoke, and essays to command attention by means of its follies. It is then that he writes that dialogue

* History of the Reformation, by Sleidan, t. III, p. 47.

Ochino, in two letters, has given the motives of his flight. The first was written to Mutius Giustinopolitanus:

Bernardino Ochino senese á Mutio Guistinopalitano, dove rende la ragione della partita sua d'Italia.

The second, to his friends of Sienna, in which he thus expresses himself:

Trovandomi in quel caso, consigliandomi con Christo et con li pij amici dissi infra me stesso: tu sai che costui, il qual ti chiama, è antechristo, al quale non sei tenuto obedire. Costui ti perseguita a morte, per che predichi Christo, la Gratia, l'Evangelio, e quelle cose le quali con esaltare il figliolo di Dio destruggano il suo regno. Pero, questa è una impresa a ossi di stato, sella non fusse opera di Dio, si dissolverebbe, sie comé disse già Gamahiel, ma la va sempre crescendo. Bernardino, alli signori della città di Siena.

Aug. Beyer., Mem. Lib. rar, p. 259-261, thinks that this second letter is but a translation of the first. This is a mistake.

† Sylloge epist. Burmani, t. II, p. 230.—Letters of Calvin to Jacques de Bourgogne.

‡ Schelhorn, Amœnit., t. III, p. 2164.

upon polygamy, which at first the reformation desired to represent as a mere artistic caprice, the play of an adventurous mind, a literary wager; but it is one that really contains a philosophic thought, the triumph of which is sought for by Ochino.* Let the reformation laud private judgment as much as it pleases. Behold, to what it conducted one of the finest intellects of the sixteenth century! To the apotheosis of polygamy!

It is thought that the original work of Ochino † was translated into Latin by Castalion. The manuscript, placed in the hands of Amerbach, the rector of the University of Bale, was submitted to the examination of Cælio Secundo Curione, who, at a later period, pretended that he never had approved the work.

At the apparition of such a book, the theologians of Zurich sent forth a cry of horror, and the magistrates issued a decree of banishment against its author.

It was in the midst of winter: Bernardino asked permission of his judges to stay at Zurich until the next spring: the reformation manifested itself to be destitute of pity.‡

Ochino, already advanced in years, and the father of four children, therefore sets forth upon the way of his exile. The voice, which in the convent had said to him: "Take and read," no longer sounded in his ear. It is probable that the Holy Ghost did not refuse him a final admonition.—The unfortunate man was unwilling to hear it.

And Beza wrote to Dudithius: "Bernadin Okin is a wicked debauchee, a favourer of Arians, a mocker of Christ and his church."

GENTILIS.

Gentilis, being attracted to Geneva, preaches his opinions concerning the Trinity.—Is attacked and combated by Calvin.—Imprisoned.—His retreat.—He is banished from the city.—Decapitated at Berne.

Will Valentinus Gentilis be more fortunate? He belongs to that society which is called "the College of Vicenza,"§ and composed of certain silly imaginations, who believe that the Holy Ghost ought to reveal the secret of the word of God to every one capable of reading

* Some writers have pretended that Ochino should not be accused of having defended polygamy; but I think that no one can peruse his dialogues with impartiality, without being led to a contrary conclusion.—*Histoire de la Réforme en Italie*, par Maccrie, p. 437.

† Bernardini Ochini senensis dialogi XXX, in duos libros divisi, etc. Basileæ, 1563, in-8.

The XXI. treats *de Polygamia*.

The XX. *de ratione extruendi regni Christi et destruendi antichristi*.

In the XXVIII. *quo pacto tractandi sunt hæretici*, Ochino establishes the necessity of punishing heretics with death.

The title of the XXX. is, *de humana diabolica arrogantia*.

‡ Schelhorn, *Amœnit.*, t. III, p. 2022, 2166, 2174.

§ Mosheim, *Eccles. cent. XVI.*—Maccrie, *History of the Reformation*, p. 173: and the following:

"Luther had attacked the authority of the church, of tradition and the fa.

the scriptures. Lælius Socinus, Camillo Renato, Francesco Negri, Ochino, Alciati, Blandratus, were its founders. The association was denounced to the authorities, and its members hastened to fly from Italy and seek an asylum in a foreign country, bearing with them that book of life, in which each of them sought and found his symbol :

Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque,
Invenit pariter dogmata quisque sua.

Gentilis came to Geneva. He had heard wonders related of that hospitable city, where thought was allowed, with full liberty, to indulge all its caprices, to give up to all sorts of reveries, to teach every kind

thers; the scripture, according to this theologian, was the only rule of faith, and each individual was the interpreter of the scriptures.

"The christian, abandoned to himself even in the interpretation of the scriptures, had no other guide than his own knowledge; each pretended reformer discovered in the scriptures only what was conformable with the opinions and ideas which he had received, or with the principles which he had adopted for himself; and, as almost all heresies were nothing but false interpretations of the scripture, nearly all past heresies reappeared in an age when fanaticism and licentiousness had spread the principles of the reformation almost over all Europe.

"From the bosom of the reformation, therefore, were seen to issue sects, which attacked the dogmas that Luther had respected: the dogmas of the Trinity, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the efficacy of the sacraments, the necessity of baptism.

"But these sects, nearly all the offspring of fanaticism and ignorance, were divided among themselves, and filled Germany with divisions and troubles.

"Whilst Germany was torn to pieces by these factions, the principles of the reformation, carried into countries where the fire of fanaticism did not inflame the minds of the people, germinated, as it were, quietly, and acquired consistency in societies which piqued themselves on their capacity to reason.

"Four persons, most distinguished for their rank, their employments and titles, in 1546, established at Vicenza, a city of the Venetian states, a sort of academy, in order to confer together on matters of religion, and especially on those points which then caused greatest noise.

"The species of confusion which then reigned almost throughout Europe, the gross and shocking abuses which had penetrated into every state, superstitious and ridiculous or dangerous beliefs which were spread abroad, caused this society to think that religion needed to be reformed; and that, as all agreed that the scripture contained the pure word of God, the surest means to disengage religion from all false opinions, was to admit nothing but what was taught in the scriptures.

"As this society prided itself on its literature and philosophy, it expounded, according to the rules of criticism which it had adopted for itself, and in accordance with its philosophic principles, the doctrines of the scriptures, and admitted as revealed nothing but what it saw clearly taught therein, that is, what reason was able to conceive.

"In pursuance of this method, they reduced christianity to the following articles:

"There is one supreme God, who has created all things by the power of his word, and who by this word governs all things.

"The word is his Son, and this Son is Jesus of Nazareth, Son of Mary, a veritable man, but a man superior to other men, having been begotten of a Virgin, and by the operation of the Holy Ghost.

"This Son is he whom God promised to the ancient patriarchs, and whom he gives to men: it is this Son who has announced the gospel, and who has shown

of doctrine, without being in dread, as in Italy, of the eye of the inquisitor. Now, by dint of meditating the Bible, Gentilis had become an anti-Trinitarian.

He said: "Trinity, is a word which you will no where find in the Bible, any more than those purely human terms, *essence* and *hypostasis*. There is but one God, the God of Israel, who has bestowed his divinity upon Christ his Son. Christ is but an image: he is the symbol of the glory of the Father; the Holy Ghost is the divine power, set in action.

"Calvin adores a Quaternity in place of a Trinity; for he teaches that the separate hypostasis still remains the divinity, and that each person is truly God: therefore there are four Gods."*

Poor Gentilis! who, with such infantile simplicity, confided in the tolerance of Calvin. Why did he not remain at Vicenza, with his friends the anti-Trinitarians? He was then ignorant, that, in all Italy, there was no tribunal more terrible than the consistory, no inquisitor in Spain more cunning than the refugee of Noyon, no country where the soul was less free than in reformed Switzerland! At Venice, they sometimes indeed put the obstinate heretic to death, but the judge did

men the way to heaven, by mortifying his flesh and living in purity. This Son died by order of his Father, to obtain for us the remission of our sins; he was resuscitated by the power of the Father, and he is glorious in heaven.

"Those who are submissive to Jesus of Nazareth, are justified on the part of God, and those who have piety in him, receive the immortality which they lost in Adam. Jesus Christ alone is the Lord and leader of the people who are subject to him; he is the Judge of the living and the dead: he will come back to men at the consummation of ages.

"Behold the points to which the society of Vicenza reduced the christian religion. The Trinity, the consubstantiality of the word, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, etc., according to this society, were nothing but opinions derived from the philosophy of the Greeks, and not revealed dogmas.

"The meetings of the society could not take place so secretly, but that the ministry were informed of them. It caused some of the members to be arrested, who were put to death; the others escaped, of whom were Lelius Socinus, Bernard-Okin, Pazuta, Gentilis, &c., who withdrew into Turkey, Switzerland, and Germany.

"The chiefs of the pretended reformation were not less inimical to the new Arians than the Catholics; and Calvin had caused Servetus to be burned: hence the exiles of Vicenza were unable to teach their opinions freely in places where the civil powers were obedient to the reformers. Therefore they at length withdrew into Poland, where the new Arians freely professed their sentiments, under the protection of several Polish lords, whom they had seduced.

"In Poland, these new Arians had churches, schools, and assembled synods, in which they passed decrees against those who maintained the dogma of the Trinity.

"Lelius Socinus left Switzerland and sought refuge among these new Arians; he there carried a taste for literature, the principles of criticism, the study of languages, and the art of dialectics; he wrote against Calvin, he made comments on the holy scriptures, and taught the anti-Trinitarians to explain in a figurative or allegorical sense, the passages which the reformers brought against them, in order to oblige them to recognize the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ. He would, without doubt, have rendered still greater services to the new Arianism; but he died, at Zurich, on the sixteenth of march, 1562, leaving his property and writings to his nephew, Faustus Socinus."—*Dictionnaire des hérésies*, by Pluquet.

* Calvin a Geneve, par Jean Gaberel, p. 232-235.

not insult him; at Geneva, they caused him to be burned, and the executioner, a witty fellow, while waiting for the hour of punishment, amused himself by jesting at his expense. At Geneva, there was a prophet, who said: "If Servetus fall into my hands, he will be burned." And Servetus was burned.

Gentilis did not die, because he had not the courage of Servetus: his was a vulgar soul, and he grew pale in the presence of his judges and retracted.

Calvin pursued him with hatred and jeers: the hatred was ardent, the jeers were ignoble. He wrote against Gentilis a libel entitled:

"The impiety of Valentinus Gentilis openly exposed,"* in which he makes no attempt to discuss the subject with his adversary, but tries to tear him to pieces. He calls him—a man of nothing, who offers, to be quaffed, the mud and slime which he has collected from the reveries of Servetus, and wants to persuade persons of corrupted taste that it is a sweet liquor and wholesome beverage;† whereas, Gentilis had never read the writings of the Spanish physician, but had asked to dispute with the Bible in hand. Anti-Trinitarianism was making progress; it was publicly taught in the Grisons, in Transylvania, in Poland,‡ at the gates of Geneva, at Lyons itself, where, as Calvin informs us, poets put in verse the system of Gentilis.

"Whereas, now a-days, many steep their fangs in the troubles, the dissensions, and havoc made upon the true doctrine; it is not wonderful that at Lyons is found some boaster, who has vomited from his mouth the venom of which he is full. There is even a poet, who has pushed himself forward to embellish the theology of Valentinus by his verses. Among other things, he makes no difficulty to advance this fine sentence, as a maxim—that the uneven number is agreeable to God; very well; but babbler, suppose I place before you, on the other hand, the number three, multiplied by three, there will result a marvelous number of Gods."§

The quiet of Geneva was compromised. The Italian church, founded by Calvin, menaced the very existence of the reformed communion. The Italian refugees could not bear the theocrat's yoke without murmuring; they wanted to be free. Calvin, comprehending the necessity of a uniform doctrine, drew up a formulary which the foreigners were to subscribe. Valentinus Gentilis imitated the rest of his fellow citizens: he made oath to the confession; but he soon repented, and began again to preach his reveries.

"I confess, said he, "that the God of Israel, whom the holy books propose to us, as the true God, and whom windy sophists deny to have a Son, is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that this Jesus Christ, whom he has sent, inasmuch as he is the Word, is the true and natural Son of the Holy God, the Omnipotent Father."||

* Opuscles, p. 1921.

† Opuscles, p. 1921.

‡ Porta, Hist. Ref. Eccles. Ræticularum.—Bock, Hist. Antitri., t. II. p 410, 411.—Maccræ, p. 177.

§ Opuscles, p. 1923.

|| Opuscles de Calvin.

When we reflect that this Genevese population, which voluntarily had renounced the magnificent teachings of the Catholic school, is taken by these foolish words, the issue of a sick brain, we feel a melancholy astonishment!

Calvin caused the Italian to be put in prison; and the unhappy man, who thought himself illumined, accused his judges, and implored God to enlighten them; and as the light did not descend from heaven rapidly enough, he wrote to them:

“Faithful ministers of the word of God, (he was addressing the old apostates, Cop, Remond, and Enoch), Calvin calls my opinion a revery. In my view it would be desirable that the ancient doctors had thus dreamed: never would they have so greatly obscured the understandings of men with darkness. But it does not well become me to speak of myself; if what I propose is true, the praise thereof belongs only to God, and not to me, who never should have had a taste of such things, had I not learned them from God. The father of the Word is the God of Israel, the Word is the God of Israel. These two propositions are both true; but if they be reversed, they will not both be true; for if you say, the God of Israel is the Father of the Word, this is false, because the Word denotes the quality of the Son and the essence, but the term God, as that of the Father, only the essence.”*

Calvin responds:

“By thy last writing, we have known thee to have a depraved mind, to be full of intolerable pride, and of a venomous nature, imbued with a malignant spirit, and finally an obstinate heretic. . . . Exclaim as much as thou pleasest that thou recognizest Christ as true God, if his Father alone be only God, and the God of Israel, thou openly rejectest him from the degree in which thou placest his Father alone in regard to him.”

Then the shade of Servetus appeared to Gentilis, who began to tremble, and asked to recant. He therefore wrote from his prison a confession, in which he disavowed every thing he had published upon the Trinity, and praised the piety, the science, and the inspiration of Calvin. The reformer made use of clemency: the judges pronounced a sentence of mercy, as it is called by Protestant historians; here it is:

“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. “Although the malice and the wickedness which thou hast manifested, well entitle thee to be exterminated from amongst men as a heretical and schismatical seducer, nevertheless, having regard to thy repentance, we condemn thee, Valentinus Gentilis, to be stript even to thy shirt, having thy feet naked and thy head uncovered, holding a lighted torch in thy hand, to kneel before us and ask pardon, of us and of justice, destesting thy writing, which we order thee with thy own hands to put into the fire here lighted, to be reduced to ashes, as full of pernicious lies.”

On the 5th of September, Gentilis left Geneva, without uttering a single complaint against a city, which thus ignominiously expelled “the true disciple of Christ.” Scarcely had he traversed the city,

* Opuscules, p. 1842.

when that heavenly light, which every where accompanied him, once more shone before his eyes. It irradiated from the book which he carried under his arm—the Bible.—The unhappy man again resumed his habitual chant :

“The Father of the Word is the God of Israel.”

He wanted to continue singing it on his entry into Berne; but in the name of the reformation, the executioner came to interrupt his canticles, and some days after the knife had disposed of the theological poet.

On his way to execution, Gentilis shook his head and said : “Others have shed their blood for the Son, I am the first that will have the honour to shed my blood for the glory of the Father.”

You behold to what, an abandonment of the principle of authority has brought Ochino and Gentilis! The first to exile, the last to the block. And had either discovered a single truth by his apostacy! Not one. Calvin is compelled to banish them from his republic, which they threatened to corrupt. And for whom shall the principle of private judgment have been an ark of safety? For no one, if Calvin be the Noah of that ark; for, according to Sandius, Ochino is an anti-Trinitarian, Gentilis a deist, Valdez, in his *cento e dieci considerationi*, a blasphemer; and, as Beza says, Mino Celso, and the two Socinus are heretics. And yet, the two Socinus, Mino Celso, Valdez, Gentilis and Ochino, are honoured by Protestant historians as martyrs of truth.*

There is one question to be asked. At the time of which we now speak, where is that truth? At Geneva, in the *Pasquillus* of Cælio Secundo Curione? At Verceil, in the pulpit occupied by Peter Martyr Vermigli? At Milan, in the book of Palcario, *il beneficio di Christo*? At Locarno, in the lodgings of Benedetto? At Bentivoglio, in the boudoir of donna Helena Rangone? At Vicenza, in the cenacle of Faustus Socinus, Camillo Renato, and Blandratus? At Venice, in Angelo Buonarici's explication of the apostolical epistles? . . . Let one of these sectaries come to Geneva, Calvin will drive him away as a disciple of satan.

Where then is the truth? It can be no where else than in that church, the head of which Calvin is preparing to insult in the style of a demoniac; in the midst of that Catholic clergy, the fidelity of whom he has vainly tried to shake; among those French populations, whose nationality he will endeavour to destroy, by snatching away their faith, as he has wrested it from the people of Geneva.

* Th. Maccræ, in his history of the progress and extinction of the reformation in Italy, in 8vo., London and Paris, places near 300 sectaries, of whom not one represents Calvin, among the reformers, that is, among the defenders of the gospel.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE CLERGY OF LYONS. GABRIEL DE SACONAY.* 1560—1563.

Calvin's congratulation to Gabriel de Saconay.—Some pages of this libel.—Bretschneider vaunting the urbanity of the reformer.—Who Saconay was.—His love for letters.—He is attacked by Calvin on the subject of a preface placed at the head of the *Assertio* of Henry VIII.—Idea of Saconay's commentary.—Insults of Calvin.—Explained.—The clergy of Lyons, the saviours of our liberties and our faith.

“In our times, there was a chanter of the cathedral church of Orleans, named Correau, a great gossip, allowing himself all licence in reviling and evil speaking; who nevertheless possessed this cunning, that in order to disgorge more boldly whatever came into his mouth, he commenced with himself, traducing himself, so that nothing could be retorted on him, and by this means, he anticipated every thing which might have been advanced against him, shutting the mouths of all and leaving them without reply. Now, it was at least a sort of propriety as well as shame for so abandoned and dissolute a man, that he spared himself no more than he did all those at whom he cast his sneers; but there is a chanter or precentor (as he calls himself) in the church of Lyons, viz: one Gabriel de Saconay, of a very different mould. For having assumed the mask of a grave man, and being well disguised to counterfeit the theologian, he puts himself forward as if he were mounted on a scaffold. Being thus holstered by his gibberish, or rather mounted upon his crutches he boldly and even with confident audacity, treats of the sacred mysteries of scripture; as if from his infancy he had been nurtured in the school of the apostles and prophets, and quite supplied with the doctrine requisite to him who speaks in such capacity. *Si Lugduni quaritur famosum lupanar, domus ejus primas tenebit. Omitto choreas et saltationes quas severi castique homines vocarent lenocinta.* He frequents many houses full of villainies, and scents their stench like a hunting dog, running after them as if they were very agreeable. If he enter some

* Congratulation à vénérable prestre N., touchant la belle préface et mignonne dont il a reparé le livre du roi d'Angleterre.

Collection of Calvin's tracts. Geneva, 1556, p. 1822-1850.

Calvin has published this same pamphlet in Latin, with this title:

Gratulatio ad venerabilem presbyterum Dominum Gabrielem de Saconay, præcontorem ecclesiæ Lugdunensis, de pulchra et eleganti præfatione quam libro regis Angliæ inscripsit. 1560.

houses more honest and better regulated, he fails not to infect them with defilement.

"How then, villain, whose mouth is so filthy that nothing but stench could issue from it, didst thou dare utter the word chastity? He makes invectives against debauchery, which he boldly affirms is prevalent amongst us, as if he were narrating fables of the New Islands."

"I know not with what confidence he is emboldened to affirm transubstantiation with open mouth, as if there were no difficulty in it: if, possibly, it seem not to him as easy to transubstantiate bread into the body of Jesus Christ, as to transform a woman into a man."*

We have forgotten to place at the head of this chapter, as epigraph, these lines from the pen of Bretschneider:

"Calvin, reared in the bosom of a civilized capital, polished by social life, full of modesty and urbanity, accustomed, by the study of jurisprudence, to avoid personalities and to weigh all external considerations, refined by his extensive intercourse with the world, always kept within the bounds of decency."†

Behold how Protestantism has, for three centuries past, been accustomed to write history! Certainly, the name of M. Bretschneider of Gotha is honourable! But, is it possible for any one to do greater violence to truth? The writer has read the works of Calvin; and, in the face of Germany, he publishes that the reformer has nearly always *kept within the bounds of decency*. To-morrow, the eulogy of Bretschneider will serve as a text for some neophyte to chant a hymn to the reformer.

But the same thing, that here is done by Bretschneider, has been done by all the apostles of the reformation before him. It is impossible to say with what audacity they have deceived posterity and their contemporaries. Nay, before we had made ourselves acquainted with Saxon Protestantism, how often were we ourselves seduced by the word of Luther! How cheerfully did we laugh at those ignorant sallies, which he causes to fall from the lips of some monk of Louvain or Cologne. Did we, upon our route, encounter one of those cenobitical personages, whose faces he has smeared over with the lees of wine, we were unable to repress an inclination to mirth, and every time that a pupil of Hogstract's school passed by us, with a book under his arm, we were on the point of asking the monk to tell us the title of the work; for we felt persuaded that he was ignorant of every thing except how to eat and drink. But we chanced to enter one of those cells which Luther termed "troughs," and in which there dwelt one of those "unclean animals," whom he could not imagine to be created in the image of God. And then, we avow the fact! we felt as if just awaking from an attack of nightmare. These monachal intelligences for the most part came down from heaven; it was easy to divine this from all the treasures contained in their brains! How Luther has trifled with us! But the lesson has not been without its value. A complete

* What we here cite can furnish no idea of the outrages which Calvin lavishes upon Gabriel de Saconay: our pen refuses to transcribe them.

† Calvin et l'Eglise de Genève, p. 35.

revolution took place in our ideas. We sought for the truth : soon by dint of examination, inquiry, comparisons, we were led to this twofold historic formulary :—Regard every thing as false which Luther gives as true.—Hold as glorious every thing that he cries down or outrages. Apply these, whenever you have to estimate a fact or person according to Luther or Calvin, and you will never be mistaken.

There is the head of a precentor or chanter, which Calvin has blackened in a singular manner. Never in Germany, that classic land of conventual debaucheries, as represented by Protestants, did there live a priest such as Gabriel de Saconay, whose likeness is not found in Luther's collection. Ulrich von Hutten himself, with all his talent for calumny, never could have designed a fancy sketch equal to the one here furnished by Calvin. Not one of the capital sins was there uncommitted, by this being, created expressly for the amusement of the refugees who frequented the fairs of Geneva. Saconay is avaricious, envious, gluttonous, proud, lazy, choleric and lustful ; hence at once, if you have studied the history of the reformation, you may be certain that Saconay is like all the other priests of Lyons at that epoch, that is, a man of morals, science, evangelical zeal, a good ecclesiastic, a good patriot, a man of one God, one faith, and one baptism.

A body of clergy, quite worldly, and like those of certain circles of Germany who went to sleep and allowed revolt to march apace, would better have suited Calvin's taste, who desired to stifle popular liberty throughout the Lyonese and other provinces. But he had to deal with souls strengthened by faith, who feared neither outrages nor martyrdom. Seated as sentinels at the gates of Lyons, our priests allowed no admittance to those libels, signed Despeville, in which Calvin insulted every thing dear to Catholics ; in which, as in his treatise on relics,* he demanded that the heads of our martyrs should be cast into the charnel house ; as in his antidote against the Sorbonne, that they should shut up that school of the sacred sciences, "a veritable seminary of idolatry ;" as in his brief exposition of the epistle of Pope Paul III., that they should, by a conflagration, destroy Rome "that impure sink of all vices." In vain did he conceal himself under fictitious names, the Priest of Lyons had divined the deserter of Noyon, and he knew a multitude of secrets concerning the reformer, which he made public from the pulpit. He arrested the Genevese colporteurs, denounced them to the authorities, and had them expelled from the city, amid the joyous acclamations of the populace.

In 1543, Geneva had been visited by a frightful pest, which decimated its inhabitants ; some germs of the malady, having been carried to Lyons, developed themselves rapidly, and we have told already what then took place.

At Geneva, the ministers presented themselves to the council avowing "that it would be their duty to go and console those infected with

* *Admonitio de Reliquiis, Genevæ, per Joannem Gerardum, 1548, in-12.*—This treatise also appeared in French. The Latin edition, like the *Opuscules*, carries the flaming sword, with this motto: "Non veni ut mitterem pacem, sed gladium."

the pest, but that none of them would have sufficient courage to do so, begging the council to pardon their weakness, as God had not accorded them the grace to confront peril with the necessary intrepidity.”*

And Calvin manifested himself still more cowardly in presence of death; for he obtained a prohibition to select master John to go and assist the sick, “in consideration of the great need the church and state had of him.”†

Now all this is recorded literally, and preserved, as an eternal monument of shame to the memory of the Genevese priesthood, in the archives of the republic.‡

At Lyons, on the contrary, at the very first news of the pest, all the priests, the sick, even the infirm, had presented themselves before the archbishop, soliciting to be sent to carry succour to their brethren, and to die the martyr’s death, if God were good enough to crown their devotedness. Also, in that contest of the two principles which took place at Lyons on the public square, there were no defections of the people from the Catholic ranks. At intervals, some noble seignior, such as governor de Saulx, made terms with the enemy; but the people remained faithful to the banners of their patron saints. God and Our Lady of Fourviere, is the cry of alarm and of safety in the moment of danger. If death come to surprise them while combating for their faith, they are sure to find by their side a priest of whom necessity has made a soldier, and who in the ear of the dying christian murmurs: The heavens open for you, God is waiting for you in a better world.

Among the champions of the sacerdotal militia, the least courageous is not Gabriel de Saconay, whom Calvin has sought to vilify, but whose name he has contributed to immortalize. But for the mud with which he has bespattered the visage of the precentor, perhaps his name would never have come down to our times: at least we should not have attempted to seek for it in that holy phalanx, which so gloriously combated for our civil liberties.

Now, Gabriel de Saconay was in fact, as Calvin relates, chanter of of the church of St. John; but he has forgotten to tell us that this chanter was also count of the chapter, consequently of a noble family, and that he had been deputy to the States of Orleans from the province of Lyons; a choice, which necessarily supposes distinguished birth, science, and good morals, and Gabriel possessed all this. Had he been but a vulgar priest, Calvin would have left him in his obscurity.

At Saconay, in the diocess of Lyons, Gabriel possessed a chateau,

* Registres de l’Etat, 5 juin 1543. † Ib.

‡ What ought a minister to do in time of the pest? *Quid tempore pestis agendum ministro?* is a question which has been discussed, and variously answered by Protestant theologians. We have before us a book, entitled: “*Variorum Tractatus theologici de peste.* Lugd. Bat. apud Joh. Elzevirium (1655).” It contains: “*de Peste a Theod. Beza, ubi questiones duæ explicata: una sit ne contagiosa, altera, an et quatenus sit christianis per secessionem vitanda.*”—“*Andræ Riveti epistola ad amicum,*” on the same subject.—Et “*Gilberti Vætii Tractatus de peste.*”

whence have been dated some of his works, and where he had collected a valuable controversial library full of good books, of all the doctors both Greek and Latin, who had, in different ages, defended the integrity of Catholic dogma. He had turned over the leaves of these books, read, and re-read, meditated and annotated them, with a real monachal passion. His style savours of all kinds of ascetic perfumes: in reading Saconay, we, at each page, perceive Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, Jerome, whom he knows by heart, and whose treasures he moulds into his own narrative with a skill, which Erasmus himself might have envied. Gabriel delights to tarry amid these ancient glories. He has often been most happily inspired, while holding communion with these illustrious dead: from one of them, Vincent of Lerins, he has taken an admirable portrait of the heretic, which shows you that he was a skillful master of language.

“In all heresies, the devil thus transformed into an angel of light, uses a diction and words replete with craft, and fortifies himself with the title of truth, which is the word of God, to cause his frauds and falsehoods to be received, well knowing, as Lirinensis says, that their stench can suddenly please no one, if cast into his face alone and undisguised; for this they sprinkle them with a celestial language, like a fine aroma, that he, who immediately would despise human errors, may not easily condemn divine revelations. Wherefore, they act like those accustomed to sweeten certain bitter drinks for little children: they first tinge the rim of the cup with honey, that this simplicity of childhood may not suspect bitterness when only tasting sweets.”*

Do you know what advantage Gabriel had derived from living thus in his fine chateau amid the dust of those illustrious dead? He had acquired the skill to recognize a heresy at the first glance, no matter under what mask it appeared, whether or not it had honied its phrase, whether it came on foot like prose, or gaily chanting like music. In his book, “concerning the True Body of Jesus Christ,”† from which we have just cited a few lines, taken casually, we should see how ironically he hails each word lisped by the Genevese reformation to justify its doctrine.—This has been stolen from Berengarius.—This trope, about which you make so much noise, is found in Waldo’s book, and here is the very page.—This heretical scolium had been thrown into the dirt-box of a monk of the twelfth century, it was there you went to seek it, in order to exhibit it to us as something new. And what is admirable here is not so much the science as the angelic meekness of the writer, who never once has allowed himself to fall into the sin of anger, which, as far as we are concerned, we should willingly have pardoned him!

At this epoch of religious fever, theology was not the business of priests only, monarchs also dealt in it. Henry VIII. of England had composed an apology of the sacraments of the church, a strong work,

* Du vray corps de J. C. au sacrement de l’Autel. A Lyon par. Guil. Rovelle, a l’Escu de Venise, 1567.

† Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, Henrico VIII. Angliæ rege, auctore.

written against Luther, who on the evening he received it slept not before he had blackened some pages in response to his adversary. You remember the exordium of that philippic: "Eh! what then! shalt thou, Henry, king of Great Britain, be allowed to spit thy stale lies into my face; to hurl thy stinking filth at the crown of my king and Lord; while I should not be allowed to daub thy royal diadem with thy own drivel!"

Now, the *Assertio septem sacramentorum* of the English monarch, enthusiastically received at Rome, had agitated the whole theological world. The struggle between the prince and the monk was a curious spectacle. Gabriel de Saconay conceived the idea to reprint a part of the defence of the king of England, to distribute it among the Catholics, and even to cast it into the very capital of the French reformation. He therefore went to work, and soon completed his task.

It is this writing that provoked Calvin's anger. Saconay had not encountered the reformer as Henry VIII. did Luther: in the preface of his edition he had attacked heresy, and scarcely said a word about John of Noyon; but Calvin could not endure that a royal hand should tear away its mask from the reformation, to expose, to the gaze of all passers, that leprous face, which was represented to us as quite angelic. More, chancellor of England, says that Luther, to compose his response to the king of Great Britain, had borrowed the dictionary of bath house servants, coach drivers, market women, and characters whom we dare not name. Calvin has excelled Luther: Let his be the crown!

When the *Assertio septem Sacramentorum* appeared, Luther pretended that it was the work of some "blackguard" of a bishop (Lee) who had whispered to the prince all the arguments, with which his book is crammed. Had they robbed him of his kingdom, Henry VIII. could not have manifested greater anger. Now, without a complete ignorance of history, how could Calvin publish that the king of England had disavowed his work? It is impossible to believe that the Genevese reformer had not read the answer of Henry VIII. to the insolent assertions of the Saxon monk: and yet see what he dares write:

"And this book then is concocted by some monk and hypocrite, versed in contentious loquacity, and this king, being persuaded by wicked advisers, allows it to be printed in his name, and, as he has since repented his inconsiderate zeal, and the book is so dull and weak that the memory thereof would soon perish, it has remained buried during the space of thirty years."

Do you see with what boldness Calvin here deceives us! The *Assertio* of Henry VIII. in oblivion, when the stalls of the booksellers of Frankfort and Strasbourg, display it to the view of all, in German, in Italian, in English and in French, and when his friends, Bucer, Bullinger, and Beza, have it in their libraries! *

Gabriel de Saconay would not content himself with the mere office

* In 1522, The *Assertio* was printed at Antwerp in two forms: in *œdibus Michaelis Hillenii*.

of interpreter; he had too much science to allow himself to be held in leash even by a royal hand. He was desirous to show that, in default of a diadem, he had a pen which he knew how to use. I have already mentioned the preface wherein the writer exerts himself to display those glorious characteristics of unity, which render Catholicism so illustrious. By agitating the ashes of the dead, and especially those of the Pothinuses and Polycarps, who occupied the see of the church of Lyons, he proves that our Gallic faith dates from the very cradle of christianity.

It is curious to observe how Calvin leaps at the name of Ireneus! One would say that the holy bishop had come forth from his tomb. The reformer is troubled, recollects himself, then, after a moment of silence, hurls at Gabriel's head every thing that he can lay hands on: two or three pitiful arguments taken from the Institutes, and a host of insults culled we know not where.

"Had this mastif known some pages of the books of the doctors from whom he quotes, the common saying of Ireneus would have occurred to his mind,—that in the sacrament there are two things: the one, terrestrial, which is bread; the other, celestial, which is Jesus Christ. Does the villain dare set in opposition to our doctrine the blood of martyrs, which he here furiously tramples under foot? The blood of Ireneus not only fills his paunch, but furnishes him with money to spend in debaucheries, rioting, and other kinds of dissipation."

Saconay, who knew Calvin as well as M. Galiffe does, bethought him to demand miracles of tolerance from the theocrat, all covered as he was with the blood of Servetus and of Gruet; miracles of evangelical purity, from Beza, the poet of equivocal amours; miracles of chastity, from the sacerdotal colleague of men of most abandoned morals; nay, he addressed the reformer in the language which Luther used with Thomas Munzer!—Where are the signs of the divinity of thy mission? Calvin does not now imitate the Anabaptist: he glorifies himself as a real prodigy of virtue.

"As to Messire Gabriel's attempt to be facetious in demanding where are the sanctity, the chastity, the fasts and vigils of Calvin; by his efforts at sottish taunts, he manifests that he knows not what it is to be facetious. It were desirable that the enemies of the gospel,—and I speak not of such hogs as Saconay, but of those who have some appearance of honesty,—would come near his virtues, which cause the most furious advocates of the papacy to burst with spite."

And he continues:

"Will this dog still dare growl, saying that Calvin speaks without scripture? Rather, being ashamed to see the sunlight, let him go and hide himself in the bosom of some prostitute. Nevertheless let us follow this babbler for the gratification of his ambition, since, in the very face of God, he has pushed himself forward in this matter. As this scamp has profited so little by the scourge of his masters when yet a child, who will not be of opinion that he ought to be instructed with good stripes, or put to work upon the tread-mill?"

And Calvin, quite full of the spirit of God, as he assures us, com-

pleted his pamphlet, in which Saconay is introduced in the guise of all the characters of ancient mythology : in which he is made to bark like a dog, to howl like a wolf, to butt like an ox, to slaver like a harpy, to bray like an ass. After which the reformer says : *the Lord be praised.*

In the meantime, under the shadows of his solitude, Gabriel continued his apostolic labour, without regarding this deluge of words steeped in wine and mud, which fell harmlessly upon his head. He found consolation in his cenacle of fathers and doctors—in that holy society which formed his joy and delight,—for all the outrages of the reformer. It was amid that choir of evangelical labourers, that he composed his treatise “on the Blood and Body of Jesus Christ,” a noble controversial work, which one might imagine to be from the pen of the well beloved disciple, admirable for its unction, its faith, charity, ascetic science, frequently beautiful for its style, fragrant with a sweet ambrosia, and reflecting the divine word.

And God blessed the zeal of his servant. The pamphlets of Saconay were spread abroad among the people, and contributed to preserve their hostility against a heresy, which was menacing our national unity. Instead of the Lyonese clergy, devoured by zeal for the house of God and the interests of the city, suppose, for a moment, a priesthood like that of Geneva, and perhaps the people would have allowed themselves to be seduced by the cajoleries of the reformation. Error would have come to Lyons, as it had to Berne, concealed under the mantle of a primitive christian, with a pilgrim's staff in hand, the book of the gospel under its arm, soliciting merely a small spot beneath the sunlight, where it might adore God in spirit and truth ; and once it had secured a foothold upon our soil, watered by the blood of our martyrs, it would have preached, excited the populace, stirred up families, broken our crosses, overturned our temples, mutilated our images, driven away our bishops, confiscated all our liberties and franchises that it could have reached. Then it would have taken a chisel and engraved upon a high wall, as it did at Geneva in 1535 : In the year . . . of our Lord, Lyons was liberated from the chains of the Antichrist.

Do not the streets, the public places, and the edifices of that city still show the traces of the terrible march of the reformation ? One day, in the year 1562, it seized upon Lyons by surprise, and behold the recital left us by Calvin, in a letter addressed to one of his brethren :

“Very dear brethren, for a long time have we been expecting letters from you, that we might have occasion, in our reply, to unburden to you our heart of things which lie heavy on it. But since the change which has taken place at Lyons, we have not received a single word from the company of elders, which causes us to think that there has been much disorder, inasmuch as we are solicited by none to come to the aid of a church, and you have paid no attention to this, even when the sieur Jerome des Gouttes passed this way, though he requested that ministers be sent to aid you, he declared that no letters had been given him. In the mean time, we hear news that has caused us great distress. We are well aware that in such commotions, it is very difficult to be moderate, and avoid committing excess, and we easily excuse you, if you have not held the bridle so tightly as would have been desirable ;

but there are some things insupportable, for which we are constrained to write to you more harshly than we would desire. But we should be traitors to God, to you, and to all christendom, in dissembling what you have done to our great regret. It is not a decent thing for a minister to make himself a mock soldier or captain : but it is much worse when one quits the pulpit to bear arms : the worst is, to go to the governor of the city with pistol in hand, and menace him, vaunting force and violence ; for here are the words which have been repeated to us, and which we have heard from witnesses worthy of credit : “ Sir, you must do so, for we have the power to make you.” We tell you, roundly, that this speech appears to us a horror and a monster. We have also strongly detested the exclamation made by the governor and the ministers. We place in the same category the passports and similar things, the enormity of which has disgusted, nay, has alienated many from the gospel, and troubled and saddened all persons that have the least piety and modesty. Yet, this was not enough, but they must scour the country for booty and pillage of cows and other cattle, until *Monsieur* the baron des Adresses came there with authority, who did not approve such insolent acts, in which those, who make boast of being ministers of the word of God, were not ashamed to take part. Now, these old wounds have been opened afresh when we learned that the spoils taken from the church of St. John were exposed to sale, to the highest bidder, and sold for a hundred and twelve crowns. Nay, that they promised the soldiers to distribute to each his portion.

“ True it is, that M. Rufi is by name charged with all these things ; but it seems to me that, in part, you are guilty, for not having prevented them, as you had the liberty and power to do so. For, if he will not submit to correction, let him seek and erect a church for himself. We cannot mildly call your attention to these things, which we could not bear without great shame and bitterness of soul. Now, though it be late to apply a remedy, yet we cannot refrain from entreating you, in the name of God, and exhorting you, as far as is in your power, to compensate for past faults, and especially to prevent all these robberies and spoliations. Far better abandon such persons, and withdraw from them, than expose the gospel to such opprobrium, by remaining in association with them. Already was there inconsiderate zeal in committing such ravages as they have been guilty of in the temples, but what was done in hot blood, and from a certain zeal, those who fear God will not judge rigorously. What can be said of this booty ? Under what title will it be lawful to take what belongs to no individual person ? If thieves are worthy of punishment, it is a double crime to steal public property. Wherefore, if you do not want to be hated and detested by all good persons, see that reparation be made for such offences ; for, if you delay this, we very much dread that you never will accomplish it in time. In which, we implore God to give you understanding and prudence, to direct you in equity and justice, to fortify you with constancy and virtue, that the exertions you make may not be useless ; but that your doctrine may fructify to the increasing glory of his name. Geneva, May the 13th.”*

* Lettres Manus. Bibliothèque du roi, coll. Dupuy, vol. 101-102.

A beautiful letter, undoubtedly, and one for which we would gladly give credit to the reformer! It is unfortunate, that he who penned it has been silent regarding those abominations, of which the reformation was guilty at Geneva. Why has he not protested against the sacking of St. Peter's, against the pillage of the episcopal palace, against the breaking to pieces of crosses, and the spoliation of monasteries? He has beheld all these saturnalia, and looked on unmoved! Has he solicited a little bread for those priests, whose place and bed he has usurped, and who are living at Chambery on charity? Is not his habitation furnished with articles which were stolen from the convents of La Rive and Saint Claire?

This letter is the production of a politician, and nothing more. Calvin is well aware that the reformation can never triumph at Lyons by pillaging churches, and he hastens to denounce the devastators. But let the soldiers of the baron des Adrets do, what those of the bailiff of Berne did in the *pays de Vaud*;† let them not leave a single cross in the city, a single church standing, a single convent wall untouched, and let them say: All this is ours; then will Calvin exclaim: "The Lord has passed over these ruins," and he will come from Geneva to seat himself at the table of the leader of the expedition, and, out of the very glasses of the monks and priests, he will drink the triumph of the word of God!

But the city will never again allow itself to be taken by surprise; the lesson has been terrible; and, besides, God has given to Lyons a writer who will at once watch over our faith and our liberties. Let Spifamus, the renegade, (at a later period hung at Geneva for bankruptcy), ambition the see of Ireneus; Gabriel de Saconay has some ink left, and this will be sufficient to dissipate all the fine schemes of the reformation!†

We are now about to see of what worth is a priest, who is able to diffuse among the mass of the people the noble zeal, with which he burns for the glory of his God and the honour of his city.

"On the very day, then, of their conspiracy, they attempted to surprise France, and renew there the Sicilian Vespers, leaving no village where they did not make some effort: in which, also, Divine Providence has displayed itself greatly propitious, and even in this city of Lyons. Here, where president Birague, established governor in the absence of the duke de Nemours, though he had advices of these designs, being from long experience wise and provident, dared, nevertheless, make no demonstration, nor even openly keep on his guard, as he had command to attempt nothing new, lest he should give occasion or colour to the disturbers of the public peace for a commencement of troubles. Besides the Catholics of the said city were poorly united, in no wise foreseeing their approaching ruin which had evidently been resolved on; so that on Sunday, the Vigil of St. Michael, the night when the conspiracy was to be put in execution in said city, though indeed they

* Haller, Histoire de la Révolution religieuse dans la Suisse occidentale, p. 339.

† The church of Lyons implores us to give it James Spifamus Sr. de Passy, for minister. Registers of Geneva.

had some warning thereof, yet with great trouble could some of them be assembled, as by order of the consulate was required, in the hotel of the archbishopric, to provide for the safety of the city. But on a sudden, without having conferred together, these lethargic people of Lyons were hurried and stimulated by Divine Providence: in such sort, that about four o'clock in the afternoon, and at the very moment that their majesties, by the Divine Goodness, had been safely conducted to Paris, news was received by means unheard of, as it neither came by post nor had been despatched by express: that, on the night before, the city of Mascon had been surprised by the rebels, who had there practised great cruelties.

“Then, these Catholic populations, impeled by the Spirit of God, went to the house of the governor to receive his orders: where they learned that the rebels were resolved to seize upon the place *de Confort*. Having promptly received orders, in less than an hour, all the places, streets, and quarters of the said city were occupied. In which all conditions exerted themselves so skillfully, guided and commanded by said governor, that there was no murder, effusion of blood, outrage or violence, but even less noise than in time of great peace: it being a moment when the hearts of said Catholics were so agreed and united, that, in such a city, composed of people of so many nations, it might have been said that there was but one heart, one will, and one mind. On the contrary, the adversaries of God and man, with all their devices, intelligence, monopolies, prudence and worldly strength, had their pride crushed, prostrated, humbled, and dissipated; for God, in spite of their great numbers, having suddenly deprived them of courage and power, they did not dare appear, nor utter one word, nor even their very wives, being seized with such dread, and no one being bold enough to come forth and show himself, they came near perishing with famine in their houses.”*

And now, honour be to Gabriel, whose writings exerted such a powerful influence upon the religious instincts of his fellow citizens: he has deserved well of his church and his country! Let the church inscribe his name among her most eloquent defenders, and let Lyons reserve for him the crown, which she owes to the patriot who preserved her from the yoke of the reformation.

Deprive Lyons of Gabriel de Saconay, of father Henry, of the order of Capuchins; of father Pyrus and father Maheu, Jacobins; of father Ropitel, of the order of Minims; of father Possevin, a Jesuit, and that city will no longer belong to France: in losing her faith, she will lose her nationality.

* *De la Providence de Dieu sur les roys de France très chrétiens*, par Gabriel de Saconay, précenteur et comte de l'église de Lyon. Lyon, 1568, in 4to.

The biographers of Lyons represent, that Gabriel de Saconay was born at Lyons. We find the following lines regarding this controvertist in the *Historical Memoirs concerning the house of Savoy*, by M. de Costa, t. I, p. 240.

“Gabriel de Sacconex, of an illustrious family, in the province of the Genevese, and in 1540, dean of the chapter of St. John of Lyons, was the author of some controversial works, in his time much esteemed.”

CHAPTER XLVII.

ANARCHICAL PROPAGANDISM.

Means of propagandism employed by the reformation.—Nocturnal assemblies.—Sermon with closed doors.—Colporteurs.—Libels introduced into the convents.—Calvin's pamphlet against Paul III.—Notion of this work.—Protestants, after the death of Calvin, reproduce his anarchical doctrines.—Dialogues of Nicholas de Montard.—The goods of the clergy,—The convents,—The Maximum.

WERE we to say, that in the sixteenth century there existed a society, the chief delight of the members of which was, to calumniate their brethren, in their morals, in their faith, and in their intelligence; to transform the Pope into the Antichrist, our bishops into sons of satan, our priests into satellites of ignorance; to decry our doctors, our holy fathers, our sacred writers; to sully all our glories, defile all our monuments, and all the pages of our history; to excite the populace against our doctrines; to deny us the least spark of divine inspiration; to close heaven against us, as idolaters; one could scarcely believe in the existence of such hatred and injustice! Yet this is so. Whence issued the Protestant reformers, if not out of our schools, which they represented as the sinks of ignorance? Whence did they derive that science, of which they considered themselves privileged possessors, except from the book of some monk, whom they meanly calumniated? Who had taken them up, fed, and clothed them? Bishops, whom they devoted in this life to the contempt of God and of men. But for Catholic priests, what would have become of Melancthon, Luther, Calvin, Capnion, and all the glories of reformed Germany? See what happens! Luther, who, in a convent, tasted the very first drop of the milk of polite learning, passes his life in degrading monks; Calvin, who lived on the alms of the abbé d'Hangest, sees in the Catholic priest nothing but a devil incarnate; and Ulrich von Hutten calls that city, whence came light to enlighten the world, the modern Babylon.

We must show you what means the reformation at first employed for the propagation of its doctrines in France.

It had subterranean cells, in which the neophytes of both sexes clandestinely assembled. Cellars, whence no noise could issue, were selected by preference. The brethren had received warning on the evening previous, as to the place and hour of rendezvous. The person who gave warning kept order. These nocturnal assemblies, more than

once, gave rise to scenes that were not very edifying. The notifier, very often the go-between of two lovers, was placed at a distance. Sometimes, the assemblies were held in some isolated house, which always had several entrances, in order not to awaken the curiosity of persons passing.

The minister, on his arrival, saluted the assembly, drew a Bible from his pocket, read some verses, closed the book, and extemporized a sermon against the papacy. The French reformation imitated the Protestantism of Saxony; it called the Pope, the Antichrist of Rome; the city of Rome, the great harlot; the cardinals, children of hell; our priests, greasers and mass-mumblers.*

Whilst the Council of Trent was in session, it smiled scornfully, and called Paul III., Neptune, king of the seas; the bishops, Tritons, because Trent signifies Trident; Anthony, provincial of the Carmelites of Lombardy, the brother of Venus, because he was named Marinero; Robert Cenal, bishop of Avranches, a kitchen-boy,† from allusion to his name.

In France, as at Wittenberg and at Erfurth, at the end of each sermon the reformation predicted the downfall of "the papism," the ruin of the episcopacy, the end of the Catholic priesthood. When the minister had concluded, it prepared a table, took bread, which it cut into small pieces, and distributed to the assistants, saying: "My brethren, this is the bread of the Lord, which we are about to eat in memory of his death and passion;" afterwards, some wine, which it gave to be drunk, saying: "This is the wine of the Lord." The communion being over, the minister commenced to return thanks, and always concluded his thanksgiving with a violent philippic against the Antichrist: if the Pope died, the Antichrist still lived; this was a burden which the successors of St. Peter transmitted one to another. In some of the mountains of Wittenberg, the peasants still believe that the Pope is the Antichrist, but the ministers neither believe in the Pope, the Antichrist, the devil, nor even in Christ himself.—"Lord Jesus," says Thiess, "overwhelm these impious rationalists in the lowest depths of hell."‡

At the end of each meeting, the assistants, in a low voice, swore to observe secrecy concerning all they had just heard. Ordinarily, when the assembly took place in some private house, the minister came with his pockets full of dice and cards, which he threw upon the table at the sign of the approach of some imp of satan. In the mystic language of the reformation, imp of satan signified simply an agent of the police. The police did its duty, and saw through the stratagem; and then in place of dice, story-books were substituted, which, when the man in black knocked at the door, the brethren seemed to be busily reading. If the police agent confiscated the dice and books, and took some of the assistants to prison, the reformation cried out:—tyranny. At Geneva, it was even unwilling to leave with the Catholics some ancient images, which were family heir-looms and treasures of childhood: if

* Christian Institutes, *passim*.

† Ut nomini suo respondeat Cenalis, ad culinam revertetur. Calv.

‡ Homiletisch-liturgisches Correspondenzblatt, 1830, n. 49, p. 783.

the christian resisted, it condemned him to bread and water; if he grew angry, it banished him; and this was called *evangelical justice*.

It was at Poitiers, in a garden of the street *Basse-Treille*, that Calvin presided over the first meeting of the reformed christians. There, were present Anthony de la Duguie, professor and doctor; Philip Veron, procurator for the see; Albert Babinot, lecturer at *la ministrerie*, the hall in which the professor expounded the Institutes; John Vernon Jr.; John Boisseau, sieur de la Boderie, advocate; Charles le Sage, doctor. These were the first apostles who went into the provinces to preach the Luthero-Calvinistic doctrine. For fear of creating suspicion, nearly all changed their names. Babinot was called *minister*, because, as we have seen, he lectured in the hall *la ministrerie*, and this name came to be applied generally to the reformed pastors; another was named le Ramasseur, a title of honour given to him by Calvin, who was acquainted with the neophyte's zeal. "Le Ramasseur," says Cayer, "beat the bushes, and left no corner of Poictou, Xaintonge, or Angouleme, which he did not examine in order to see if he could catch any thing." He was of cunning mind, acute, and knew well how to appeal to the passions, flatter the interests and excite the imaginations of men: he met with great success in Guyenne. Vindocrin, regent of Agen, seduced by his exhortations, made a public profession of Calvinism, and preferred death to abjuration. André Melanthon, John Carvin, André de la Voye, professors of Tonniens, Villeneuve, of Agen and Sainte-Foy, boldly confessed the new faith and only escaped punishment by means of money and influence.

The Calvinistic symbol taught, that the use of meat was a thing indifferent. All the students of the University, who were wont to pass Thursday night in parading the streets, were delighted to be allowed to eat meat on Friday. The reformation was very successful in the schools; it also met great favour from certain ecclesiastics, to whom it preached marriage; from indifferent souls, who felt burdened by a host of observances, fasts, and mortifications, which it retrenched from religious life as useless for salvation. It had expressed itself in formal terms with regard to auricular confession, which it held to be a mere human invention: this is the article of the formulary which found most favour at court, and particularly among the ladies. The reformation attacked the mass, as a popish action. It was in one of the cellars of Poitiers that Calvin, after a very warm debate, caused the abolition of the sacrifice of the mass to be decreed. Certain Catholics were desirous to defend this institution. Charles, called le Sage, one of the most learned of the disciples of John of Noyon, who was unable to endure contradiction, took his cap, threw it into the midst of the assistants, and raising his eyes to heaven, exclaimed: "Lord, if, at the day of judgment, thou reprovest me for having renounced the papist mass, I will answer thee: Here is the book of revelation, show me the page where thou givest the command to hear mass: there is no sacrifice but that of the cross."

At Geneva, the reformation kept in its service poets, who had no other duty but to chant "the mass-mumblers." Calvin supplied them

with jokes which they had to turn into rhyme. At Geneva and Wittenberg, in the jargon of the reformation, they said that "the mass made the priest's kettle boil." One would scarcely believe how many verses have been made on this theme! When the rhymster's genius began to flag in denouncing the Antichrist, he seized hold of the papist *Helen*, as Calvin termed the mass, in order to revive it,* and God knows what beautiful inspirations he had, which they printed on flying sheets for the use of the towns and country places! If they detected one of these colporteurs slipping these seditious fantasies into a barn, and cast him into prison, then you were sure of a dreadful clamour at Geneva against the sacerdotal tyranny, which would not allow the faith of a whole nation to be insulted in prose or in verse.

They caused anti-Catholic libels to be printed upon all the points in dispute between the two communions. There were some especially designed for convents. To cenobites they manifested: that their obligations were null before God; that the divine law never created slavery; that, on the contrary, it had made humanity free; that all vows were superstitious inspirations; that the vow of poverty was onerous to the state; that the vow of virginity diminished the population; that the vow of obedience was an outrage upon conscience." Themes, which were again taken up at the epoch of our revolution and reproduced to a surfeit. In perusing the pamphlets of '93, we meet again, concerning the priesthood, celibacy, and convents, the ideas, and even the very expressions of Calvin.

In these convents, there were souls who had embraced the austerities of cenobitical life from purely human motives, and who remained in the cloister only because the world would have passed the sentence of its reprobation upon the rupture of those ties which were regarded as sacred. But when they had come to preach to them that such vows were not binding in conscience; that Christ no where had made a precept of continence, and that, in this world the prejudices of which they dreaded, there were good persons ready to protect and defend them; then they were driven out of their monasteries by an ardent desire of liberty. Scarcely had they breathed the atmosphere of the large cities, when they were like intoxicated persons, and yielded to all the impulses of the flesh.† The reformation had no missionaries more ardent. Under the garb of men and women, they were real tempters, whose greatest joy was to be able to seduce some poor girl, or some youth quite recently devoted to the service of God. At Geneva, they employed these renegades to scour the country. Thanks to their entirely mystic language, they obtained access to the convents, and commenced to play the part of the fallen angel. As many souls as were deceived, so many songs of joy and messages to the reformer. Sometimes it happened, indeed, that the eye of some ancient sister portress or brother janitor divined the trick, but the tempter was not discouraged; in case of need, he threw into the convent garden, or slipped under the parlour grate, or

* Christian Institutes.

† Plank, Geschichte der Entstehung des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs, t. IV, p. 83.

placed on the praying desk of the chapel, some leaves of parchment like those which we put in prayer books, and quite full of texts of scripture, falsified, against the vow of chastity, and more frequently against the Pope.

Here is one which we came across in the library of Mayence, and which appears to have been printed at Lyons.

“The Apostle St. Paul desires that the children of a christian pastor should be of good morals, and well nurtured in the fear of the Lord. Pope Paul Frenese has had a son, and his son has children, and bastards besides; and this old man, who is on the edge of the ditch, and that half-rotten carrion.

“What is Peter Loyse? I will tell you the most horrible thing that ever was heard of: and yet I will tell you nothing but what is true. Italy never has produced such a monster. Why sleep you here, Sir Pope, since the execrable debaucheries of your son have ascended to the very heavens? Oh! detestable Pope! does not the judgment of God await thee? If God has not spared Heli, what torment shouldst thou expect! But I must still urge thee closer: what is the condition of thy see, which ought to be to thee like a family? What are thy vicars doing? On what merchandize do they traffic in thy court? How are thy clergy governed? Can there be found a Sodom, where more unrestrained license is given to all wickedness, and where sins are less punished?

“Thou callest thyself successor of St. Peter, thou, who art no more like him than some Nero, Domitian, or Caligula. If, perchance, thou wouldst not rather choose Heliogabalus, who joined a priesthood or new sacrificial office with the empire. Thou wilt be vicar of Jesus Christ; thou, whose every thought, whose every effort, and whose every act, tend to this object: to abolish Jesus Christ, provided the useless name remain, which thou abusest, like a painted prostitute! Thou wilt be vicar of Jesus Christ; thou, whom all children know for certain to be the Antichrist? What Jesus Christ wilt thou forge for us, if thou wishest his image to be recognized in thy tyranny? We perceive that thou art the prelate of all impiety, the standard-bearer of satan, the cruel tyrant of souls, an inhuman executioner; and as to life, that thou art a monster made up of all wickedness; and, to say all in one word, that thou art the son of perdition, of whom St. Paul speaks, and shall we repute thee the vicar of Jesus Christ! We see, I say, a wolf devouring the sheep of Jesus Christ; we behold a thief, who drives them off; we behold a brigand, who kills them; and shall we esteem thee vicar of Jesus Christ!”

The leaf bore no signature, probably, in order that at Lyons and in the neighbouring cities they might be able to attribute it, as the reformers said of every pamphlet, to some “converted” Catholic. We are ignorant whether or not at that time they guessed the hand that penned it: But at the first words, we named Calvin as the author and we were not mistaken: it is an extract from his *Brief Exposition*.”*

* Briefve exposition sur l'Epistre du pape Paul III., envoyée à l'empereur Charles V.—Opuscules, p. 450.

In fact, Calvin is the only man capable of reproducing the infamous assertions of Ochino, which made even the protestant historian Sleidan blush with shame.

It was that great pope, Paul III., who had instituted the order of the Jesuits, and convoked the council of Trent. Now, of the disciples of Loyola, Calvin said :

“Scoundrels, who ought to be hung, or, if the stake be not convenient, driven away, or overwhelmed by calumny.”*

And of the general council : “A gang of brigands and asses.”†

But see how, that great scourge of God, truth's lame foot moves onwards! Here are three Protestants who vindicate what Calvin has thought proper to calumniate.

“God,” says Molan, “has promised to assist his church to the consummation of ages, and he could not have allowed error to prevail in those grand religious assises which are called councils.”‡

“The consecration of the Catholic dogma by scripture and tradition,” says Fessler, “was the work of the Council of Trent.”‡

“When Paul III.,” says A. Menzel, “had read the plan of the new Institute of the Jesuits, he exclaimed : The finger of God is there. Protestants have always hated the disciples of Loyola, the most ardent adversaries of the reformation.”§

For the destruction of Catholicism in France, Calvin indicates three means : the ruin of the papacy, the secularization of convents, and the sale of the property of the clergy ; the same, indeed, that had been employed at Wittenberg and Geneva. In Saxony and Switzerland, the possessions of the clergy served for the support of Protestant schools, pastors, and preachers. Luther considered the unfrocked monk a powerful auxiliary of the reformation, which he enriched by the numerous progeny that he left behind him. The idea of increasing the population by means of the monachal race has not escaped Calvin. In his little tracts, there are various works of exegesis upon the *crescite et multiplicamini* (increase and multiply), which our modern economists often have done no more than recopy, without indicating the source

* Jesuitæ vero qui se maxime nobis opponunt, aut necandi, aut si hoc comode fieri non potest, ejiciendi, aut certe mendaciis et calumniis opprimendi sunt. Calv., apud Becan., t. I, op. 17, aph. 15, de modo propagandi Calvinismum.

Basil was not the first to say : *calumniate*. Probably, Beaumarchais had read the following lines in Luther's correspondence : Nos hic persuasi sumus, papatum esse veri et germani antichristi sedem, in cujus deceptionem et nequitiam, ob salutem animarum nobis *omnia licere* arbitramur. De Wette, Luthers Briefe, t. I, p. 378, n. 201.

‡ Christus ist durch alle Jahrhunderte bei seiner Kirche, und lässt nicht zu, dasz in solch' einem Konzilium ein dem Glauben zuwiderlaufender Ausspruch gesch. Molan, Explicatio alt. Method. reunionis ecclesiæ : cited by Hœninghaus, p. 145-146.

‡ Auch das Werk der zu Trient versammelten ehrwürdigen Väter, war die durchaus solgerichtige Festsetzung der Katholisch-kirchlichen Glaubenslehre ausgemittelt, aus der heiligen Schrift und apostolischen Ueberlieferung. Gesch. ichten der Ungern, t. VIII, p. 384.

§ Die Protestanton erkannten und haszten in den Jesuiten ihre gefährlichsten Gegner.

whence they derived their views. Calvin, while affecting to pity the condition of the Catholic populations, in several of his works, advises, as a plan for ameliorating the lot of the poor, the sale of our reliquaries.

He had scarcely shut his eyes upon the light of this world, when his disciples of France developed the theories presented in his Acts of the Council of Trent,* in his Treatise on Relics,† in his Brief Exposition, and urged France to an insurrection against the nobility and clergy. The whole of our revolution, even to the Maximum, is contained in dialogues from which we are about to give a few extracts. The author, Nicholas de Montand, in several places of his work, affirms that he is but a modest workman content to enchase the diamond polished by master Calvin.‡

THE GOODS OF THE CLERGY.

HONORATUS. The question regards incorporating with the king's domains, the dukedoms, counties, baronies, goods and seignories of the clergy, in proportion as prelates and other beneficiaries shall die, or even if they would do better, *dispossessing them immediately*.

TUBALCAIN. Thou hast hit the nail on the head, Honoratus, and I am not surprised that thou hast left the war to come after this most savoury and delicate morsel that is in all France.

HONORATUS. Let us come to the matter of relics. Thinkest thou that the finest money can be made out of the silver which will be obtained from this source?

TUBALCAIN. Why not? as well as has been done with other relics which have been employed for this purpose: but it is necessary to be in haste and lose no time in securing the articles, for fear lest they take wings and fly away.

HONORATUS. Should there be some detainers and receivers of these relics, who obstinately should persist in declaring that they had neither concealed nor retained the reliquaries, it will only be necessary to set apart some money for informers who shall discover them, and the nest and birds will easily be found. . . There is no canon so little, from the largest to the smallest, but has some nuts worth picking, and especially in his cabinet each has, besides the relics of their temples, all the apparatus necessary for the game of goblets on the altar, just as any jug-

* Acta synodi Tridentinæ cum antidoto.

† Treatise on Relics, or a very useful admonition of the great advantage which would accrue to christendom, if inventory were made of all the bodies of saints and relics which exist as well in Italy as in France, Germany, Spain and other kingdoms and countries: by J. Calvin.

‡ The note book of the conferences of the diocess of Lyons, (year 1840) drawn up by M. Catet, an ecclesiastie well versed in the history of Protestant heresies, first put us upon the trace of the book of Nicholas de Montand, today very rare, and a copy of which we found in the library of the Arsenal. Here is its title: *Le Miroir des François, compris en trois livres; par Nicolas de Montand, 1581. in-12.* Those who desire to write the history of Protestantism in France, ought to consult the very curious letter of Scipio and Milo, commissaries of war, to Gregory, bishop of Rome. M. Daunou, author of the *Essay on the Temporal Power of the Popes*, has evidently availed himself of this document for the composition of his work.

gler may have for his tricks and pass-pass. It is true, one has his table utensils of silver, another of tin.

TUBALCAIN. Perhaps they will have to mix these with the silver of the reliquaries, and none of the same should be used till it be accurately known how many marks of silver there are in bars, and how many quintals of bell and other metals, and should they desire to use some of it for casting artillery, they would be unable to find any better material.

HONORATUS. Consider a moment in your own mind how many bells there are in Paris, how many relics may be there, and how many canons who separately have their chalices and other garniture for the altar, and calculate what will be obtained from other cities and towns, such as Toulouse, Narbonne, Carcassonne, Bordeaux, and other cities which have not yet been despoiled, accumulate all this into an inestimable treasure.*

When then, search shall be made for relics, it will be proper to look seriously to other saints who have been richer than the Virgin and more worldly, and they will find that if this good lady, who had given birth to the true Emmanuel in a manger, has after her death possessed so many dresses and rings, that the others must be much better furnished with richer articles in comparison with hers, who was but a poor little woman; besides I think she looked higher than her silver and sandals.† Then will they stop fabricating and making saints of both sexes, when the others, which the king will seize, shall have been melted down.

THE CONVENTS.

TUBALCAIN. Your remark is good and salutary; but let us speak of other things. And in fact, I know not what course they will pursue to deliver that nursery of persons existing in the sink of the convents.

HONORATUS. I think there will be no need of much pulling at the ears of most of the monks to make them come forth from their den.

TUBALCAIN. When once out of their convents, enough occupation can be given them, if they will put hand to the work.

HONORATUS. To economize well, they should observe the law of the two emperors, Valentinian and Valens, by which it was ordered that those, who should follow the monastic life, thereby flying from public duties, should be forced out of their hiding places, and either constrained to serve their country, or deprived of all other necessaries, which should be transferred to those who sustain the labours and dangers of the republic.

TUBALCAIN. Thou commencest to make terrible regulations; but what? would it be necessary that the four mendicant orders, the white monks, the black monks, the Celestins, Mathurins, Jesuits, Capu-

* Miroir, etc., page 170.

† Id. page 172.

chins, Carthusians, good men, canons, priests and other gentry of the clergy and even our masters of the Sorbonne, should throw off their habits and till the earth. How could this be done? More than a third of those who did nothing would be constrained to labour. And then, if they married, (as in fact they might do were they to frequent the world freely) there would not be half enough towns to support the population, which in twenty years would multiply and cover the earth.

HONORATUS. The earth would be no more filled with people than it is now; for whilst each one will have but one wife, it is sufficiently manifest that conventual and monastic men are entirely carried away and enflamed by their concupiscence, shamelessly scouring the country after their sensuality and pleasures, like bulls, so that the land is polluted by their bastard boys and girls, who come from the unchaste amours of these shameless villains, and I much regret to hold such language, for fear my readers be horrified, in reading what I say, to learn such wicked and abominable things.

TUBALCAIN. When all these things shall be well considered, it will be found that there are great disorders in this monachal life, and that it would be requisite to allow those to marry who have not the gift of continence, for it is a pure folly in men to have vowed chastity, and given a promise to keep it, if they look no higher than their own strength; for it is not given to all; and all those vows are to be condemned which are not sanctioned by the word of God, such as those of monks and nuns, as the author to the Hebrews warns us that marriage is honorable in all and the bed undefiled; but God will judge debauchees and adulterers, and in the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, it is said: "Do not deceive yourselves: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor the . . . shall possess the kingdom of God." Hence, Honoratus, I yield to thy opinion; and it is my will that it be soon well executed provided they proceed therein with requisite civility and honesty.

HONORATUS. The steps proper to be used for this would be, that honest persons should withdraw their brothers, sisters, and near relations who are in the cloisters, nunneries, and convents, from that nursery where they live, and keep them for a time with themselves to admonish them, cheer them in the Lord, encourage them to learn some honest employment in order to pass through this frail and deceitful life, and not give them occasion to be sad for having employed their time so badly, but rather remind them of God's goodness in withdrawing them from the idolatries and pollutions in which they were plunged, to lead and conduct them back to a belief in one only Jesus Christ who was crucified.

TUBALCAIN. The order which you propose has great appearance of being well devised as far as concerns young persons and others who are forty years of age and under: for they will be able to learn some employment by which to support life according to their rank; some could be employed in agriculture, others in some honest trade to which their taste shall incline them, others could be college rectors, principals, or professors. But those who are over forty years of age, and shall have been from childhood in a cloister, should, in my opinion during

life only, receive some small annuity from the domain and revenues of their convent, that, with this and what they may derive from their labour, study, and industry, they may finish their days in peace.

HONORATUS. Some of these old persons will be fit for keepers or masters of hospitals, others will be able to study and benefit the public in future, and can be employed in good universities, others who know how to make some thing unusual, such as bitters and cordials, and the greater part, who love the management of country houses, can labour there in taking care of the stock, so that if this take place, never has there been such harmony, such abundance of grain, of wine, and all good things as then will be seen, for each one will take pains to cultivate the earth well, to clean, polish and level those rugged places, which grow full of bushes for want of cultivation.

TUBALCAIN. Thou still forgettest the principal point; which is that should any sworn enemy of the country want to make war against our king, he could raise the finest and largest army ever monarch levied in Europe.

HONORATUS. Ink and paper would fail me should I undertake to set forth all the advantages which will result from this new change; for whilst at present artizans can be found only at great expense and with difficulty: we shall then have a choice of them: so that silks, woolen cloths, leather, and generally all other articles of merchandize would be cheaper, and, what is more, some of these cloistered gentry will invent several good, elegant, and useful things, not yet seen, made, or used.

THE MAXIMUM.

HONORATUS. My soul leaps with joy at seeing our plan so well matured: but we must ornament it with a regulation for all goods and merchandize whatever, that they may ordinarily be at the same price. For the greatest of all disorders, at present, pervades all goods and merchandize which are sold wholesale and retail, and if things be not amended and equalized, it is to be feared lest in a short time, the nourishment of a man will require as much gold as he will weigh. To obviate which, nothing will be better or more expedient than to make a catalogue, and a rate of price for grain, wines, meats, poultry, which shall be sold in market, at the butcher's stalls, and the hotels, and to fix up said catalogue and rate, at the street corners and most remarkable points where said markets, butcher's stalls, and hotels are found, giving express command to venders and purchasers, under penalty of imprisonment and pecuniary fine, to observe the said rate, and to the police to use strict watch and requisition that his majesty be obeyed.

TUBALCAIN. Since we have a mode of life well adapted for our France, I shall present it to the States, to know their good pleasure, and as soon as I have perceived that it will be conformable with our own, I shall place the papers on the table, and cause them to be read to them. . . ."

Do you now comprehend the fears entertained by the clergy and the people of Lyons for their faith and their nationality; the severity of the civil power, if you choose so to designate it, against those political agitators who came from Geneva quite full of the spirit of the theocrat, and spread themselves over our provinces, in order to preach up disobedience to our laws, revolt against our priests, contempt for our liturgical forms, pillage, murder, incendiarism? Geneva was the grand rendezvous of all the malcontents of France. There, was concocted the conspiracy of Amboise; there, was devised the attack upon Lyons, and its capture by stratagem. There, they gave up to one Spifamus the first see of the Gauls! And had not God placed in the hearts of the people a faith so pure, in his clergy a devotedness so ardent, in the magistrates a vigilance so active, and in Calvin the germs of a premature death, who knows what would have been the fate of our southern provinces?

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CALVIN'S DEATH. 1564.

The Reformer is afflicted by various maladies.—His letter to the physicians of Montpellier.—Causes of his last sufferings.—His doctrines abandoned by Zurich.—His adieux to the council.—His last testament.—The approach of death.—His last moments.—His funeral.

At the age of forty Calvin already presented all the signs of decrepitude, his back was stooped, his face emaciated, his lips were discoloured, his hair was grey, and his brow despoiled. His eye alone preserved its habitual fire. From infancy he had been subject to various maladies which time had only served to aggravate; when at college he already complained of the megrim, which afterwards suddenly smote him like a thunderbolt, when at table, at the council, or in the pulpit. The approach of the infliction could be discerned by the purpling of his lips, the contraction of the facial muscles, the febrile irritation of the brain. In perusing his later writings, it is not even difficult to indicate the very passage at which the malady seized him: his phrase, usually dull, then emits a few pale sparks. But this over excitement of the brain soon troubles the intellect of the writer, who is compelled to pause, to cease from labour, and even to suspend the exercise of thought. Luther also was tormented with vertigos, during which his head was filled with the roar of crumbling mountains, the din of tempests, and the hiss of serpents; but he had early begun to resist the assaults of the demon by whom he imagined himself visited at such times, and his word, forced to work its way through the thick strata of white clay beneath which satan wanted to hold it in bondage, resembled the lightning flashing athwart the dark clouds, and fell upon the paper in torrents of fire. Calvin, who did not, like the monk, believe in the domineering influence of the evil spirit,* paused when his pains were too violent. He then invoked obscurity to his aid; he shut himself up in his room, drew thick curtains before his windows, cast himself on his bed, and allowed the disease gradually to exhaust itself. Towards the end of his life all these sedative expedients had become inefficient. His head continued to burn for entire hours, and the volcano emitted no flames. A suffocating catarrh nailed him to his bed, deprived him of sleep, of the

* See chapter entitled: THE DEVIL AND THE ANTICHRIST.

power to move his legs or arms, and even of the ability for serious reflection. During his last years, and particularly in winter, he passed the nights before a large fire quite covered with woolen blankets. Beza says that at intervals he calmly slept "the sleep of childhood." Did Calvin then escape the chastisement of those who have stained their hands with blood! More than once must he have been visited by the shades of Berthelier, Servetus, Gruet, and of all the patriots whom he had handed over to the executioner. God is just! and those attacks of cholic, those spasms, that gout, those piles, that gravel, those cancerous wounds, and that train of maladies, which assailed him at the same time just before his death, were but a temporal expiation of all the tears and sufferings he had cost humanity. He had no joy, because joy, says St. Thomas, is the fruit of charity, and he had never loved.*

Some time previously to his death, Calvin had addressed to the physicians of Montpellier a letter in Latin full of details regarding the various torments which he was enduring at that time, and a part of which we here translate.

"When Sarasin, my ordinary physician, had informed me of the remedies you advised in my case, I said to him: But who then, without my knowledge, has applied to the doctors of Montpellier?—It was, said he, at the express solicitation of your colleagues, that I drew up a consultation, setting forth all your infirmities.—Your answer manifests the interest you feel for me, and the desire you entertain to prolong my existence.

"Twenty years since, learned doctors had the idea which you express to day: they wished to cure me. But at that time I was not tormented by the gout, the stone, the gravel, the cholic, the piles, nor by an internal hemorrhage; all these maladies have at once pounced upon me like an inimical hord. The quartan fever has scarcely left me, when I am seized with cramps in the calf of the legs, which at first allow me some respite, and then are converted into a pulling and hauling of the muscles from the foot to the knee. And here I am through the whole summer a prey to a frightful neuralgy. The motion of the horse has become insupportable to me, and I have tried a litter or portable chair; in returning from a little excursion to the country, I wanted to walk: I had scarcely gone a league when I was compelled to stop: my legs were swollen. Having reached home I went to bed, and experienced nervous pains which the efforts of art were unable at first to alleviate. The malady yielded, after I had passed a stone so large that it injured the arteries and caused a hemorrhage which was finally arrested by the probe. Since then several stones have come away, and my nervous pains are somewhat assuaged; but I have no hope of cure, for I can neither take exercise on foot nor on horseback; add to all these ills, a debility of stomach so great that the food I take remains entirely undigested. But in place of returning you my

* *Gaudium est effectus charitatis.*

thanks, I am afflicting you with all these details which serve no other purpose than to give you alarm.”*

When on the point of leaving this earth, he beheld his work going to ruin. The *Consensus Tigurinus* and the *Consensus pastorum Genevensium* were about to be divided: Zurich was returning to the ideas of Zwingle regarding the Lord's Supper. Berne decidedly rejected predestination.† Lyons, thanks to what the reformation in its pamphlets called the “papal vermin and low priesthood,” drove Viret beyond its walls.‡ The blood of the Franciscans,§ with which the Soane had been crimsoned, had cried to God and been heard. Henry d'Albon, Saconay, and Auger, aided by the people, rescued the city from the yoke of the sectaries. The conspiracy of Renaudie,|| concocted at Geneva, failed; France preserved its God, its faith and its king.

In the month of February 1564, Calvin ascended the pulpit for the last time: in the midst of his discourse he was seized with violent attacks of coughing.

On the 27th of March, he wish to make his final adieux to the council. Two men supported him upon the steps of the *hotel de ville*. He was only able to articulate a few words of sympathy: “I am about to die, said he to the counselors, nature can hold out no longer.”¶

On the 2d of April, Easter day, he assisted at the services, and after the sermon received communion at the hands of Beza.**

His strength was exhausted; God afflicted him in the most potent organ of the understanding. His brain, rendered sterile, could no longer obey the impulses of thought without causing his body to suffer most poignant agonies. His hand was paralyzed as well as his head: at that moment it could not have written as it did in 1546: If Servetus come to Geneva, he shall not leave it alive. His fingers, which had traced so many calumnies against Catholicism, blackened so many glorious reputations, vilified so many noble spirits, shaken up so much gall and wormwood, signed so many decrees of exile and death, were frozen, as if already stiffened with the cold of the tomb. He was like the sick man of Dante, who, in turning from side to side on his bed of pain, vainly tries to elude death.

E, se ben ti ricorda, e vedi lume,
Vedrai te simigliante a quella 'nferma,
Che non puo trovar posa in su'le piume,
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma. ††

* 8 fév. 1564.

† Schreckh, *Amœnit.* t. II, p. 204, t. V, p. 177-181.

‡ See: Discourse concerning the vermin and low priesthood of Lyons, expelled by the mighty arm of the Lord, 1562.—Lyons and the just punishment of God on the papal vermin.

§ *Les Grands Cordeliers de Lyon*, par l'abbé Pavy.

|| *Epist.* XVI, 1561.

¶ *Life of Calvin*, for the use of Protestants schools, by E. Haag. 1840.

** Discourse of Theodore Beza, containing a brief history of the life and death of master John Calvin. 1564, p. 45-49.

†† *Purgatorio*. C, VI.

He became aware that his final hour was about to strike, and before bidding farewell to Geneva he wanted first to dictate his last will. On the twenty-fifth of April he caused the notary Chenelat to be called, who took down the testamentary dispositions of the dying reformer. The thing which occupies the mind of Calvin, at the moment of his appearing before the tribunal of God, is the judgment of the world which he is about to leave. On his death bed, you will still behold the same despot who sought to deceive posterity as he had deceived Geneva, and to induce us to believe that, in the whole course of his life, he never used "cunning and sophistries; but always proceeded roundly in defence of his quarrel." The reformer did well to abolish confession, for the Catholic priest who should have come to visit him would never have suffered the dying man to lie thus to God and men. He would have opened the windows of the sufferer's chamber, and, with his finger, pointed to that hill of Champel, where, by searching carefully, some of the ashes of Servetus might still have been found. Here is the last page that Calvin signed before he gave up his soul to God.*

"In the name of God. Be it known and manifest to all, that in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of April, I, Peter Chenelat, citizen and sworn notary of Geneva, have been called by the respectable M. John Calvin, minister of the word of God in the church of Geneva, and burgher of said Geneva, being sick and indisposed in body only, who has declared to me his wish to make his testament and the declaration of his last will, praying me to write the same as he should dictate and pronounce; his said request I have complied with, and I have written it under him and according as he dictated and pronounced it word by word, without omitting or adding anything, in the form which follows. In the name of God, I, John Calvin, minister of the word of God in the church of Geneva, feeling myself so prostrated by various diseases that I cannot think otherwise but that God designs shortly to withdraw me from this world, have desired to make and record in writing my testament and the declaration of my last will, in the form following.

"In the first place, I render thanks to God, not only because he has had pity on me, his poor creature, and rescued me from the abyss of idolatry into which I was plunged, by attracting me to the light of his gospel and making me participator of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was too unworthy, and also because, continuing his mercy, he has borne with me in so many vices and so great misery, which merited that I should a hundred times have been rejected by him. But what is more, he has extended to me his mercy, even so far as to make use of me and my labour to carry and announce the truth of his gospel: protesting my wish to live and die in that faith which he has given me; having no other hope or refuge except in his gratuitous adoption, on which all my hope of salvation is grounded: embracing the merit of his death and passion, that by this means all my sins may be buried, and beseeching him to so wash and cleanse me with the blood of that

* Vie de Calvin, par Bèze.

great Redeemer, which has been shed for all poor sinners, that I may be able to appear before his face, bearing his image. I protest also, that I have endeavoured, according to the measure of grace which he gave me, to teach his word purely, as well in sermons as by writing, to expound the scriptures faithfully. And even in all the disputes which I had against the enemies of the truth, I have used neither cunning nor sophistry; but I have proceeded fairly to maintain his quarrel. But alas! the wish, and the zeal I had, if I can so call it, has been so cold and pusillanimous that I feel myself very responsible throughout and in all things; and but for his infinite goodness all the affection I have would be only smoke; nay, the very graces he has given me would render me so much the more culpable: so that my only recourse is, that as he is the Father of mercy he may show himself a father to so miserable a sinner. Moreover, I desire that my body, after my death, should be buried in the usual way, to await the day of the happy resurrection. Regarding the little property which God has given me here to dispose of, I name and appoint as my sole heir my well beloved brother Anthony Calvin, yet this being only honorary, as all that I leave him in his own right, is the cup which I have received from M. de Varennes; praying him to be satisfied with this, as I am sure he will, as he is aware that I do so for no other reason but in order that what I leave behind may be enjoyed by his children. Afterwards, I bequeath to the college ten crowns, and as many to the purse for the poor. Item, to Jane, daughter of Charles Costan and my half-sister by the father's side, the sum of ten crowns. Then, to Samuel and John, sons of my said brother, being my nephews, forty crowns each. To my nieces, Anne, Susan, and Dorothea, thirty crowns each. As to their brother, my nephew David, as he has been light and inconstant, I only give him twenty-five crowns by way of chastisement. The sum of this is all the property that God has given me, as well as I have been able to estimate, considering books and furniture, table utensils and other things. Yet should the amount be found greater, I wish that it may be distributed among my nephews and nieces, not excluding David, if God give him the grace to be more moderate and more sedate. But I believe as to this article there is no difficulty: especially when my debts shall have been paid, as I have enjoined on my brother, on whom I rely, naming him executor of this present testament, together with respectable Laurent of Normandy, investing them with all power and authority to draw up an inventory, without the forms of law, and make sale of my moveables to reduce the same to money, in order that what is herein written may be accomplished. This twenty-fifth day of April, one thousand five hundred and sixty-four. Thus be it.

“JOHN CALVIN.”

“After having written as above, at the same instant the said respectable Calvin has with his usual signature signed the very document of said will.”

“And on the next day, which was the twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, the said respectable Calvin caused me immediately to be summoned, together with the respectable Theodore Beza, Raymond Chauvet, Michael Cop, Louis Enoch, Nicholas

Coladon, James de Bordes, ministers of the word of God in this church, and respectable Henry Seringer, professor of arts, all burghers of Geneva, in the presence of whom he declared that he caused me to write under him and his dictation the said testament, in the form and in the very words as above : praying me to read it in his presence and that of said witnesses to this request and demand ; which I did aloud and word for word. After which reading, he declared that such was his will and last testament, wishing that it should be observed. And, for further approbation of this, he besought and required the above named persons to subscribe it together with me : which also was done on the day and year before written, at Geneva, in the street called *des Chanoines*, at the house of said Calvin. In testimony whereof, and to serve as proof, I have placed the present testament in the above form, to be sent to whom it shall belong, under the common seal of our honoured seigniors and superiors, and with my accustomed sign manual.

“Signed : P. CHENELAT.”

There is one Pope, whom Calvin treated as Luther did Henry VIII., covering his face with mud : this was Paul III., who, when dying, forgave all his enemies after the example of the Saviour on his cross. If you have witnessed the last moments of our Catholic glories, you must have seen exhale with their final breath a word of love for those who caused them to suffer in this life : without this evangelical wish, the priest never would say to the soul : *Depart, christian soul* (*Proficiscere, anima christiana*). Calvin, in his last hour, pardoned nobody. Would Beza, who undertakes to describe the last moments of his friend, have forgotten to record the words of mercy which he should have heard ?

On the 27th, the disease augmenting, Calvin wished to bid farewell to the counselors, “but,” relates the historian, “the good seigniors made answer, that because of his debility and so great indisposition they besought him earnestly not to take the trouble, but that they themselves altogether would go to visit him, which they did, going to his lodgings, from the council-chamber, according to their accustomed order.”* Then, the reformer collecting all his energies, which were perceptibly failing, retraced to the assistants all the different phases of that long and painful struggle in which they had assisted ; the perils they had encountered ; the graces which God had poured out upon their city, and he said to them : “Persevere, walk ever in the way of the Lord, and by the light of his holy word.”

On Friday, the 28th of April,† the ministers of Geneva and the environs assembled in his bed-chamber. Calvin conjured them to persevere in the way which he had opened before them, never to lose courage, but to brace themselves up against the assaults which undoubtedly the demon would make upon them. “God will support the city,” he said, “and the church and doctrines which I have preached to you. Behold, naturally I am timid and fearful, yet, by the aid of the Lord, I have foiled my enemies, both external and internal, for God has

* Bèze, *Vie de Calvin*.

† Calvin and the Swiss reformation, by John Scott, p. 394.

strengthened me to remain firm in doing what was right." He added, "let each one fortify himself in his vocation and observe due order; let him watch over the people, to keep them always in doctrinal obedience; that there were some good persons, but also there were some mutinous and rebellious."*

Then he raised his icy hand and presented it to be kissed by each of those present.

Old Farel, broken down by age and sufferings, having been informed of the dangerous condition of his friend, was about setting out to embrace him, when he received a letter in which he recognized the signature of the person he had loved with an affection so ardent.

"May you be well, very good and very dear brother, since it pleases God that you should remain behind me, live, mindful of our union, the fruit of which awaits us in heaven, as it has been advantageous to the church of God. I do not wish you to undergo any fatigue on my account. I breathe with the greatest difficulty, and am hourly expecting my last breath. It is enough that I live and die for Christ, who is in life and death the greatest gain for those who are his. I recommend you and the brethren there to God. Geneva, this 2d of May, 1564.

"Yours devotedly,

"JOHN CALVIN."

But Farel started and arrived at Geneva barely in time to embrace his friend and say farewell.†

Beza stayed with Calvin, who, at intervals, lifted up his eyes to heaven and murmured: *Gemebam sicut columba*.

On the 19th of May, the vigil of Pentecost, a day on which it was customary for the ministers of Geneva to sup together, Calvin intimated a wish that the repast should take place as usual, but in his chamber. An arm-chair had been prepared for the sick man, who took his seat. "My brethren," said he to his colleagues, "I come to see you for the last time, and after this, I shall never more sit at table." Then his lips opened and murmured some words of prayer. But soon he asked to be alone. "They are about to remove me to my bedroom," said he to them; "a wall shall not prevent me from being with you in spirit."

He passed a bad night: the air which the sick man breathed painfully revolved in his lungs like columns of fire, whilst the coldness of death seized upon his legs, his right side, his tongue, and paused around that eye which had so long held the consistory in awe: this was the last organ that expired in Calvin. On the 27th, he lost consciousness, and the agony commenced: at eight o'clock in the morning he had ceased to breathe. "On that day," says Beza, "the sun went down, and the greatest luminary that ever came into the world for the direction of the church of God was withdrawn to heaven. On that night and the following day, there were great lamentations throughout the city: the prophet of the Lord was no more."‡

* Béze.

† Calvin and the Swiss reformation, p. 395

‡ Béze, Vie de Calvin.

Beza adds : " There were many strangers who came from a distance and marvelously desired to see him, dead as he was, and urged to be allowed this.... But, to prevent *all calumny*, he was taken away about eight o'clock in the morning, and about two hours after noon, he was borne in the usual manner, as he had ordained, to the common burial place, called Plein-Palais, without any pomp or parade whatever; there he now lies, expecting the resurrection which he has taught us, and for which he has so constantly laboured."

This *calumny* of which Beza here speaks was public rumour, which recounted strange things regarding the last moments of the reformer. It was said that no one had been allowed to enter the death chamber, because the body of the deceased bore traces of a desperate struggle with death, and showed a decomposition in which the eye would have seen visible signs of divine anger, or marks of an infamous disease; also, they had hastened to veil the face of the corpse with a black cloth, and to bury it before the rumour of death had been spread through the city, so great fear had they of indiscreet looks! But it chanced that a young student, having glided into the chamber of the dead man, lifted the cloth, and beheld the mysteries which it was their interest to keep concealed. No one had asked him to reveal the secret. He wrote :

" Calvin died, smitten by the hand of an avenging God; the victim of a shameful disease which ended in despair."*

This student was Harennius, who had come to Geneva to attend the lessons of the reformer.

The funeral was simple, as Calvin had desired. The counselors, pastors, professors, a crowd of strangers, accompanied the coffin to Plein-Palais.

" He had lived, as to this mortal life, during the space of fifty-five years, less one month and thirteen days, of which he had passed the half precisely in the holy ministry, preaching and writing, without ever having changed, diminished, or added any thing as regarded the doctrines he announced."

Beza is mistaken, as Liebe has acknowledged: Calvin, at different times, had revised the Institutes which contain his whole symbol.†

" The Lord, adds his panegyrist, tried the blessed reformer with regard to persons who were very dear to him; but worse happened to Jacob and to David." Beza intends here to refer to the family of

* Calvinus in desperatione finiens vitam obiit turpissimo et fœdissimo morbo quem Deus rebellibus et maledictis comminatus est, prius excruciatu et consumptus, quod ego verissime attestari audeo qui funestum et tragicum illius exitum et exitium his meis oculis præsens aspexi. Joann. Harennius, apud Pet. Cutzenum.

† We have already called the reader's attention to various alterations made by Calvin in his primitive work; let us here add that in the edition of 1539, in fol: Argenterati, apud Vuendellinum Rihelium, mense augusto, the dedication to Francis I. is altered in different passages, for instance page 6. lines 3 to 19, page 10, lines 24 to 36.

Anthony, which "gave the example of complete disunion and great faults."*

* Galiffe, Notices, t. III, p. 111. Here are the details given by the historian concerning Calvin's family.

Anthony Calvin, received burgher of Geneva on the 3d of August 1546, gratuitously, out of consideration for his brother; one of the Two Hundred in 1558; of the Sixty, in 1570; died in 1573. He made his will on the 28th of March 1569. He had for wives:

1st. Anne, wife of Nicholas le Fert, divorced for adultery, and again married to the noble John Louis Ramel;

2d. This 14th of January 1560, Antoinette Commelin, widow of the noble John de Saint André, minister, daughter and heiress of Toussaint Commelin, burgher of Douay. By the first wife, he had:

1st. Samuel Calvin, a disobedient son, reduced to the third of an hereditary portion, living in 1590;

2d. David Calvin, still more disobedient, reduced to the sixth, born in 1551;

3d. Anne, wife of Firmin Bachelier, who was received burgher of Geneva, gratuitously in 1565, out of love for his father-in-law;

4th. Susan, who died of the pest at the age of twenty-one, in 1571, and by the second marriage;

5th. John;

6th. Dorothea;

7th. Judith;

8th. Marie;

These last three fell victims to the pest in 1571.

John Calvin, one of the Two Hundred in 1590, died in 1601, being destitute of children, he made his will, on the 10th of July 1590, in favour of his mother, to whom he substituted her brother Peter de Saint André.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CALVIN, CONSIDERED AS A WRITER.

Calvin and Luther in the pulpit.—Causes of Calvin's oratorical inferiority.—He disdains images.—The Genevese and the Wittenberg auditories.—Self predominates in Calvin.—The Libertines.—In what different degrees the reformers are masters of their style.—Is Calvin one of the creators of the French language?—Syntactical procedure.

The reformation can boast of but one writer. Luther, in the pulpit an orator and exegetist, is a type which has no model in Protestantism. The doctor has studied profoundly the holy books, the fathers of the church, and the poets; he knew by heart, Virgil, the prophets, and especially the Saxon people. Mathesius exhibits him to us, descending into the mines in order to hear the conversations of the workmen, seating himself amid the fields to speak of agriculture with the husbandmen; pausing before the stall of some butcher to learn all the parts of a slaughtered animal; interrogating the lapidary to learn the names of all the precious stones which ornament the ducal crown; and on market days studying the language of the peasants, the merchants, the nobles, and soldiers. From these various dialects, he had selected technical terms, market-house proverbs, bar-room tropes, in order to mould them into an idiom, the secret of which he reserved to himself. One day, he wants to strike the imagination in a lively manner, he is about to speak of the emperor Charles V. After having summoned to his aid the worm of earth, the clay, the slime, comparisons which the sacred writers employ to paint to us our magnificent nothingness, he rummages the carpenter's vocabulary for expressions known to every journeyman, and he nails the living emperor in his coffin, and planes it, for these are his terms, and the frightened auditory look to earth as if the monarch were descending into his tomb.

The Saxon had appeared at the very moment when all the evangelical truths were in their blossom. Hence that inexhaustible variety of entirely Catholic images of which he could avail himself in preaching the gospel. In his sermons, he invokes the seraphim whom the reformation can no longer summon, since it has transformed them into pure allegories; he commands satan and his legions, whom it has consigned to an imaginary world; he sounds the trumpet of the last judgment, which it has broken to pieces; he caused the rich man to cry for mercy, out of whom it has made a fable; he opens the deep abyss of eternal fire, which it has closed; in fine, in order to arouse sleeping

souls, he employs tropes which, since the inroad of rationalism, it has banished from its language. Had Calvin then been even as admirably organized as Luther for the pulpit, his relative inferiority could easily be explained; when he appeared, reason had prevailed against faith; the source of those images, so powerful with the mass of the people because of their poesy, had for him been completely dried up; the tree of life had been despoiled. To the relinquishment of the syllogistic argument, Luther was indebted for his noblest successes. Calvin thought to continue the monk's work by the aid of the Aristotelian formula, and made himself a pulpit logician; that is, in order to sacrifice to the Lord, to borrow the picturesque expression of his rival, he ascended the mountain with his ass; whilst Luther was of opinion that one should imitate Abraham, and leave the ass in the plains below.

Luther possessed another advantage over Calvin; he spoke a language which of right becomes the property of the first comer, which yields to all the exigences of the philosopher, to all the fancies of the poet, to all the caprices of the artist; which amid its ceaseless transformations is ever new. Fortunately was it for that noble Teutonic language, that the man who had to represent it in the pulpit was at once a theologian, a historian, an orator, and especially a linguist. A person opening one of Luther's sermons, imagines himself at Rome, at Athens, and at Jerusalem: it seems by turns a Jewish elegy on the banks of the Jordan, a harrangue of the Gracchi, and a satire of Juvenal. "Look at him, he goes, comes, breaks down, burns the hedge which he cannot leap, thunders on like a descending rock, scampers away over mountain and valley, after the fashion of the devil."*

Calvin's figure was supple, his breast contracted, the veins of his neck were prominent, his lips of a bluish colour, his mouth was well made, his brow, large, bony and furrowed with wrinkles. There was no inspiration in his face, but there were many premature wrinkles, which bore witness to extraordinary labours. On beholding him, one divined an organization which needed the silence of meditation to make itself prolific; and in his preaching, there came nothing unexpectedly. Luther, in ascending the pulpit, knew not, as he informs us, what he was about to say to his auditors. The Bible, opened by chance at any page, a cloud which passed over the temple, a ray of sunlight which pierced the windows, the last remark of one of his disciples from whom he had just parted, are for him so many sources of inspiration. More than once has it happened to him to take, as text for a harrangue against the papacy, some of those fantastic figures which the architect has affixed to the walls of the church. Calvin also extemporized; but he had need to rub his brow with his hand in order to recall to mind the discourse prepared beforehand. His memory was wonderful; he said every thing that he had thought, and in the very order in which the ideas had been produced. Ask him not for flashes, flames, colours; it is not his part to dazzle, to surprise, to inflame, but merely to reason and to convince. As he has never wept himself, he seeks not to open the fountain of tears in his auditory, but he wants those who hear him.

* See: Reformations-Almanach für Luthers Verehrer, Erfurth, 1817..

to give him their silent attention, and often he forces them to grant it.

Calvin possesses neither the knightly language of Luther, the harmonious period of Melancthon, nor the adventurous phrase of Zwingle; but he is the superior of all of them in propriety of expression; remove or change a word, and you risk depriving him of an idea. Obstinate as master Martin, he has not the scruples of conscience of master Philip; once he has resolved, he imitates Luther, and dreads neither rocks nor hedges; except that if he perceives his adversary, he squats in order to wait for him. He is of the serpent's nature: his strength lies in his cunning. To the very moment of his appearance before God, he resorts to artifice. His act of "candour" dictated to the notary Chenelat, his "moaning of a dove" before Beza, are profound traits of character. Perhaps he thought to deceive God as he had deceived his fellow-citizens. The whole history of the reformation presents no more skillful comedian; the part he played in the prosecution of Servetus is his triumph. Gibbon has said: "I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the Auto-da-Fes of Spain and Portugal." To be just, he should have added, that the inquisition of Venice had never acted clemency so well as Calvin.

Calvin compared the sinner to an enemy, the divine word to a sword which must strike the guilty before he has time to anticipate or parry the blow.* His voice was slow, interrupted, and painfully exhaled from a breast oppressed by an hereditary asthma; also, at the end of his sermons, his words were found entire on the paper of a scribe who sat at the foot of the pulpit to collect them, and who gained his livelihood by means of this oral transcription.† The auditor had full time to follow the preacher, often to divine what he intended to say, and, if he had come there with an indocile heart, to revolve in his brain some objection to the minister's argumentation. Here Luther still had the advantage.

The Saxon auditory in no wise resembled that of Geneva. When

* Letter to Sommerset.

† Vir quidam erat Genevæ qui in Calvini concionibus scribendis victum sibi comparabat. Asthmaticus erat et lente loquebatur, ideoque facile erat scribere quæ pronuntiabat. Multo magis mihi placent Calvini commentarii quam ejus conciones quas nunquam scripsit. Scaligeriana secunda. Calvin's manuscript sermons, to the number of two thousand and twenty-three, form 44 volumes in folio, in the library of Geneva. Senebier, hist. litt. t. I et II, p. 256 a 258. Catalogue raisonné, p. 312 a 314. These sermons embrace a period of only eleven years, from 1549 to 1560. Those which he preached in 1536, during the time of his first sojourn at Geneva, at Strasbourg in the French church, at Frankfort, are perhaps still more numerous. Dennis Raguénier, who wrote them in the church, has collected the evangelical discourses; John Budé and Charles de Joinvilliers his lectures to the theological auditory. Nicholais des Gallars, Francis Bourgoing, and John Cousin, stenographed some of his sermons. André Spifamus transcribed the sermons on the epistle to the Galatians (Seneb., cat. 314), which have since been printed, and those on the epistle to the Romans, left in manuscript, and to be found in the library of Berne. There still exists of Calvin, Cop, and Beza, a collection of different sermons or homelies on the Old and New Testaments, MSS. n. 15. The discourses which he preached in France, and always ended in the same way: If God be for us who shall be against us? have not been collected or have been lost.

Martin ascends the pulpit you see crowding to the church of All Saints, apostate monks, who under the impulse of the grosser instincts have cast away their cowl, nuns, escaped from the convents, who are waiting for the husbands that were promised them, electors, just from the abbeys where they have been copiously drinking the wine of the Catholic presbyteries, cavaliers, who hunt down the monks on the highways, doctors, in labour with a new spiritual Jerusalem, jurists, desirous of remodeling the written word, Jews, who are expecting a messiah, students, who have burned Aristotle and the decretals on the public square, peasants, tired of the yoke of their seigniors, poor souls who are seeking for the truth. For each of these intelligences, the orator has different and appropriate words and figures.

If you place yourself among the people who are listening to Calvin in the church of St. Peter, at Geneva, you will not discover around you such a variety of individualities as strikes your view in the temple of All Saints. The auditory is partly made up of merchants who were lately Catholics, and who have exhibited more courage in defending their shops than their faith, and adopted the reformation, less from love for the new symbol than from antipathy to the ducal house by which they imagined their independence threatened. These people have defects and vices: they are vain, detracting, indocile, restless, lying, but they are not yet gangreened and sullied like the Saxons, nor have they exhibited such great scandals of lust, avarice, and impiety, as afflict us in reading the recital of the contests of the electors with the peasants of Suabia.

Calvin has taken the pains to collect together in one of his sermons the principal features of the religious physiognomy of Geneva, at the commencement of the Sixteenth century. You shall see whether the wounds of a community which had just repudiated Catholicism were sufficiently profound to cause their cure to be despaired of.

“Some practice the old proverb of being near the mill and far from God, others have their ears tingled and their hearts in no wise affected. God omits no means to secure our salvation; let us then fear that reproach which he makes in Isaias the prophet, chapter LXV: I have daily stretched forth my arms to this rebellious people. If those who are wandering through the deserts of the papacy shall not be spared for not having walked the right way, what will become of us who are, as it were, nourished in the house, under the eyes of our heavenly father! Some have abandoned the land of their birth to enter a christian church, others have had more privileges because God has visited them in their nest. Now, if those who are natives of a place do not recognize such a blessing by giving themselves entirely to God, who has thus drawn near them, shall such ingratitude remain unpunished? Rather let them say: Lord, thou hast built thy temple and erected thy altar in the midst of us, grant us then the grace to purify ourselves, that we may not by our defilement pollute the sanctity of thy gifts, nor turn the glory of thy benefits into opprobrium.”*

* Sermons on subjects suited to our times.—On the sacrifice of Abraham.—On the ten commandments.—On the birth, passion, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ.—On Providence and Eternal Election.

Now behold the picture of the new church; it is a curious moral study. The preacher here becomes historian.

“Let those who have come from afar see that they conduct themselves in a holy manner, as becomes the house of God. They might indeed have lived elsewhere in debauchery, and to lead dissolute lives it was not necessary for them to have budged from the papacy. And in fact there are some, who would have done better to have had their necks broken than set foot in this church to conduct themselves so wickedly. Some unite themselves with merry-makers in order to render them obdurate in their malice, others are gourmands and drunkards, others again seditious and quarrelsome. There are some households where husbands and wives live like dogs and cats. There are some who exalt their condition and counterfeit seigniors, without propriety, they are given over to pomps and worldly superfluities; others grow so delicate that they no longer know how to work, and are never satisfied with their food. There are backbiters and detractors, who would find fault with the very angels of heaven; and though ready to burst with vices, they make all their sanctity consist in mocking their neighbour. Yet all seem to imagine that God is greatly indebted to them, for having made a journey to Geneva, as if it would not have been better they had remained on their dunghill, than have come here to cause such scandals in the church of God.”*

The orator has not told the whole: he wanted the necessary courage. He should have seized that great sword of the Lord, of which he lately spoke to us, to smite all those bankrupts, those felon merchants, those pickpockets, who had fled from Lyons, not to avoid the eye of God for whom they felt but slight concern, but to escape creditors, who have not, like the Lord, an eternity at their service, and human justice, whose limping foot might at last have come up with them, had they remained on the French territory, and had them strung upon the gibbet.

The absence from the reformed temple of an audience made up of strongly characterized individualities, has exercised a fatal influence on the style of the orator: and were you even to lend Calvin that admirable German language, so powerful in its resources, you could never elevate him to the level of his rival. What we admire in him, is a frank speech, a luminous style, a close logic, and sallies rather than sustained outpourings of eloquence. At times, the preacher seems moved; his lips swell, his eye lights up, and the auditory is all expectation. Do you know what can thus change Calvin's nature, warm his soul, and inflame his style? Look round you, and you will observe among the columns some ardent enemies of the French refugee, known by the name of libertines. You will easily recognize them by their mocking air, the smiles that play round their lips, and their physiognomy bearing the impress of disdain and ridicule. Cursed “merry-makers,” who listen to the minister with the mirth of a student, remain cold as marble under his evangelical transports, and, on leaving the temple, make comments to each other on the discourse

* Literary Studies upon the French writers of the Reformation; by A. Sayous, Geneva, 1839, in-8vo.

of master John, and revenge themselves for his attacks, by quolibets which reach his ears in the old sacristy of the temple, whither he has retired to wipe his brow and rest himself. These laughs last throughout the whole day, and in the evening are again renewed in the Genevese bar-rooms. Calvin is merciless towards these "jesters," he presses on them, claws them, pursues them with his wrath; his word is not like smoking tow, as it was but lately, when he was handling those mercantile gentry who had been driven away from Lyons for their crimes; but it sparkles like a flaming bush; for these merry-makers represent all wicked citizens, the denouncers of the minister; Calvin's part has become more grand, it is that of a tribune. Behold him in presence of the libertines; listen to him:

"I care little for scoffers who say that we speak of them according to our pleasure, nor are they attacking me, since there is here nothing of my invention, as they imagine. The same I say regarding all philosophers, who pronounce their opinion without knowing wherefore: for since they will not hear God, who speaks to them in order to instruct them, I adjourn them over to his judicial tribunal, there shall they hear his sentence, against which there will be no question of replication. As they now disdain to listen to him as their master, they shall then feel him as their judge, in spite of their teeth. The most skillful and cunning will here find themselves out in their calculations. Let them be trained as much as they please, to overturn or obscure what is right; their furred caps in which they contemplate themselves, and in viewing themselves are blinded, will not insure the gaining of the cause. I say this, because these gentlemen counselors, judges, and lawyers, not only undertake to plead against God, to have privilege to scoff at him, but in rejecting the holy scripture, disgorge their blasphemies, as if they were sovereign decrees. And such little monkies, after having said their say, are so proud, as not to be able to endure the truth. I take occasion to tell them, that it would be far better they would reflect upon the horrible vengeance that is prepared against such as change truth into falsehood. Let these chamber and table doctors be careful not to assume a degree too elevated for them, thus to argue against the heavenly Father, to whom it becomes us all to give ear. Fine titles will here be of no avail to exempt any one, except that *messieurs* the abbots, priors, deans, and archdeacons shall be constrained to lead off the dance of condemnation which God will ordain. If *messieurs*, the courtiers, have been accustomed to content men with their blessed water, let them not expect to do the same with God. Let all merry-makers cease to strike with their beaks, and cast abroad their usual jests, if they wish not to feel the strong hand of him, before whose word they should tremble. It is an abuse too silly, to indulge the belief that in making an attack on me they will not have God for their judge. Let them spatter my name on their papers, as regards this matter, yet I pretend nothing but that God should be heard and obeyed, and seek not to govern consciences according to my notion, or to impose necessity or law upon them.—As to others who do not with such pride reject the word of God, and yet are so infirm and pusillanimous, that they cannot be moved, I exhort them to reflect a little

better upon their condition, and not flatter themselves as they have hitherto done. Let them open their eyes, etc. etc."

This substitution of man for God, of the creature for the Infinite, of the eye of flesh for eternal light, is not merely accidental in Calvin, it is a form in which he takes pleasure, a human artifice which robs his word of all dogmatic influence. For Calvin, the libertine is like Banquo's ghost; it haunts him at every moment; but the preacher's phantom cannot terrify like that of the poet. You shall judge:

"We behold other dissolute deeds, so that every place is full of them, and debaucheries now become entirely common; and yet these low fellows will come here to play pass-pass; when one of them shall be convicted of fornication, they will say:—Ho! it is not he, but another who is a hundred leagues away; and not only will try to mock men but God; and cause his name to be profaned and exposed to disgrace. When, therefore, all things shall be well calculated and weighed, and when the matter shall be considered, it will appear that the word of God no longer avails us except to give light, that they may contemplate us from afar, and that the papists and other infidels be there appointed to judge us for the enormities and villainies which are prevalent amongst us. As to myself, I can declare that I am ashamed to preach the word of God in this place, where there are such villainous confusions, as are here seen, and that if I had my own wish, I would desire God to withdraw me from this world, and not allow me to live here three days amid such disorder as exists."*

Two centuries ago, we Catholics also one day beheld a priest ascend the pulpit, and, pointing to his locks whitened in the holy ministry, tremble with dread in contemplating the God who was soon to judge him. But that bishop, for it was Bossuet, asks not to abandon the post which has been assigned him by Providence. He desires to die, saluting with his last gaze that holy church which the Lord has confided to his care. It is in the midst of his career, that these words of grief fall from Calvin's lips: "I would desire God to withdraw me from this world, and not allow me to live here three days amid such disorder as exists." Calvin, therefore, has not yet "accomplished the moral regeneration of an entire people, and given to a new society, formed of such various elements, that force and solidity which, in the institutions of this world, ordinarily result only from the duration of tradition!"† Other wise, what does his cry of despair signify?

In perusing those pages on which the stenographer's skill has been so long collecting the reformer's word, the heart is pained by the incessant apparition of that *self*, which is called Calvin. And yet this orator had it in his power to discover light, had he wished; he should cease to look to earth; and this he did sometimes, as in the following representation of the wickedness of man:

"The hire of those who shall have laboured for our profit, if retain-

* In einer Predigt über die ersten Epistel an Timotheus wider seine Gegenparthei in Genf, steht man unter andern auch, wie es seine Art war, von dem glühenden Zorn zu einer apostolischen Wärme überzugehen. Paul Henry, t. II, p. 80, Beilage 6.

† Literary Studies, by Sayous.

ed by us, will cry to heaven, and all creatures will be forced to give testimony against our wrongs and extortions which we shall have committed against our neighbours; as the prophet Habacuc declares, that the walls of the houses which shall have been built by frauds and robberies will cry aloud and clearly, will take the parts of chanter and sub-chanter; will respond from either side; that one will say: Behold blood! the other, behold murder! one, behold fraud; the other, behold cruelty; one will cry, pillage; the other, avarice; here is perjury, here is larceny, here is malice."

We have seen that Luther created for himself an idiom which no one after him had the gift to speak, because it was the reflection of the orator himself, in whom the Saxon people loved to discover the complete personification of an ideal world. Sent by God to revolutionize German society, the doctor had felt the need of a manifold language with which to address priests, monks, knights, jurists, students, and the people especially, who alone have the power to convert transitory accidents into historical facts. He did not exclude the grossest terms from his vocabulary, but with a master's art, he knew how to disguise the rudeness of their presentation. This was rarely Calvin's fortune. The two reformers here present us specimens:

"Children," says Luther in one of his *Postillæ*, "there is a milk sweeter than that of your mother, a broth worth more than that which you eat in the house of your father; it is the milk of the Divine Word, it is that manna descended from heaven which you will find at the holy table."*

Calvin, in consequence of his contempt for forms, often changes the pulpit into a drinking-house:

"Now a-days, as soon as children are ten years old, they imagine themselves men; it would be necessary to switch them fifteen years after they have begun wearing the insignia of manhood; for they are but nasty little things; and, as to any correction or doctrine, they will none of it: it seems to them that this would be doing them a wrong or injury.... These little rustics act like brave fellows and toss up their horns: they in no wise understand what discipline is: they are but dirty little sucklings, and yet they want to imitate men. And we see that the sons of Job, who were of age, and had conceived a notion to have their own households, were still kept under the government and authority of Job."†

We now comprehend how Calvin, with so gross a contempt for imagery, was necessarily inferior to his rival as a pamphleteer. Both, during their lives, attacked popes and emperors. Calvin with his temperate style, could not rise even to caricatures, whilst Luther, with his sparkling wrath, has produced some magnificent pictures. We should follow them in their struggle with Clement VII. and Paul III. The object is, to despoil the papacy in its human personification. Calvin stirs up the rivulet and throws its mud at the head of the pontiff, as

* Mathesius.

† Second sermon on Job.—Paul Henry, t. I, p. 205.

would have been done by Crespin, the theological book-binder of Geneva; whilst Luther summons to his aid that grand figure of the holy books, called the devil, who takes possession of the body of the vicar of Jesus. In all his duels, the demon is his ordinary second; a second who assumes every kind of form; becomes seraph, frog, serpent, bloody spectre, angel and man. Satan also appears in Calvin's work, but enveloped in such obscurity, that one cannot divine if he be a real being, or an illusion.

In his contests with Catholicism, Luther constantly persevered a believer in legends; Calvin seems to have rejected all that belongs to the marvelous. The blood of the rationalist runs in his veins.

Even syntax itself assumes an entirely different aspect with the two reformers. Luther is the king of his style. From the moment of his very first combat with Tetzels, obliged, in order to make himself understood, to borrow the language of the convents, he used principles of language peculiar to himself, and which belong neither to St. Thomas nor to Cicero. He invents and creates; his *Doctorculus*, his *Sanctulus*, his *Perdiabolus* are found neither in Varro nor in Scot. At a later period, he sets to studying Greek and Hebrew, speaks German to his auditors, and while his diction glows with oriental colours he still remains a German. The monk is as much a demagogue in his syntax as in the propositions he attached to the walls of the church of All Saints: he treats words as he does the Pope: he respects no crown.

During his theological life, Calvin has spoken two languages; at first Latin, afterwards, French. With this twofold idiom, his phrase has nearly always an uniform aspect. It is perceivable that he studied Rome less as an artist than a scholiast. He is the imitator of Seneca the philosopher; he follows him throughout, derives inspiration from him, and thinks and writes according to him: the same artifice, the same procedure, the same attractions of style. At a later period, he abandons Seneca for St. Augustine, but the sun of Africa is not able to inflame his imagination. He treats language as the sculptor does the block of marble, plastically.

Even when remaining master of the material sign, he is generally ruled by the usages of syntax. From the moment he began to have need of a vulgar instrument, in his schemes of religious propagandism, he subjected himself to the Latin influence. In that dedication to Francis I. the finest page he ever wrote, we perceive throughout the student who has worn out his energies amid the grammars of Mathurin Cordier; he is a translator, who never experiences a more lively satisfaction, than when by dint of labour he has succeeded to invest his syntax with a Roman physiognomy.*

* M. Sayous, in his beautiful *Literary Studies*, has presented several examples of this attachment of Calvin for Latin constructions. We will cite some of these:

“Vous mesmes nous pouuez estre tesmoin, sire, par combien fausses caloms-
I

Hence, notwithstanding all his fine qualities of style, his perspicuity, abundance, richness, Calvin has no right to rank among the creators of the French language. In place of forcing it out of the pathway of the Latin, he retains it there. He was no revolutionist, whether considered as a sectary or as a writer; his style is Gallo-Roman, his symbol Reformed Protestant.

nies, elle est tous les iours diffamée (la Réforme)."

"Cette fraude et trahison que sans cesse elle est notée de sédition et maléfice."

"Ici est ôté le congé d'ouvir la bouche."

"Et ne pensez pas que je tasche á traiter ici ma défense particulière pour impétreñ retour au pays de ma naissance."

CHAPTER L.

INFLUENCE OF CALVIN.

Calvin has bestowed upon the world no truth.—The principal articles of his symbol are rejected by the Protestant School.—He has corrupted the morals of Geneva.—Testimony of M. Galiffe.—He has perverted the instincts of his co-religionists.—Mania for disputation introduced into theology.—The cultivation of the arts neglected.—His despotism survives the reformer and only yields place to anarchy of doctrine.

In 1835, a proposition was made to Geneva to erect a monument to Calvin in the cathedral of St. Peter. On a granite rock they were to write : “To the Reformer of the Laws and of Religion.”

The proposition was not accepted.

The venerable company of pastors, remembering that in 1535 Geneva had engraved on the walls of the hotel de Ville the titles of Calvin to the gratitude of the christian world, decided that this inscription sufficed. You are acquainted with it.

IN AUGUST, 1535,
THE TYRANNY OF THE ANTICHRIST AT ROME
HAVING BEEN PROSTRATED,
AND HIS SUPERSTITIONS ABOLISHED,
THE HOLY RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST
HAVING BEEN RE-ESTABLISHED IN ITS PURITY,
AND THE CHURCH REPLACED IN GOOD ORDER.
AT THE SAME TIME,
THE ENEMY HAVING BEEN REPULSED AND PUT TO FLIGHT,
THE SENATE AND THE PEOPLE OF GENEVA
HAVE ERECTED THIS MONUMENT
FOR A PERPETUAL MEMORIAL OF THESE THINGS,
AND HAVE PLACED IT HERE
TO TESTIFY
TO THEIR DESCENDANTS
THEIR GRATITUDE TO GOD.*

Now, shall we be allowed to ask the person who has perused our book as it has been written, that is, without anger, if he believes that the reformer was for Geneva an apostle of Christ, a prophet raised up by God, a missionary of truth : fine names which Beza has lavished

* L'ombre de Rousseau á Calvin.

upon Calvin? Leo Judæ thus saluted Zwingle, and Aurifaber Luther. Zwingle, whom the Saxon monk considered an incarnate demon; Luther, whom Calvin treats as a furious fool. In the progress of this history, you must have perceived that never was human soul so vain, despotic and insolent as Calvin's. "Hell with Beza," they were wont to say at Geneva, "rather than heaven with John of Noyon." What sort of instrument, then, would Providence have used in order to manifest himself to men? If this stone speak the truth; if, previously to 1535, Geneva was plunged in the darkness of superstition, what truths did Calvin cause to shine upon it? Let us study the light which he came to bring to this fallen people. But who shall be our guide? Our brethren of the reformation would reject the testimony of Catholic writers; well, let us appeal to Protestantism.

Calvin's golden book is his Christian Institutes: let us then consult this.

And first, what shall we say regarding that Trinitarian symbol which the reformer wishes to impose on his communion? Gentilis has openly repudiated it; but Gentilis has been rejected by Beza and Drelincourt. Here comes Hennius, that pure disciple of the gospel, as he is called in Silesia. Has not Hennius denounced Calvin as a doctor who has Judaized, corrupted the Bible, denaturalized the word of God, falsified scripture texts, and blasphemed the Trinity?*

The stone, then, has lied!—Calvin did not bring the truth to Geneva regarding the dogma of the Trinity.

We are acquainted with his Eucharistic mythos, in which Catholicism has been able to find neither body nor soul, form nor reality: this constitutes his glory in the Genevese school. He has prosecuted its triumph with an obstinate perseverance. And the Lutherans have handled his Eucharistic system still more severely than the Catholics. The Protestant, who most powerfully attacked it, is no obscure intelligence: he is a humanist, who, by the age of twenty, lectured from the Wittenberg chair, which had been made illustrious by Melancthon; who, at the age of twenty-four, was principal of the college of Eisleben, the birth-place of Luther; at thirty, general dean of Mansfeld; at thirty-five, professor of theology at Jena; in fine, Grawer, who has dealt with Calvin's metonymy, as Martin did with the monks of Cologne, and prostrated it amid the applauses of his co-religionists.† Never did a Leipsic Dominican speak of Hutten as irreverently as Grawer does of Calvin. Would any one believe that at the head of one of his books he has placed this really untranslatable title? *Absurda adsurdorum, absurdissima Calvinistica absurda*,‡ and the pamphlet met with great success.

* Calvinus judaizans, sive confutatio corruptelarum in explicandis Scripturæ testimoniis in veteri testamento de Trinitate. In-8. Francfort, 1575.

Paræus undertook to defend Calvin's honour. Hennius went to work again and published; "Anti Paræus, id est refutatio in defensionem corruptelarum quibus Joannes Calvinus scripturæ testimonia de trinitate et Christo corruptit. Wittebergæ, in-4, 1594."

† Solida et invicta defensio argumentorum quibus Calvinistarum metonymia quam verbis Christi in sacra cœna affigunt funditus destruitur. Leipzig, in-4.

‡ Iena.

The stone then has lièd! Grawer tells us that Calvin's metonymy is an absurdity. Pelisson, the Catholic, was more polite.

In the reformer's eyes, the system of predestination is a heavenly revelation. At Geneva, to refuse to admit this barbarous God, who, at his own pleasure, destines and impels his creatures to evil as well as to good, is a crime punished by exile, and sometimes even by death. Bolsec, for having laughed at the pagan *fatum*, is driven out of Switzerland; Gentilis, who had been bold enough to say: "This God is not the God of the gospel," has scarcely time to save himself by flight, from fear of falling into the hands of the executioner. What beautiful pages has Beza written to prove that the Calvinistic predestination is a dogma which must be believed under penalty of eternal damnation! He calls those infamous who are bold enough to reject it. John Weber cared not for the anathemas of Calvin's disciple. He has attacked the predestination of the reformer, in terms full of bitterness, perhaps like a bad christian, but certainly like an excellent logician.

Whilst Calvin was yet living, the Bernese prohibited his doctrines on grace from being preached, under severe penalties.* The *Universalism* of Bullinger was sapping the foundations of the *Partialism* of the reformer.†

The stone, therefore, has lied for the third time! Show us, then, the light which Calvin brought to Geneva?

Does it shine forth in that justification without works, which at first Melancthon defended, and which afterwards, to the great scandal of the reformed school, he abandoned? or in that confession of faith imposed on the Genevese, and in which Calvinists pretend to discover the entire dogma contained in the Augsburg confession? A falsehood which the fictitious Andrew Anti Krell has exposed thoroughly in his learned dissertation, which agitated the Saxon world in the sixteenth century.‡

If Calvin's quarternary Trinity, if his Eucharist in figure, if his pagan fatalism, are not the truths spoken of by the marble of the hotel de ville, where are they to be found in the Genevese confession? These are the grand novelties that John of Noyon came to announce, as his panegyrist inform us, and even might we contest his claim to the invention of these; and, like the preachers of Lausanne, give the credit

* In dem Canton Bern entstanden über Calvin's Lehre von der Prädestination solche Unruhen, dasz die Landesobrigkeit verbot, Niemand solle von den unerforschlichen Geheimnissen und Gerichten Gottes weiter reden.—Schröckh. † Ibid.

‡ *Vindiciæ Dissertationis de Momento discrepantiæ inter Lutheranos et Calvinianos et calumniis et cavillationibus chris. Krellii.* in-4. Dresden.

In our times, they have endeavoured, in several works, to establish the conformity of the Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines. It will not be useless to cite here, as we have done elsewhere, some controversial works in which this alliance of the two communions is formally disavowed.

Anti-Calvinisti syllogismi. Rostock. 1625, in-8.

Anti-Calvinismus Grundliche. par G. Nigrinus de Battemburg. Francf. S. L. M. 1595.

More than once did the Calvinists propose to make peace with the Lutherans in *irenic*, *conciliatory*, and *syncretistical* treatises, (Nicole, Prèjugés. chap. XII), but the Lutherans have always refused to be reconciled.

of the fatalist system to Zwingli and Oecolampadius;* but let them be his, we give them up to him; except that we hold ourselves ready to establish, grounding ourselves on testimony that is irrefragable, that each of these novelties is a falsehood which the Spirit of God never could have inspired. If this decree has been uttered by Protestant lips, what becomes of that crown, which after three centuries the venerable company of Pastors, one of whom is an anti-Trinitarian, wished to place on the brow of Calvin?

If there be any historical fact incontrovertible, it is, that Calvin's apostolate was fatal to the morals of the republic. "Ah, undoubtedly," says M. Galiffe, "the ancient Genevese were not angels of celestial purity, but at least they were not hypocrites. They did not go to profane the temple by demonstrations of an exalted piety, when just returning from having exposed the fruit of their libertinism. They were violent in their enmities, but they were not false witnesses, spies, and informers. They stood in need of indulgence, but they were not destitute of it themselves, and did not seek to conceal their natural frailty by sentences of death, inhumanly severe. They were, what they again became in the eighteenth century when Calvinism amongst us was nothing but a ballad of the past,—proud, bold; independent men, good friends, irascible enemies, but easy to be reconciled, charitable and devoted, above all things, good patriots, because they had a country which they could love."†

With the ancient Genevese blood which so long had remained pure, Calvin mingled the blood of the refugees, his pretorian body-guard; sharpers, rogues, bankrupts by profession, who sit in the consistory, who enter the councils, are received as burghers, and in exchange for so many honours perpetrate villainies of which the city had scarcely any conception. During the whole period of the theocrat's rule, espionage was a lucrative dignity. Let the moralist undertake to ransack the archives of the government; M. Galiffe will accompany him in order to show the registers, covered with records of illegitimate children, who were exposed on the bridge of Arve; wills, in which the dying voice of a father accuses his children of abominable crimes; acts before notaries, in which a mother allots a dowery to the bastards of her daughter; marriages, where the husband passes from the altar to the prison; women of all ranks, who place their new-born babes in the hospital, that they may live in abundance with a second husband.‡ Let us wait awhile: the reformed puritan who has passed his life amid the dust of archives will soon open his hand, at least he promises to do so, and then will tumble forth leaves written in a dead language, for he fears to make modesty blush, and, in the language of Petronius, he will narrate the little suppers of the Genevese ministers. Balduinus has already told us of one of these nocturnal repasts where Beza was host; but no one would credit his account. M. Galiffe, who intends to die in the

*Die Prediger in Lausanne erklärten, dass sie diese Lehre nicht von Calvin angenommen hätten, indem sie bereits von Zwingli un. Oekolampadius vorge- tragen worden sey —Schröckh.

† Galiffe, Notices gén., t. III, Préface, p. 16-17..

‡ Galiffe, Notices, t. III, p. 15-16.

bosom of Protestantism, will be believed, at least! Behold how he already, with the whole energy of his soul, rejects all communion with that mean, bastard, intolerant reformation which Calvin sought to impose on his fellow citizens! Thanks to his researches, some Catholic names, among others that of Bolsec, have been honourably vindicated.

The old champion of historical truth who has merited the eulogy of Lord Brougham, will not permit himself to be frightened by the clamours of certain fanatical Calvinists, who would to day have us believe in the civilizing influence of the reformer. In case of need, he could open the book of the author of the *Treatise on Scandals*, and read there this avowal, escaped from the lips of Calvin :

“ There is a wound still more deplorable : our pastors, who ascend the sacred pulpit of Christ, and who ought to edify souls by a superabundant purity of good morals, scandalize the church of the Lord by their disorders : miserable comedians, who are astonished that their preaching has no more authority than a fable acted in public, and that the people point the finger at them and hiss. What surprises me is the patience of women and children who do not cover them with mud and filth.” *

Calvin himself before his death, had, like Luther, foreseen the destiny of the word which he announced to men.

“ The future terrifies me, he said, I dare not think of it ; for unless the Lord descend from heaven we shall be swallowed up by barbarism. Ah ! would to God that our sons may have no reason to look upon me as a prophet !” †

He was a prophet. The Lord, who was unwilling to descend from heaven, had delivered over the word of Calvin to the disputes of his successors in the ministry. And then that word, which to be true should have been immutable, was mercilessly tortured. If at the Haye you have beheld the corpse painted by Rembrandt, you can form to yourself some idea of the operation to which the Calvinistic doctrine has been subjected at Geneva. The operators assumed different names according as they attacked a system in its essence or in its parts ; there were therefore partialists and universalists. The scalpel did not merely cut away dead flesh ; but formed in the shape of a pen, in the name of divine grace the nature of which it was desirous to indicate, it poured out ink and insults, in such sort that one fine day the Two Hundred gave orders to terminate all those disputes, which disturbed the repose of the citizens and were a subject of laughter to the Catholics : now, this laughter was contagious.

Calvin's word, having been brought to the low countries and subjected to examination, had been found insufficient, foolish, dangerous. Each city of Holland had an apostle sent by God, a Paul or John the Baptist. Of all Calvin's books, the only one which they considered the work of the Lord was the *Treatise concerning the punishment of heretics (de puniendis Hereticis)*, which each sect translated in order to

* Liber de Scandalis.

† Præfatio catechismi ecclesiæ Genevensis, p. 11.

put it in practice against those who dissented.* Bogermann, professor at Francker, wrote comments on the pamphlet, and added some new texts to prove that the civil power has the right to put to death the blasphemer of God's name. He called every one a blasphemer who did not think with him on the subject of grace. Jacob Arminius and Franz Gomar revived the subjects of dispute which had occupied Luther and Erasmus. Franz Gomar damned Arminius, who maintained the liberty of the will; Arminius doomed to the flames Franz Gomar, who preached the doctrine of *serf-will*. There were *intolerants* and *tolerants*, *rigid* Calvinists and *moderate* Calvinists, *lapsarians* and *supralapsarians*. Fifteen years had not elapsed, and they might have written upon a finger nail every thing that was left of that neology which they had crowned. "Every divine work, said Claudius, is immutable by nature; only human works change form and colour." † Calvin's word was not then a word of truth? And, there is something very remarkable in this perpetual generating of doctrines, that never does the christian abandon an opinion which has been given to him as a truth; so that if there be a new apostacy, you may be sure it issues from the reformed sanctuary. And how can this intellectual disorder be arrested? When the breath of the human mouth becomes noisy, choleric, or disorderly, power intervenes and discharges the priest's office. And there is a council ready, like that of the Two Hundred, which says to its sheep: There is enough disputing! the Calvinistic predestination is a gospel truth;—a prince, who says to the Lutheran: Thou believest in the Real Presence! to the Calvinist: Thou admittest only a life-giving symbol; here is the table: come and commune together! ‡—and in the Berlin ministry, an ecclesiastic salaried by the monarch, who writes and if need be swears—that to day there are no longer Lutherans or Calvinists; but only evangelical christians.

"During the latter half of the Sixteenth century, says one of Calvin's panegyrists, the heirs of the legislator of the reformation, without having his power and his genius, adopted his dogmatism and his inflexible obstinacy; they declared that no one was a christian who did not think like Calvin; they considered the search after religious truth beyond the limits of the master's principles, as an impiety, and by the contractedness of these views, they came near destroying the whole work of the reformation at Geneva." §

A century and a half later, this dogmatism was still ruling. The academy, founded by the reformer, had transformed itself into an œcu-

* We refer those of our readers, desirous to become acquainted with the variations of the reformation, to the German book of Hœninghaus: My excursion through Protestantism, or the Necessity of a Return to the Catholic church, demonstrated exclusively by the avowals of Protestant theologians and philosophers.—It is one of the finest books of the epoch, unfortunately almost unknown in France.

† Menschliche Werke, wie alle Werke dieser Welt, wanken und verändern Gestalt und Farbe. Die Wahrheit ist nur Eine, die bleibt und wanket nicht.

‡ Discussions on the subject of Protestantism, preceded by an analysis of a lecture of M. Lacordaire, by the abbé Chuine, in-8 p. 16. Metz, 1838.

§ Calvin à Genève, p. 142, 143.

menical council, which, with its eye upon the written confession of John of Noyon, imprisoned, exiled, condemned to bread and water, any innovator sufficiently bold to contest its teachings. Did some lofty intellect come from France to Geneva to study the new symbol, they presented him the master's golden book, and he was bound to reverence it as a gospel brought from heaven. This was the price of hospitality. Simonius, after having reverently touched this confession of faith with his lips, erects himself, reflects, and manifests some disquietude; they cast him into prison, and afterwards they banish him.* At times, on coming forth from the temple, some christian assailed by doubts goes to expose the state of his conscience to one of the ministers; the minister is without pity; the christian is chastised and thrown into prison. To be saved, it is necessary to believe in Calvin.

We acknowledge that M. Gaberel has found noble words to stigmatize this harrassing dogmatism, the legacy of Calvin, and which, according to the beautiful expression of M. Guizot, seeks to imprison conscience in the consequences of an argument. †

But M. Gaberel should have known that the Calvinistic symbol can only live when upheld by the strong arm of power. Let the arm of flesh be withdrawn, and the reformer's work will perish amid the convulsions of anarchy. When at a later period, thanks to the efforts of the synod of Dort, thought was allowed to scrutinize the Genevese confession, see how, each day, some one or other of the articles of the formulary has been given up; till of all Protestant cities Geneva has become the least Calvinistic. And now that free examination is triumphant, it happens that a minister who has denied the Trinity, can with impunity seat himself on the bench which, for twenty years, was occupied by him who put the anti-Trinitarian Servetus to death.

However the reformation may seek to hide itself beneath the mantle of Zwingle, of Luther, of Calvin, of Ecolampadius or of Knox, it cannot enjoy a dogmatic existence except by the favour of princes: its kingdom is of this world. Follow it through Germany when it sets out from Wittenberg: wherever it essays to establish itself it has need of a human hand. Upon what could it rest, after it had destroyed mementos, creeds, faith, traditions? All ideal life having become extinct within it, it becomes wholly material, and gives itself over body and soul: in England, to a woman who acts the part of Pope; in Prussia, to a monarch who even regulates ecclesiastical discipline, and prepares liturgies for two communions formed into one by contract;* at Geneva, to laymen transformed into doctors of Israel. There is not in the world a country where faith in power is more blind than in Prussia, that land where Lutheranism flourishes. ‡

When the theocrat, who at Geneva calls himself minister of God, demanded the banishment of Gentilis, the imprisonment of Ami Perrin, the blood of Gruet, of Berthelier, and of Servetus, you must have ob-

* Senebier, Hist. litt.

† Preface to the constitutional History of England, by Hallam.

* A few words regarding the last conference of the abbé Lacordaire. Courrier de la Moselle, 18th January, 1838.

served if the civil power showed any hesitation, and did not accord every thing without a murmur and without remorse.

At Geneva, civil and religious liberty, nationality, poesy, painting, literature,—every thing has been blighted, disfigured, destroyed by Calvin. But for him, Geneva like other cities would have progressed in the light which irradiated from Rome, Florence and Venice; it might have been painter, poet, orator, artist. Believe not what the reformation says, that the Genevese is not born for the cultivation of the arts: this is a calumny. It was necessary to absolve the man who transformed choice spirits into mere theologasters. And even did the theologians born of Calvin resemble those scholastics of the revival who are too much cried down, and who often amuse us by their ingenuousness, it would be less deplorable! But the monks of Geneva are pedantic and tiresome. Instead of theses, after the fashion of the Cologne school, such as Hogstraet affixed to some church, they send forth enormous volumes destitute alike of style and life. Calvin has not even left them a choice of subjects: they can only move in one circle. The miserable men incessantly revolve around grace, freewill and predestination. Whilst the city thus wearies itself in vacuum, Rome, under the vivifying breath of the papacy, gives existence to master-pieces in history, exegesis, philology, and philosophy. We are mistaken. Geneva pretends to be allied with the universal progress of intellect; and here are the names of some of the diamonds of her literary crown: The theologians Tagaut, Perrot, and La Faye; the philologist Portus; the Latin poet Beaulieu; the polygraphist Goulard; the humanist Sarazin.*

At Wittenberg, as well as at Geneva, the reformation, which never comprehended popular instincts, had broken to pieces all the material images of religion; but at Wittenberg when once mistress of the Catholic temple, it set to work to raise up the statues, restore the pictures, and repair the stained-glass windows, for fear of being accused of vandalism. At Geneva, to satisfy Calvin, it stained the walls of the cathedral with some coloured wash, sold the statues, and had the pictures burned.

Calvin never comprehended art. In all his writings you would in vain search for one ray of light. He indeed one day tried to write some Latin verses; but what verses! He bequeathed his prosaic disposition to his new country. Had Geneva remained faithful to Catholicism, what a noble place would she now occupy in literary history! Each day, during the Sixteenth century, she received the visit of numerous Italians. Does it not seem to you that these southern imaginations so passionately fond of form, should have revived the worship of the muses on the banks of lake Lemman? But scarcely have they set foot on the shores of the lake, than they of their own accord cease singing. The theological atmosphere which is every where diffused, even in the inner sanctuary of families, stifles in them all the happy germs which they had brought with them from Rome or Florence. They feel themselves impelled to take part in theological disputes. The two

* Spazier, *Revue du Nord*.

† Senebier, *Hist. litt. de Genève*.

bloods mingle and constitute a dull thick blood, which can neither be stirred or quickened by the harmonies of the musical world, the fancies of the ideal world, nor by the wonders of the material world. Before dying, Calvin bequeathed to the land of his adoption a mania for controversy, which the refugees were compelled to experience. Natives and foreigners exhaust their understanding in an investigation of ontological problems, far more obscure than those scholastic speculations, about which so many reproaches are heaped on the monks of the middle ages. These problems are discussed at college, in the consistory, at home. Geneva, surrounded by treasures of antiquity, dares not touch them. All the fountains of intellectual emotion have been dried up by Calvin. He forbids the soul to concern itself with visible forms, which might occasion it to fall into idolatry; with painting, which would awaken in it false notions concerning the Divine nature; with music, which would seduce it into idle reveries. Thus was accomplished the decree entered up by Menzel against Saxon Protestantism: "The reformation at first was a devouring fire, afterwards an aurora borealis, the sign of coldness." *

Even the exegetic school which Calvin created at Geneva, reacted upon intellectual progress in a fatal manner. From a prevision of hostilities on the part of Catholicism, the reformation had continued its pitiful collations of biblical texts. This verbal labour was not calculated to warm the imagination. They studied neither the images, the figures, nor the inspired meaning of the holy book: they abandoned gold for lead. It is curious to see how joyous these scholiasts are, when in a Greek letter they have removed or added a stroke; they announce this good fortune with as much parade, as we Catholics do, when at Rome, Raphael paints the picture of the Transfiguration, or at Bale, Erasmus has just completed the preface to his St. Jerome. From all these intelligences of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, the offspring of Calvin, do not ask for some historical, scientific or moral discovery; † they consider their task accomplished, when they have sullied some pages of paper with glosses, of which the idea is as barbarous as the language. This city, which boasts to have received the gift of faith in 1535, has not even one mystic book of some value. After long researches, Senebier could find nothing of this kind worthy to be cited, except the "*Mellificium symboli apostolici circa incarnationem*;" "The Opening of the seals of St. John's Apocalypse," and "The sword of Goliath." ‡ Even at present such is the poverty, as regards works of exhortation, to which Calvin has reduced it, that it is forced to borrow from us "The voice of the Pastor" (*La voix du Pasteur*), the work of our mountaineer curé, Regis, having retrenched therefrom every thing which regards faith, every thing that appeals to the imagination—the chapters which are dogmatic. And if the Divinity of Christ is denied in a work of one of the ministers of the venerable company,

* Spazier, *Revue du Nord*.

† Calvin and his colleagues seem only incidentally to have attended to that science, the objects of which are virtue, life, and morals.—*Histoire de la Réformation* par W. Meiners, p. 271, 272,

‡ Senebier, *Hist. litt. de Genève*.

the person bold enough to step forward in its defence is a Methodist,
—M. Molan.

We are aware that Geneva, by proclaiming that "Calvinism is not christianity", has emancipated herself from the doctrinal yoke of the reformer. The right of free examination having been re-established, another abyss opened before her—religious anarchy; and a voice has been heard exclaiming to her pastors: "YOU HAVE DENIED CHRIST, CHRIST DENIES YOU."

This Protestant voice came from Scotland.

ERRATA.

Page 14, line 19; for 1545, read 1546.

Page 17, line 35; for *god* read *God*.

Page 36, line 15; for "*pupils which*" read "*pupils whom.*"

Page 107, line 16; for "from 1610 to 1635" read "from 1510 to 1535."

Page 249, line 15; for *rended* read *rent*.

Page 426 line 8; for 1545, read 1546.

Page 446 line 11; for *epigram* read *epigraph*.

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